Commentary on the *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*

BY

G.A.A. KORTEKAAS

BRILL MNEMOSYNE · SUPPLEMENTA

COMMENTARY ON THE

HISTORIA APOLLONII REGIS TYRI

MNEMOSYNE

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FOREWORD

In completing this commentary as a necessary supplement to the text published in 2004, I would like to extend a word of sincere thanks to the many people who have helped me finish this work.

Of those who have supported me personally, I would first like to thank Prof. W.J. Aerts. His name is explicitly mentioned in many places in the commentary. This does not by any means imply that his contribution was confined to these places. On the contrary, the conception and realization of both the text edition (2004) and this commentary owe much to his constant, warm interest and actual support, also on cardinal points. I hope that this volume, too, may measure up to his generous contribution.

My thanks are also owed to Ms C. Puché Lopez, with whom I have developed a cordial form of collaboration in the course of years. May her and my studies help to give the Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri a place in world literature, which it certainly deserves for Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.

I would separately like to thank Dr A. Hilhorst: I never appealed in vain to his knowledge and experience.

My gratitude is also due to those who were kind enough to listen to my story and who often, by means of a casual hint, alerted me to interesting details.

On a more technical note I would like to thank the Universiteitsbibliotheek Groningen which, particularly in the final stages, was most helpful in providing various facilities. For years of assistance I would also like to express my thanks to the Buma-bibliotheek Leeuwarden. If the list of works consulted is useful and up-to-date, the credit is mainly due to L. de Vries, director of the library.

In the last phase of this commentary's realization, I would first of all like to express my gratitude to the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) for subsidizing the translation. I am happy to have found in Anthony Runia someone who was willing to take on the onerous task of translation. His knowledgeable rendering will doubtless form a solid basis for the usefulness of this commentary. I equally acknowledge a debt of gratitude to Dr G. Bunt, who was prepared not only to help me in translating the preface of the 2004 edition, but also critically follow the English version of this extensive commentary and add many suggestions.

The final realization of the commentary, too, owes much to the work of my son-in-law Jan van Stralen. His contribution is not confined to the technical aspects of typesetting and designing the voluminous and diffi-

cult manuscript: in maintaining contacts with the various parties involved in this work he has also proved indispensable.

In concluding this life's work I want to thank my children for their continuing support and interest. I cannot find words to thank my wife. The text and commentary on the Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri are not only my life's work, but through her support and self-sacrifice her life's work as well.

Autumn 2006
G. Kortekaas

INTRODUCTION

The task of writing a sound commentary on my edition (Brill, 2004) is a complicated one. On the one hand the commentary will have to elucidate the many aspects dealt with in the Introduction of the edition:

- **RA** and **RB** as integral, Late Latin texts, probably to be located in Rome;
- **RA** (late 5th c.) as prevailing over **RB** (late 5th/early 6th c.);
- **RA** and **RB** as translations/adaptations of a Greek, Christian intermediate phase **R(Gr)**, each *sui generis*; translation errors and connections with the Greek Novel;
- The intermediate phase **R(Gr)**: place, time and nature (sometimes radical changes);
- The original Greek text **HA(Gr)**: contents, language, time; written in Tarsus?
- The **HA** in its further development in literature and art.

Naturally the commentary refers both to the Introduction and to the Notes by means of the abbreviations used there (see Abbreviations, pp. IX-XIV).

On the other hand it is clear that the commentary must be conveniently arranged and succinct, the more so because the above aspects are sometimes densely interwoven. I have therefore aimed at a concise commentary which follows the chapter division of the Latin text. Overspecialization has been avoided as much as possible. I hope that the reader can use the basic material offered to explore particular matters in more detail. One of the tools for this is provided by the Indices: *Index locorum ex S.S.*; *Auctores Latini*; *Auctores Graeci*; *Nomina propria et geographica* (abbrev.: Ind. nom.); *Index vocum locutionumque* (abbrev.: Ind. verb.); *Index grammaticus/stilisticus* (abbrev.: Ind. gr.). The changes which **RB** introduces *rhythmi causa* (cf. Introd. III.4) are usually indicated in the text:

cursus planus (abbrev.: *pl.*)	–́ ˘ ˘ –́ – ;	e.g. labóre complévi;
cursus tardus (*t.*)	–́ ˘ ˘ –́ ˘ ˘;	e.g. latéque disséminat;
cursus velox (*v.*)	–́ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ –́ ˘.	e.g. hominibus praedicáre.

Striking cases of alliteration are underlined, e.g. 11. RA 7 Certa non certis cecidere. There has been no attempt at exhaustiveness in either case: the reader must judge for himself. Texts of the Greek Novel are (usually) translated via B.P. Reardon, *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*, Berkeley & Los Angeles & London, 1989. The vocabulary of the Greek Novel is explained via F. Conca – E. De Carli – G. Zanetto, *Lessico dei Romanzieri Greci*, I-II, Cisalpino-Goliardica (s.a.) (abbrev: *Less.*). Frequent reference is made to the major dictionaries *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (abbrev.: OLD); Liddel – Scott – Jones, *Greek*

English Lexicon and the *Revised Supplement* to this lexicon (abbrev.: LSJ en LSJ [*Suppl.*]). Recourse to the vast literature on this subject, particularly on textual genesis and narrative structure, is limited. So the reader should not be disappointed when even 'great names' in the field of the ancient Novel in this commentary – *qualecumque sit* – are lacking. Only a limited amount of attention, too, has been paid to the afterlife of the **HA** in literature and art. Finally, though the present commentary disagrees fundamentally with the study of E. Klebs, *Die Erzählung von Apollonius aus Tyrus*, Berlin 1899 (abbrev.: Klebs), this disagreement is often confined to the statement: Klebs *aliter*. Where possible and relevant, I have also included the commentary of G. Schmeling, 'Notes to the Text of the Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri', *Latomus 53* (1994), Part I (pp. 132-53), Part. II (pp. 386-403) (quoted as: Schmeling, *Notes*).

The two opponents mentioned above (Klebs, Schmeling), whose ideas already came under attack in my edition (Brill), have now been joined by a third, namely G. Garbugino, *Enigmi della Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* (Testi e manuali per l'insegnamento universitario del Latino, no. 82), Bologna 2004. Unfortunately, I did not see this book until very late (spring 2006), when the translation and lay-out of this commentary were far advanced.

Confronted with the dilemma – incorporation in this work or a fuller account in a later article – I have, with some reluctance, opted for the former. Garbugino's work is a systematically constructed publication in florid Italian in which the author discusses, in 7 chapters, the many different problems which the *HA* raises concerning text, textual transmission, interpretation, cohesion of the textual components, textual genesis. Moreover, each of these chapters is provided with extensive, up-to-date notes. In short, it seems likely that Garbugino's book, as the first reviews suggest, will prove useful in the further study of the *HA*. This is all the more reason to include and test Garbugino's ideas at the relevant places in the commentary. Regrettably, I have to say at once that his book – with some notable exceptions (the author accepts a Greek original) – forms a recapitulation of Klebs's ideas, even on cardinal points like the relation between the RA and RB recensions. These are said to be two independent adaptations which are to be judged independently.

Obviously the present commentary cannot deal with Garbugino's theories exhaustively, the more so because his argumentation is spread across 7 chapters (there is no list of places discussed). For the sake of topicality I have set out my objections to his views in a limited number of crucial places. An important reason for doing so is that the *HA* continues to attract wide interest, witness a spate of forthcoming publications. Understandably, I am grateful to both the translator and the compositor for kindly allowing me to incorporate this part too. I would like to end this introduction with two lines by a recent Dutch poet:

Make me believe in the harvest,
Which I never will behold.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations concerning the manuscript tradition

HA	Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri
HA(Gr)	*HA*, in its probably original Greek form
R(Gr)	*HA*, as an epitomized Greek, Christian text
RA	Recension *A*
Rα	group of manuscripts predominantly based on *RA*
RB	Recension *B*
RT,RSt,RE,RBern,Rβ	groups of manuscripts predominantly based on *RB*
RT	Tegernsee Recension
RSt	Stuttgart Recension
RE	Erfurt Recension
RBern	Bern Recension
Rβ	Recension mingling *RB* with recensions predominantly based on *RB*
RC	Recension *C*, manuscripts approximately based in equal measure on RA and RB
Hi	*HA*, according to Klebs, in its original pagan Latin form from the 3rd century AD
R	according to Klebs the oldest stage of Christian adaptation

pl., t., v.	*cursus pl(anus), t(ardus), v(elox),* cf. Introduction p. IX
t.t.	*terminus technicus*

Abbreviations of periodicals, works, dictionaries etc. cited in the text (2004) and the present commentary (2006)

AAT	Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche
AB	Analecta Bollandiana
AELAC	Association pour l'Étude de la Littérature Apocryphe Chrétienne
ALL	Archiv für lateinische Lexicographie und Grammatik, hrsg. von E. Wölfflin, I-XV, Leipzig 1884-1908
ALMA	Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi (Bulletin Du Cange)
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt
APF	Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
BFLM	Bulletin de la Faculté des Lettres de Mulhouse
BHG	Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca antiquae et mediae aetatis, *ed.* Fr. Halkin, Bruxelles 1957^{3}
BHL	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis
BkPh	Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie
Bl. BGS	Blätter für das Bayerische Gymnasial-Schulwesen
BphW	Berliner philologische Wochenschrift
ByzZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CB	The Classical Bulletin. Dept. of Classical Languages at Saint Louis University.
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum seu nova Patrum collectio, Series Latina*
CEL	*Carmina Latina Epigraphica*, I et II, *ed.* F. Buecheler, Lipsiae 1895 et 1897
CFC	Cuadernos de filología clásica. Estudios latinos
CGL	*Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, vol. VI/VII, *ed.* G. Goetz, Lipsiae 1899-1901
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berolini 1863-
Concordance	B. Fischer, *Novae Concordantiae Bibliorum Sacrorum iuxta Vulgatam versionem critice editam*, 5 vol., Stuttgart-Bad Constadt, 1977
CPh	Classical Philology
CPL	*Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, *ed.* E. Dekkers – Ae. Gaar, Steenbrugis 1961^{2}
CQ	Classical Quarterly
CR	Classical Review
CRAI	Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-

	Lettres
CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum, Academiae Vindobonensis 1866-
GGA	Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen
GN	Gnomon
GRBS	Greek, Roman and Byantine Studies
HSCPh	Harvard Studies of Classical Philology
ICAN	The International Conference on the Ancient Novel
ICVR	Inscriptiones graecae urbis Romae (4 vols), Romae 1990
IF	Indogermanische Forschungen. De Gruyter, Berlin
IGR	Inscriptiones Graecae
JfcP	Jahrbücher für classische Philologie
JhrbAChr	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
KNAW	Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen
LAW	*Lexicon der Alten Welt*, eds. C. Andresen et al., Zürich-Stuttgart 1965
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
Less.	Conca, F. – De Carli, E – Zanetto, G., *Lessico dei Romanzieri Greci,* I-II Cisalpino-Goliardica (s.a.)
LHS	Leumann, H. – Hofmann, J.B. – Szantyr, A. *Lateinische Grammatik* (3 vols), München 1963-79
LS	Lewis, Ch.T. – Short, Ch.P., *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 1958 (repr. 1975)
LSJ	Liddell, H.G. – Scott, R. – Stuart Jones, H. (alii), *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1843 (repr. 1958)
LSJ(Suppl.)	Liddell, H.G. – Scott, R. – Stuart Jones, H. (alii), *Greek-English Lexicon, Revised Supplement*, Oxford 1996
MAMA	Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua
MDAI(A)	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Ath. Abt.)
MGH	Monumenta Germanica Historica
MLR	Modern Language Review
MLW	Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch
N.F.	Neue Folge
NPh	Neophilologus
NPhR	Neue Philologische Rundschau
NStM	Nuovi Studi Medievali
OCD	Glare, P.W.G. (ed.) *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford 1949 (repr. 1957)
OGI	*Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, ed. W. Dittenberger, Leipzig 1903-5

OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary,* eds. Lewis, Ch.T. – Short, Ch.P. A., 1958 (repr. 1975)
PG	J.P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca,* 1-161, Parisiis 1857-87
PL	*id., Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina,* 1-221, Parisiis 1844-65
PSI	Papiri Società Italiana
RE	Real Enzyklopädie
REA	Revue des études anciennes
REG	Revue des études grecques
RF	Romanische Forschungen
RhM	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie
RHR	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
ROC	Revue de l'Orient chrétienne
RPh	Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes
RQA	Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte
RVV	Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten
SBAW	Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
SHAW	Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften
SIFC	Studi italiani di filologia classica
ST	Studi e Testi
TAPhA	Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association
ThGL	H. Stephanus (et al.), *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, Parisiis 1831-65
ThLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, I – Lipsiae 1900 -
TMIVA	Testi e Manuali per l'insegnamento universitario del Latino
UP	University Press
VPE	Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium, *ed.* J.N. Garvin
WSt	Wiener Studien: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie und Patristik
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik
ZRG	Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte (Romanistische Abteilung)
ZRPh	Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie

COMMENTARY ON THE

HISTORIA APOLLONII REGIS TYRI

CHAPTERS 1-5 AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE HA

A general remark must precede commentary on the individual chapters. Since E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, Leipzig 1914[3] (repr. 1974[3]), p.447, many scholars have doubted the authenticity of these opening chapters and the chapters which mention King Antiochus: in their view, this figure and the chapters in question have only been added to motivate and justify Apollonius' travels, cf. ed. m. (2004), n.43. These objections of Rohde and others will have to be included in the debate. But the anorganic construction of *HA* in its present form and the lack of motivation cannot be blamed on **HA(Gr)** but are due to the epitome character given to the story by **R(Gr)**. He is responsible for completely disrupting the contrast between King Antiochus and Apollonius, and this also applies to the original starting-point in both situations, i.e. the mythological story of Oenomaos, his daughter Hippodameia, and the intrepid Pelops, cf. Introd. VI.1. It must be admitted that the placement of the brutal rape scene, stripped of any further motivation, was a masterstroke, with great resonance in world literature:

> How that the cursed kyng Antiochus
> Birafte his doghter of the maydenhede,
> That is so horrible a tale for to rede,
> Whan he hir threw upon the pavement.
>
> Geoffrey Chaucer, *Man of Law's Tale*, ll. 82-85,
> in *The Canterbury Tales*, ed. L.O. Benson et al.,
> in *The Riverside Chaucer*, Boston 1987, p.88.

At the same time the abridgement by **R(Gr)**, broadly speaking and as far as we can tell, emphatically follows the formulation of the Greek novel, as an elaboration of chap. 1 could prove. The changes of *RB* play only a subordinate role here. This analysis of the first chapter clearly shows that the exordium of the *HA* not only corresponds closely to the Greek novel, but can also lay claim to a certain degree of authenticity, densely interwoven with the rest of the *HA*. For an assessment of these opening chapters as a whole, see our final remark 6, RA 17-20.

CHAPTER 1

1, RA 1-2 In civitate Antiochia rex fuit quidam nomine Antiochus, a quo ipsa civitas nomen accepit Antiochia. 'In the city of Antiochia there was a certain king, called Antiochus, from whom the city itself took the name Antioch.'

1, RB 1-2 Fuit quidam rex Antíochus nómine (*t.*), a quo ipsa civitas nomen accepit Antiochia.

In civitate Antiochia (RA) ~ (RB /): *RA* expresses himself in epic terms and in doing so does not avoid verbal repetitions. Also with a view to a different exordium (cf. Fuit below), *RB* omits this repetition which he finds annoying. As regards *civitas* (RA/RB): like so many Late Latin texts (cf. Introd. II.1; Adams (1976), p.23,103.) *HA* uses both notions of *civitas*, as here combined sporadically with *urbs*, cf. Ind. nom., ss.vv. Other notions like *patria*, even *provincia* (44, RA 9; 46, RA 6) also occur. In Greek exactly the same fluctuation can be observed between ἡ πόλις, τὸ ἄστυ, ἡ πατρίς, ἡ χώρα, cf. *Less.*, ss.vv. In fact it is impossible to determine exactly the nomenclature of **R(Gr)** and **HA(Gr)** in each place. (Klebs, p.250 is negligible as regards *civitas*, *patria*.)

Antiochia (᾿Αντιόχεια): Antioch was the capital of Seleucid Syria, later the capital of the Roman province of Syria, on the river Orontes, some 15 miles from the Mediterranean Sea (cf. 4, RA 2/RB 4 *navigans attingit Antiochiam* '(Apollonius) arrived by ship at Antioch'). It was the third most important city of the eastern Roman empire after Constantinople and Alexandria. The city was founded in 300 BC by Seleucus I (Nicator) (c. 358-312-280 BC). He named the new city Antiochia in honour of his father Antiochus, presumably a Macedonian noble, cf. Appian, *Syr.* 57. It is thought to have been a very populous city. Notwithstanding its importance, the role of Antioch in the Greek Novel is very restricted: it is mentioned casually only once, namely Xen. Eph. 2,9,1 without any special reference.

rex fuit quidam nomine Antiochus (RA) ~ *Fuit quidam rex Antíochus nómine* (*t.*) (RB): Both Latin and Greek like to start their stories with *Fuit/Erat* (or ἦν) in initial position. Sometimes this may introduce a genuine fairy-tale ('Once upon a time'), thus e.g. Apul., *Met.* 4,28 (the fairy-tale of Amor and Psyche) *Erant in quadam civitate rex et regina*. But it would be wrong to follow some critics (Thielmann, p.32; Weymann [1893²], p.380; Garbugino,

pp.118-9 with note 137) in labelling the present placement (RB) a fairy-tale beginning. In Apul. this is not allways the case either: *Met.* 7,6 *Fuit quidam ... in aula Caesaris clarus*; ibid. 8,1 *Erat in proxima civitate iuvenis natalibus praenobilis*; 10,19 *Fuit in illo conventiculo matrona quaedam pollens*. To conclude the Latin part: Greg. Magn., *Dial.* 2, *praef. Fuit vir vitae venerabilis, gratia Benedictus et nomine.* Greek, too, likes to use such a beginning, e.g. Xen., *Anab.* 3,4 Ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῇ στρατίᾳ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος 'Now there was in the army a certain Xenophon from Athens; John 11:1 Ἦν δέ τις ἀσθενῶν Λάζαρος ἀπὸ Βηθανίας (Vulg. *Erat autem quidam languens Lazarus a Bethania* (cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.,* s.v. τὶς (β.)); Acts 9:10 Ἦν δέ τις μαθητὴς ἐν Δαμασκῷ ὀνόματι Ἀνανίας 'Now there was a pupil in Damascus, named Ananias' (Vulg. *Erat autem quidam discipulus Damasci, nomine Ananias*). For the Greek novel, cf. Long. 3,15 Ἦν δέ τις αὐτῷ γείτων ... Χρόμις τὸ ὄνομα 'He had a neighbour, called Chromis'; Achill. Tat. 1,3,5 Ἦν ἀδελφός, ὡς ἔφην, τοῦ πατρὸς Σώστρατος 'There was a brother of my father, as I mentioned, named Sostratos'; Xen. Eph. 1,1,1 Ἦν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀνὴρ τῶν τὰ πρωτὰ ἐκεῖ δυναμένων, Λυκομήδης ὄνομα 'Among the most influential citizens of Ephesus was a man called Lycomedes'. On the basis of this material from the Greek Novel (especially Xen. Eph.) one might even be inclined to assume that *RB* is falling back on a Greek *Vorlage* here (cf. Introd. VII.2.2). But it is probably better to assume that *RB,* because he is a widely read writer, introduces a favourite τόπος: the change *Antíochus nómine* (*t.*) is clearly *rythmi causa*, cf. 4, RA 2 *nomine Apollonius* (RA) ~ RB 3 *Apollónius nómine* (*t.*).

Antiochus, a quo ipsa civitas nomen accepit Antiochia (RA/RB): Ἀντίοχος is an extremely common name in the entire Greek-speaking world, especially in the house of the Seleucids. The name as such or with reference to king of the Seleucids does not occur in the Greek Novel. The Antiochus referred to is presumably Antiochus I, Σωτήρ (280-261), although the facts given about him here are wrong. He did not give his name to the city. In fact Antioch was founded by his father Seleucus Νικατώρ (312-280 B.C.), who named it after his father, a Macedonian general, cf. ed. m. (2004), n.88. Formally speaking, therefore, the report by *HA* is incorrect from the historical point of view. Yet the formulation may be perfectly authentic, in the sense that it is based on a popular version of naming, but one which does not bother about an actual historical person, cf. Introd. VI.1. The same connection Ἀντίοχος ~ Ἀντιόχεια occurs repeatedly in later, Greek literature, cf. Introd. n.88. A direct translation from **R(Gr)** could be indicated by the collocation *a quo*, to be translated not 'by whom' but 'after whom', cf. Gr. (?) ἀφ' οὗ. For a similar easy etymological explanation, see Herod. I,7 <...> ἦσαν ἀπόγονοι Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄτυος, ἀπ' ὅτευ ὁ δῆμος Λύδιος ἐκλήθη ὁ πᾶς οὗτος, πρότερον Μηίων καλεόμενος 'they were descendants of Lydos, the son of Atys, after whom

the Lydian people was called, formerly called Meonic'. By starting in this way, **HA(Gr)** probably links up with the popular genre of the κτίσεις literature, cf. B. Schmid, *Studien zu griechischen Ktisissagen*, Diss. Freiburg 1944; R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, Oxford 1968, p.144; J.H.M. Strubbe, 'Gründer Kleinasiatischer Städte. Funktion und Realiteit', *Ancient Society 15-17* (1984-6), n.21. With this statement, in fact, the *HA* does not rise above the historical level of the Ninos novel and Chariton. *Antiochia*: nominative in apposition to *civitas* cf. Ind. gramm., s.v. nominativus.

1, RA 2-4	Is habuit unam filiam, virginem speciosissimam, in qua nihil rerum natura exerraverat, nisi quod mortále statúerat (*t.*). 'He had only one daughter, a most beautiful girl; Nature's only mistake was to have made her mortal.'
1, RB 2-4	Hic habuit ex amissa coniuge filiam, virginem speciosissimam, in qua nihil natura rérum erráverat (*t.*), nisi quod mortálem statúerat (t.)

Is (His A) ~ *Hic* (RB): **A**'s emphatic choice of word, partly influenced by *habuit*, combined with *RB*'s change, illustrates the dying out of monosyllabic *is* and its replacement by more emphatic forms, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 270: 'Le plus faible était *is* ... La place de *is* sera prise par *hic*'. (Klebs, pp.253-254 very superficial).

unam filiam (RA) ~ *ex amissa coniuge filiam* (RB): *unam* (RA): The *RA* formulation compared with *RB* has led to differences in the various translations ('a daughter', '[only] one daughter'), but has also, understandably, affected the derived versions in Latin and the vernaculars. As in the rendering of most translators, RA *unam* probably has the value of *unicam* 'only one'. This best fits the context in that it underlines Antiochus' atrocity. It also makes for a parallel between the family relation Antiochus – daughter and Apollonius – (only) daughter Tharsia. But elsewhere the *HA* uses *unicus* for this sense, cf. 25, RA 17/RB 12 *(cara et) unica regis filia*. Normally *unus* in *RA* has the function of indef. art., as in many Late Latin texts, cf. Introd. II.1; Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 263. In my view, the solution to this radical difference can be found in Greek, in the use of εἷς, μία, ἕν with a double sense, esp. in Κοινή Greek. For the meaning 'only one' Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. εἷς (col. 408 2.b.) points to e.g. Mark 12:6 ἕνα εἶχεν υἱὸν ἀγαπητόν (Vulg. *adhuc ergo unum habens filium charissimum*) 'er hatte einen einzigen geliebten Sohn.' For εἷς as indef. pron. he points (col. 450 3.b.) to Matt. 26:69 καὶ προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ μία παιδίσκη (Vulg. *et accessit ad eum una ancilla*). This usage can help to explain our place too. As far as I can see,

the only places where *unus* has the meaning 'only one' are here and 12, RA 3 *unius tabulae beneficio*, elsewhere it functions as indef. art. The clause *Is habuit unam filiam* could be directly derived from (?) **R(Gr)** Οὗτος μίαν εἶχεν θυγάτερα, perhaps even from **HA(Gr)**. This view also allows a ready explanation of *RB*. He probably interprets *unam* als indef. pron. and as usual he eliminates this use, cf. Introd. II.1. In doing so he may, as often, have eliminated an original element. This elimination of *unus* is offset by the addition of *ex amissa coniuge*. As in 34, RB 9 *Habeo et ‹ego› ex amissa coniuge filiam* (comm.), this addition serves merely to make the painful situation somewhat more plausible: the suitors have their hands free. The Greek parallel version Oenomaos ~ Hippodameia (cf. 3, RA 8 comm.) does not mention the wife/mother either, cf. Apollodorus, *Epit.* (ed. J.G. Frazer, Cambridge-London 1921, LCL 121) (repr. 1989[6]) vol. II ch. 2,3. So *RA* may be entirely authentic (cf. Introd. VI.1). As a reviser *RB* shows great accuracy and wide reading. (Klebs, p.387 proposes to insert *ex amissa coniuge* in *RA* as well. For the discussion on *ille* and *unus* Klebs, p.261 is of no value.)

virginem speciosissimam (RA/RB): A frequently used adjective. In *HA* (cf. Ind. verb.) it is found only in posit. and superl. The equivalent *pulcher* does not occur in *HA*.

rerum natura exerraverat (RA) ~ *natura rérum erráverat* (*t.*) (RB): The phrase *rerum natura* naturally brings to mind the title of Lucretius' didactic poem *De rerum natura*. As Riese (1893), Ind., s.v. *exerrare* already observed, this compound is only recorded in a figurative sense in Christian authors, cf. ThLL V.2 1400,39-55. (Our text with the striking *natura* is lacking.) Like *RB* here, the codd. repeatedly prefer simple *errare*. But examples with *natura* are rare, cf. ThLL V.2 810,54-5 (Liv. 31,12,8; Man. 2,709). By alternating from compound to simple, as *RB* often does (cf. Ind. Gr., s.v. verbum), *RB* has not only given his text a more classical appearance, but also effected a rhythmical *cursus*. Of course, we can only guess at the actual reading of **R(Gr)**. A possibility is ἡ τοῦ κόσμου φύσις combined with (ἐξ)αμαρτάνει. This Greek equivalent is far from unusual, particularly in later literary Greek (Philostr., *Epist.* 36,1; Synes. Cyren., Περὶ βασ. 14; Αἰγυπτ. 1,11). The Greek Novel, especially Charit., gives the image positively: Charit. 1,1,2 ἦν γὰρ τὸ κάλλος οὐκ ἀνθρώπινον, ἀλλα θεῖον 'her beauty was more than human, it was divine'; 4,7,5 τὸ μέγα τῆς φυσέως κατόρθωμα 'the celebrated Callirhoe, nature's masterpiece', cf. id. 5,5,3 (see also ed. m. (1984), p.108). (Fundamentally wrong. I believe Garbugino, p.94 wants to substitute *erraverat* RB for *exerraverat* RA in the hope of restoring a text 'sostanzialmente privo di incrostazioni di ascendenza cristiana'; against this procedure, cf. ed. m. [1984], pp.61-7; ed. m. [2004] pp.25-30 and the idea behind this comm.

From here on this kind of 'preferential' reading will not quoted.)

mortale (RA) ~ *mortalem* (RB): Both Latin and Greek like to use the neuter in general statements: Verg. *Aen.*, 4,569 *varium et mutabile semper femina* 'a fickle thing'; Charit. 1,12,6 περίεργον γὰρ ἀνθρώπου φύσις 'man is naturally inquisitive'; id. 3,13,6 φιλοζωόν ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος 'human beings are born with a love of life' (see furthermore id. 7,1,4; 8,5,14). *RB* normalizes.

statuerat (RA/RB) = *formaverat*; Neither OLD nor Blaise, *Dict.* offer parallels for this meaning. A translation based on (?) κτίζω is conceivable, cf. LSJ, s.v. κτίζω (5): 'to *make* so and so': Aeschyl., *Choeph.* 1060 ἐλεύθερον κ. τινά; Eurip., *Suppl.* 620 ποτανὰν εἴ σέ τις θέων κτίσαι 'if one of the gods should make you flying'. The anonymity of this daughter of Antiochus accords with the Greek novel, where some subordinate characters have a name, others do not, cf. Billault (1991), pp.122-3. The *Nachleben* has vied to give her a name. One of the most intriguing is that of *Creusa,* which is found in various derived redactions, i.e. **RT** (cod. **T**[egernsee], mid-9th c.), and in late manuscripts of **RSt** and **RC** (cf. Klebs, pp.68,92,138). It may be a borrowing from Verg., *Aen.* 2,738 as the daughter of Priamus, wife of Aeneas. But another borrowing is more likely, i.e. *Creusa* (also called *Glauke*), the daughter of King Creon in Corinth, the second wife of Jason after the repudiation of Medea. We know from the Latin literature that she received a present (a robe, crown?) from the scorned Medea, owing to which she caught fire and died (Sen., *Medea* 498; Hyg., *Fab.* 25; Hor., *Epist.* 5,65 with scholiast.). Antiochus' daughter is also burnt alive, together with her father, cf. 24, RA 13/RB 10.

1, RA 4-6	Quae dum ad nubilem pervenisset aetatem et species et formónsitas crésceret (*t.*), multi eam in matrimonium petebant et cum magna dotis pollicitatióne currébant (*pl.*) 'When she became old enough to marry and was becoming increasingly beautiful and attractive, many men sought her in marriage and asked for her hand with lavish promises of bride-price.'
1, RB 4-6	Quae cum ad nubilem venisset aetatem et specie pulchritúdinis crésceret (*t.*), multi eam in matrimónio postulábant (*v.*) et cum magna dotis pollicitatióne currébant (*pl.*).

dum (RA) ~ *cum* (RB): *Dum* + subjunct. is often used in Late and Christian Latin where classical Latin would require use of *cum* + subjunct.

or *dum* + pres. ind., cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *dum* (II; Adams (1976), pp.4,77). Though the scribes show a great deal of freedom precisely with regard to these conjunctions, a corrective tendency can be observed in *RB*. Sometimes, as here, he changes *dum* to *cum* (e.g. 6, RA 13 *dum* <…> *invenisset* ~ RB 14 *cum* <…> *invenisset*), mostly he changes *dum* + subjunct. to *dum* + pres. ind. (e.g. 13, RA 2 *dum secum cogitaret* ~ RB 1 *dum cogitat*; 13, RA 8 *dum* <…> *videret* ~ RB 7 *dum intuetur*; 15, RA 1 *dum* <…> *hortaretur* ~ *dum hortatur*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. dum. Sometimes he completely omits the construction in question (e.g. 9, RA 1 *dum* <…> *deambularet* ~ RB /; 34, RA 3 *dum fuisset ingressus* ~ RB /; 44, RA 17 *dum voluisset* ~ RB /). *RB* is rarely inconsistent and applies the same constructions as *RA* (e.g. 4, RB 13 *dum* <…> *quaereret*; 13, RB 9 *dum* <…> *exerceret* [RA 10 *dum* <…> *luderet*]; 48, RB 52 *dum involverer*. (Klebs, p.241 is of little practical value.)

nubilem aetatem (RA/RB): Obviously a very frequent collocation: for Latin, cf. LSJ, s.v. *nubilis*: 'of an age suitable for marriage': Val. Max. 6,4,1 *nubilis iam aetatis filiae*; Stat., *Ach.* 1,356; esp. in combination with *annus*: Ov., *Met.* 14,335 *haec ubi nubilibus primum maturuit annis*. The ease with which this concept can be transferred to Greek is proved by e.g. Heliod. 2,29,3 Ἦλθε καὶ εἰς ὥραν γάμου 'She reached the age to be wedded.' In practice this means: for the Greek Novel, girls aged 12-14, boys aged 16-18.

pervenisset (RA) ~ *venisset* (RB): *RB* prefers simple verbs, cf. above RA 3 *exerraverat* ~ RB 3 *erraverat*.

(dum) species et formonsitas cresceret (RA) ~ *(cum)* <…> *specie pulchritúdinis crésceret* (*t.*) (RB): I have not yet seen a parallel for the combination *species et formonsitas* (Konstan, p.46 'her beauty and her shapeliness were growing'). Though it is impossible to determine whether in fact **A** wrote *formonsitas*, there are many reasons to assume that this form is original. The form/spelling even occurs in classical authors, cf. ThLL VI.1 1110,29-33. The spelling *formonsus* occurs too often to be merely a defective spelling, or a hypercorrect pronunciation, cf. R.A. Haadsma – J. Nuchelmans, *Précis de Latin Vulgaire*, Groningen 1963, p.77 n.2. It must have been widely known: App. Probi 21 *formosus, non formunsus*; Flavius Caper (Keil, *Gramm. Latini*), VII,95; Serv. ad Verg., *Aen.* 1,359; Isid., *Orig.* 1,26,9. It occurs very frequently in inscriptions (cf. V. Väänänen, *Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompéiennes*, Berlin 1959[2], p.69) and varyingly in codd. The singular *cresceret* is used because both nouns form a single idea. By switching to *specie pulchritudinis* (cf. 48, RA 21/RB 15 *splendor pulchritudinis*), *RB* not only eliminates the word *formonsitas*, with its various difficulties, the singular in *cresceret* and the (slight) anacoluthon between *pervenisset* (i.e. *filia*) and *cresceret* (i.e. *species*

et formonsitas), but has also created a rhythmic clausula. The train of thought could derive direcly from the Greek, cf. Xen. Eph. 1,1,2 οὗτος ὁ Ἁβροκόμης ἀεὶ μὲν καὶ καθ'ἡμέραν εἰς κάλλος ηὔξετο 'This Habrocomes grew more handsome every day.'

in matrimonium petebant (RA) ~ *in matrimónio postulábant* (*v.*) (RB): It is easy to find parallels for the expression *in matrimonium petere* (very common in Latin, cf. 9, RA 7/RB 8) in the Greek Novel, cf. Long. 3,25 πρὸς γάμον αἰτοῦντες αὐτήν '(suitors) asking to marry her'; Heliod. 4,6,6 πρὸς γάμον αἰτῶμεν 'let us ask for her hand in marriage'. *RB*'s change probably provides a time-marker. Besides standard *petere*, ThLL VIII 478,54 ff. also cites (p.479,47) Iord. Get. 63 *postulat*, a work which ThLL dates to 551. See also Greg. Tur., *Hist. Franc.* 3,1 (SS. Rer. Merov. I^2 p.97,18) *Amalaricus* <...> *sororem eorum* (sc. filiorum Chlodovici regis) *in matrimonio postulat*.

et cum (om. **P**) **magna dotis pollicitatione currebant** (RA/RB) 'and asked for her hand with lavish promises of bride price (i.e. with promises of large marriage gifts, an example of enallege): As well as here, *dos* occurs in 19, RA/RB 11 *scribite* <...> *dotis quantitatem* (cf. 21, RA 2) and in 23, RB 6 *Numeratur dos amplissima* (cf. app. crit.). A Roman reader would probably have a slight problem with the present place and 19, RA/RB 11, since *dos* here does not have the ordinary meaning 'dowry' (what a bride brings to the marriage), but stands for the Greek custom (esp. familiar from Homer) of the ἔδνα 'bride price', cf. LSJ, s.v. The suitor buys his future wife from her father. These ἔδνα do not play an important role in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. (Achill. Tatius 1,18,2; 5,5,4; Heliod. 4,15,2). The best illustration (without using the term ἔδνα) is provided by Longus 3,25 μνηστήρων πλῆθος ἦν περὶ τὴν Χλόην καὶ πολλοὶ πολλαχόθεν ἐφοίτων (cf. *currebant*) <...> καὶ οἱ μέν τι δῶρον ἔφερον, οἱ δὲ πολλὰ ὑπέσχοντο (cf. *pollicitatio*) (ἐπηγγέλλοντο μεγάλα v.l.) 'There were a great number of suitors after Chloe; many of them, from many different places, visited Dryas (the father of Chloe) <...> Some brought a present with them; others promised big presents', cf. ibid. 1,19. But this custom of the bride price is also mentioned elsewhere in Greek literature, cf. J.U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, Oxonii 1925, *Hermes* 4 (a summary by Antoninus Liberalis of an elegy by the Alexandrian poet Hermesianax): ὁ Ἀρκεοφῶν ἐφίετο τοῦ γάμου τῆς παιδὸς καὶ ὑπέσχετο (cf. *HA pollicitatione*) πλεῖστα παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους μνηστῆρας ἀποίσειν ἔδνα 'Arkeophoon longed for the marriage with the girl (a princess) and he promised (her father) to contribute the greatest bride prices, more than all the other suitors.' It is clear in my view that the Homeric custom of the bride price is in question here too. Klebs, p.215, admits almost grudgingly that: 'die Mitgift in der Historia unter dem

Einfluß griechischer Dichtung erwähnt wird.' Because we are dealing here with a typical Greek custom for which the Latin had no suitable equivalent, it is clear that the translator/reviser had to go wrong, cf. Introd. IV.1.

It is questionable, however, whether **R(Gr)/HA(Gr)** used the Homeric technical term ἕδνα, since it is a plural, in contrast to singular *dos*. It is therefore more likely that the more neutral term προίξ 'dowry' (8x in the Greek Novel) was used (possibly φερνή, but this term is only recorded in Charit. 1,6,4). This word can mean both what the father gives to his daughter for the marriage and what he has received from suitors as payment and now passes on in the dowry, cf. Lacey, W.K. 'Homeric ἕδνα and Penelope's κύριος', *JHS* 86 (1966), pp.55-68. Hence the translator/adapter, misunderstanding the Homeric situation, opted for *dos* as the most natural term from the perspective of Latin culture. See the comment on *currebant* below.

Dos has been much disputed (Welser, Caspar Barth). Wild conjectures have been the result. Thus W. Teuffel, *RM* 27 (1872), pp.103-13 argued for a Germanic custom (cf. Tac., *Germ.* 18). This led him to believe that the *HA* has a Germanic provenance! Klebs tried to solve the problem by pointing to a Late Latin legal procedure *donatio ante nuptias* from the 6th c. (cf. ThLL V, I 1990,34-9; ibid. 2043, 4-19). In this procedure the father gave his daughter a sum of money before the marriage, in anticipation of a possible divorce. (ThLL V.1 2043,20-1 follows Klebs: '*apud scriptores recentiores non iuridicos saepe confunduntur* dos *et* donatio ante nuptias.') But clearly this solution must also be rejected. Not only is it hard to fit into the *HA*, it also breaks down on the 3rd-c. date which Klebs postulates for *Hi*. (Garbugino, p.64 also accepts this Late Latin procedure, though he regards *dos* as one of the few indications for a possible Greek provenance, p.64 n.59.)

currebant (RA/RB): This verb may be taken in the sense of 'hastened', i.e. to seek her in marriage, but in fact it is a technical term (φοιτάω) in sexual affairs, cf. LSJ, s.v. φοιτάω (3); R.M. Rattenbury – T.W. Lumb, *Héliodore. Les Ethiopiques*, Paris 1960^2, on Heliod. 1,11,3 ἡ δὲ (sc. ἡ Θίσβη παιδισκάριον) <…> συνεχῶς ἐφοίτα 'She (Thisbe, a slave girl) <…> would come to me every night': 'Le verbe φοιτᾶν correspond au verbe français *fréquenter*. Il s'employait spécialement, quand il s'agissait de relations amoureuses, cf. *Iliade* 14,296 εἰς εὐνὴν φοιτῶντε "both (sc. Zeus and Hera) going to bed" (to make love).' This φοιτάω occurs frequently in the Greek novelists, cf. *Less.* s.v. It corresponds to the Greek from the second sophist period, cf. e.g. Lucian., *Toxaris* 16 καὶ οὐκέτι ἐφοίτα πρὸς αὐτόν, φυλάττεσθαι ὑπὸ τἀνδρὸς λέγουσα πεπυσμένου τὸν ἔρωτα 'moreover, she discontinued her visits to him, saying that she was kept in by her husband, who had found out about their affair.' In fact this usage already occurs in Herod. 6,126

Ἐνθαῦτα Ἑλλήνων <…> ἐφοίτεον μνηστῆρες and continues into Late Greek, cf. Parthen., *Erot. pathem.* (ed. J.L. Lightfoot, Oxford 1999), 6 (p.318) φοιτᾶν τε μνηστήρας. This technical sense of φοιτάω (cf. the above-cited passage from Long.) was understood neither by the redactor of *RA* nor by that of *RB*; it probably escaped their readers. In other places in the *HA*, *currere* has its ordinary meaning, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. (Riese [1893], Ind. s.v. *currere* requires correction). (ThLL V-1508, 78-9 s.v. *curro* is unfamiliar with this specific meaning.)

1, RA 6-9 Et cum pater deliberaret, cui potentissimo filiam suam in matrimonium daret, cogente iniqua cupiditate flamma concupiscentiae incidit in amorem filiae suae et coepit eam aliter diligere, quam patrem oportebat. 'While her father was considering to whom as most powerful he should give his daughter in marriage, driven by immoral passion, the flame of lust, he fell in love with his own daughter, and he began to love her in a way unsuitable for a father.'

1, RB 6-9 Sed cum pater deliberaret, cui potissimum filiam suam in matrimonium daret, cogente iniquae cupídinis flámma (*pl.*) incidit in filiae suae amorem et coepit eam plus diligere, quam patrem oportebat.

Et (RA) ~ *Sed* (RB): Both conjunctions are of course highly interchangeable within codd., yet *RA* is to be preferred, cf. Ljungvik (1932), pp.54 ff. 'Zur volkstümlichen Koordination'; Garbugino, p.115 with n.123. But this may just as easily be traced back to Greek, cf. S. Trenkner, *Le style καί dans le récit Attique oral*, Assen 1960, *passim*. *Et* (RA) probably functions as an adversative καί here, cf. Ljungvik, l.l. p.55.

potentissimo (RA) ~ *potissimum* (RB): The reading *potentissimo* has been considered suspect and *potissimum* 'to whom best to give' has been preferred by almost all editors. Yet it is clear that τὸ ἐκδιδόναι θυγατέρα 'to give one's daughter in marriage' will be to the man that is most powerful or richest, and so can offer the largest προίξ 'dowry', cf. Achill. Tat. 8,17,4 συμβόλαιον ποιησάμενος προικός μεγιστής 'I would gladly bestow on her a not inconsiderable dowry.' There are obvious parallels like Xen. Eph. 4,5,1 μεγάλα <…> δυνάμενος and the common expression in Xen. Eph. οἱ τὰ πρῶτα δυνάμενοι, cf. Less. s.v. δύναμαι.

in matrimonium (RA; *-io* RB) **daret** (RA/RB): As a matter of fact, nothing is more common in the Latin and Greek Novel than this expression. Compare for the thesis of Greek origin Xen. Eph. 2,12,2 τὸν αἰπόλον, ᾧ πρὸς γάμον ἐδεδώκει τὴν 'Ανθίαν ἡ Μαντώ 'Lampon the goatherd, to whom Manto had given Anthia as a wife'; Heliod. 2,31,4 ἐλευθέρῳ πρὸς γάμον ἐκδώσειν 'to give her in future in marriage to a freeborn husband'.

cogente iniqua cupiditate, flammā concupiscentiae (RA) ~ *cogente* (*cogitante* **β**) *iniquae cupidinis flammā* (RB): There is has been much debate over the word combination in *RA*, cf. ed. m. (1984), p.102 s.v. *concupiscentia*. This word is a typical Christian term: 'im eminenten Sinne dás Wort für die sinnliche Liebe' (Klebs, p.272), cf. ThLL IV 102,80. Many therefore propose to delete the collocation *'flamma concupiscentiae'* as a Christian gloss (thus Schmeling [1988], ad loc.; Garbugino, p.94 n.10). But such an elimination makes the *RB* reading *flamma* hard to explain. Perhaps it is therefore best to retain both words in *RA*. It may be that *flammă* is the subject of *incidit*, cf. ThLL IV 104,6-7. It is highly doubtful whether this goes back to Greek (Riese [1899], Ind., s.v. notes: *concupiscentia* ὄρεξις 'lust'). The form *cogitante* **β** is a postclassical frequentative/intensive of *cogo*, cf. ThLL III 1475,77 ff.; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *cogito* (II): 'containdre'.

incidit in amorem filiae suae (RA) ~ *incidit in filiae súae amórem* (*pl.*) (RB): This expression is very significant, cf. 17, RA/RB 2. It is not rare in classical Latin, cf. ThLL VII,1 898,30-4 with examples from Sen., Val. Maxim., Quint. and esp. (singled out by Weyman, 1893², p.381) Apul., *Met.* 5,23 *sic ignara Psyche sponte in Amoris incidit amorem*, cf. id. 10,19 *in admirabilem mei cupidinem incidit*. In Late Latin it is frequent, especially in literature translated from the Greek or based on it (e.g. *Recognitiones*, cf. ed. m. (1984), n.600). It is indeed quite common in Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐμπίπτω (4.6) and πίπτω (III,2). In Christian authors in particular πίπτω is used in connection with 'sexual immorality', cf. G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961, s.v. πίπτω. However, it is not found in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. (ἐμ)πίπτω and ἔρως, where the combination does not occur. So the expression probably cannot be traced back to **HA(Gr)**, but it may go back to **R(Gr)** and clearly we find it here in *RA/RB*. By means of the stylistically clever transposition *RB* creates a hyperbaton, combined with a clausula (*pl.*).

aliter diligere, quam patrem (A: *pater* **P**) **oportebat** ~ *plus diligere, quam patrem* (**bβM**: *pater* **π**) *oportebat*: The *RA* formulation is perfectly plain, sc. *dilectio carnalis*, cf. Ov., *Met.* 9,456 *nec qua* (i.q. quatenus) *debebat, amabat*. The reading in the Greek *Vorlage* is of course uncertain: (?) ἄλλως <...> ἤ,

cf. LSJ, s.v. ἄλλως (II.3) 'otherwise than should be'. On the other hand Xen. Eph. particularly has the expression στεργεῖν/ἀγαπᾶν διαφερόντως (2,4,5; 3,2,4; 5,1,2), cf. LSJ, s.v. διαφερόντως (II): '*differently, in different ways* or *degrees*'. *RB*'s cautious emendation, in which he glosses over the carnal aspect (cf. Introd. III.2), may be based on his wider reading, cf. e.g. Catull., 72,3 *dilexi tum te non tantum ut vulgus amicam, sed pater ut gnatos diligit et generos* 'I have loved you, Clodia, not as people love their girl, but like a father loving his sons and his sons-in-law.'

patrem (A, RB) ~ *pater* (**P,π**): The reading **P,π** is based on *oporteo* (pers.), a construction which is extremely rare and critically uncertain in classical Latin (cf. ThLL IX^{II} 736,72-3; OLD, s.v. *oporteo* [4]), but not unusual in Late Latin, cf. Heraeus, *GGA* (1915), p.477; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. (II.b): Greg. Tur., *Mart.* 1,32 *ut nec vivere me oporterem* 'in such a way that I did not like to live any more' (Klebs, p.19 n.2 on **P**: 'falsch').

1, RA 9-11 Qui cum luctatur (**A**: conluctatur **P**) cum furore, pugna<t> cum dolore, vincitur amore: excidit illi pietas, oblitus est se esse patrem et índuit cóniugem (*t.*). 'Though he struggled against his passion and fought against his emotions, he was overcome by love: he lost all sense of moral responsibility, forgot that he was a father and took on the role of husband.'

1, RB 9-11 Qui cum luctatur (**bπ**: -retur **βM**) cum furore, pugnat cum dolore, víncitur ab amóre (*v.*); excidit illi pietas et oblitus est se esse patrem: índuit cóniugem (*t.*).

The image (RA/RB) is a stock element in the Greek novel, cf. M. Fusillo 'The Conflict of Emotions: "A Topos in the Greek Erotic Novel"' in: S. Swain, *Oxford Readings in the Greek Novel*, Oxford 1999, pp.60-82.

luctatur (**A**, **bπ**): The Latin and Greek Novel, like Latin and Greek love poetry, is fond of metaphors drawn from wrestling. The parallel with Achill. Tat. 1,11,3 merits special mention: Ἔρως ἀνταγωνίζεται καὶ πατήρ, <…> ἀνάγκη μάχεται καὶ φύσις 'Eros and father are at war <…> Duty and Nature are in combat.' As for *luctari/conluctari*, see Long. 3,19,2 Χλόη δὲ συμπαλαίουσά σοι ταύτην τὴν πάλην 'but if Chloe has this sort of wrestling match with you'. The comparison is carried through furthest in Lucian., *Onos* 8. The far-raching influence of this image in Latin is shown by the language of comedy, where *palaestra* (παλαίστρα) simply means

'brothel' (Plaut., *Bacch.* 1,1,34; Ter., *Phorm.* 3,1,20). Particularly the verb *vincere* is widespread in the Greek novel: Ninos novel A 2 (ed. Kussl, p.18) [ὑπὸ] τοῦ θεοῦ νικῶμαι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας 'I am fought down by the God (of love) and my (young) age'; Xen. Eph. 1,3,1 ἡττᾶται δὲ ὑπὸ Ἔρωτος Ἁβροκόμης 'Love got the better of Habrocomes'; ibid., 1,4,1 ἑάλωκα καὶ νενίκημαι καὶ παρθένῳ δουλεύειν ἀναγκάζομαι 'I have been captured and conquered and I am forced to be the slave of a girl.' Cf. Heliod. 2,25,2; 3,19,1. A partial similarity in formulation, accidental in my view, is found in Ov., *Met.* 14,701 *luctatusque diu, postquam ratione furtum / vincere non potuit*, cf. Gow, *Theocr.* XXIII,16 (comm.). For the tricolon *luctatur*, *pugnat*, *vincitur*, cf. Ind. gramm., s.v.

pugna AP = *pugnat*: A striking omission of the final consonant, perhaps anticipating the Romance languages, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 130.

dolore (RA/RB): Here in the sense of 'pangs of love', cf. Löfstedt, *Vermischte Studien*, p.116, who quotes Vulg. *Dan.* 13,10 *erant ergo ambo vulnerati amore eius nec indicaverunt sibi vicissim dolorem suum* (Gr. τὴν ὀδύνην ἑαυτῶν). See more broadly ThLL V.1 1842,40 ff. *RA* gives the τόπος as a tricolon, with triple end rhyme (cf. Klebs, p.282): by adding *ab* (cf. 18, RB 1 *ab amore incensa*), *RB* achieves a rhythmic cursus (*v.*). It also finely expresses the overwhelming, almost personal power of Amor. For the looser use of *a/ab*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. ab; Adams (1976), pp.4, 119. Vidmanova (1986), p.100 suggests that the striking trichotomy could be traced back to a Greek original, e.g. ὁ δὲ ὅτε ἀγωνίζεται μανίᾳ, μάχεται ἀνίᾳ, κρατεῖται φιλίᾳ. This would preserve the end rhyme in Greek too.

excidit illi pietas (RA/RB): The formulation is particularly felicitous because (Konstan, p.47) 'Pietas is used of relations between children and parents (as here), husbands and wives, rulers and ruled, god and man.' (For the various meanings of *pietas* in the *HA*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v.) I could not find parallels from the Greek Novel, although a translation is not difficult, e.g. ἐκπίπτει αὐτῷ αἰδώς. For *oblitus est* we may compare Plato, *Apol.* 17[a] ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὀλίγου ἐμαυτοῦ ἐπελαθόμην 'through their action I almost forgot myself'; Men., fr. 305 ἐπελάθεθ' αὑτὸν ὅστις εἴη 'he forgot who he was'; Alciphr., *Epist.* 3,67 Νεβρίδα ἰδὼν καρηφοροῦσαν <...> οὕτως ἐξεκαύθην εἰς ἔρωτα, ὥστε με ἐπιλαθόμενον ὅς εἰμι προσδραμόντα ἐθέλειν κύσαι τὸ στόμα 'As I saw Nebris depressed <...> I inflamed in such a love, that I forgot who I was, and making a run for her, I would kiss her upon her mouth.'

induit coniugem (RA/RB): This is a very interesting expression. First of all, this kind of βραχυλογία, a shortened expression, although not rare in

classical Latin (cf. ThLL VII 1263,71-81), is much favoured in Christian Latin, cf. A. Blaise, *Manuel du Latin chrétien*, Strasbourg 1955, § 27. Among other examples he cites Aug., *Serm. 152,2* (Mai) *Herodes* <…> *praefert supplicem, concogitat hostem* 'Herod pretends to be a suppliant, but he is considering war'; Vict., *Aleth. 3,556 accelerare patrem* 'to be impatient to become a father'. As for *induit* itself, cf. Blaise, *Dict.* s.v. *induo* (2). So it is not remarkable to find this expression in such a central place in *RA* and *RB*. But the scope of the expression is much broader. Its popularity in Christian Latin follows partly from its use in Christian Greek. Bauer, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. ἐνδύω quotes esp. Rom. 13:14 τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐνδύεσθαι 'to assume the Lord Jesus Christ'; Eph. 4:24 τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐνδύεσθαι 'to assume the new man'. This explains why **R(Gr)**, too, could use this turn of phrase, cf. Introd. V. Finally, the phrase is also found in Greek generally: LSJ, s.v. ἐνδύω/ἐνδύομαι (I) quotes Dionys. Hal. 11,5 τὸν Ταρκύνιον ἐνδύεσθαι 'assume the person of Tarquinius'. The Greek novel is also familiar with the phrase: Achill. Tat. 6,16,5 φέρε πάλιν ἐνδύσωμαί μου τὸ δρᾶμα, φέρε περίθωμαι τὴν Λάκαιναν 'Come, I shall act again my role in the drama; come, I shall put on again the character of Lakaina' (see Charit. 6,6,7). In sum we can conclude that the expression may have passed through all stages of the *HA*: **HA(Gr)**, **R(Gr)**, *RA*, *RB*: we may as well assign it to **HA(Gr)**.

1, RA 11-13 Sed cum sui pectoris vulnus ferre non posset, quadam die prima luce vigilans inrumpit cubiculum filiae suae. 'Since he could not endure the wound in his breast, one day after lying awake till dawn he burst into his daughter's bedroom.'

1, RB 11-12 Sed cum saevi pectoris vulnus ferre non posset, quadam die prima luce vigilat, inrupit cubiculum filiae (*t.*),

sui pectoris vulnus (RA) ~ *saevi pectoris vulnus* (RB): The metaphor *vulnus* 'pangs of love' is extremely frequent in Latin, esp. in combination with *pectus*, cf. OLD, s.v. *vulnus* (4): 'a wound of love': Verg., *Aen.* 4,67 *tacitum vivit sub pectore volnus*; Stat. *Achill.* 1,639; Valer. Max. 5,7 ext. 1,1, cf. *HA* 34, RA 1/RB 2 *figit in pectore vulnus* (comm.). The simplest mode of expression is RA *sui pectoris vulnus*, cf. 18, RB 14 *amoris sui vulnus*. *RB* offers the more sophisticated form *saevi pectoris*, appropriate to Antiochus' love, cf. 17, RA 2 *vulneris saevo capitur igne*. This change is typical of *RB*'s attitude. First, the combination of *saevus* with *amor, vulnus, pectus* occurs often in Roman poets (cf. Klebs, p.287 with n.2; Verg., *Aen.*

12,888 *saevo sic pectore fatur*) and, second, the minute change gives a different dimension to the story, cf. Introd. III.5. In Greek the metaphorical use is mainly found for ἕλκος, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἕλκος: Theocr. 11,15 ὑποκάρδιον ἕλκος 'a wound in the heart'. In the postulated Late Greek period of **R(Gr)**, too, ἕλκος is used in the sense of 'Liebesplage'. Linnér (1943) refers to Hist. Laus. 82,9 τὰ πρὸς τὸ ἕλκος 'pangs of love'. (Klebs, p.287 prefers *RB*: 'in RA in *sui* verderbt'.)

vigilans, inrumpit (RA) ~ *vigilat, irrupit* (RB): The verb *vigilo* has the usual meaning here of 'to stay awake', 'to be unable to sleep', cf. OLD, s.v. *vigilo* 'to stay awake': Cic., *Off.* 3,100 *cum vigilando necabatur*. It occurs as a τόπος of unhappy love: *insomniis fatigari* / ἀγρυπνέω, cf. Less., s.v. ἀγρυπνέω 'to lie awake' / ἀγρυπνία 'sleeplessness'. *RA* probably represents an aorist participle 'after lying awake all night' (see also 18, RA/RB 4-5 [comm.]). This phenomenon of a present participle with past meaning is very frequent in the *HA* (*dicens, valedicens, prosternens*) and is characteristic of translation literature, cf. S. Eklund, *The periphrastic, completive and finite use of the present participle in Latin, with special regard to translations of Christian texts in Greek up to 600 A.D.*, Uppsala 1970, *passim*. The phrase *inrumpere* esp. with *cubiculum* is fairly common, cf. 18, RA 4/RB 3. Weyman (1893[2]), p.381 was the first to point to Apul., *Met.* 9,2 *ni* <...> *cubiculum* <...> *protinus inrupissem*; he also pointed to Plin., *Epist.* 6,20,4; Suet., *Claud.* 37; Iul. Val. 1,4. Greek is not far away either, e.g. εἰστρέχω εἰς θάλαμον: Heliod. 7,9,4 τις πρεσβῦτις ὄνομα Κυβέλη <...> εἰσδραμοῦσα εἰς τὸν θάλαμον 'an old woman by the name of Kybele, <...> bustled into his mistress's bedroom (cf. id. 7,22,2; 7,23,7). (Klebs, p.289, ruling out other possibilities, traces the scene back to Apul., *Met.* 3,30; 9,31; 10,24-25.)

1, RA 13-15 Famulos longe excedere iussit, quasi cum filia secretum conlóquium habitúrus (*v.*), et stimulante furore libidinis diu repugnant<i> filiae suae nodum virginitátis erípuit (*t.*). 'He ordered the servants to remove themselves faraway, as if he intended to have a private conversation with her. Spurred on by the frenzy of his lust, he took her knot of virginity by force, in spite of her lengthy resistance.'

1, RB 12-15 famulos longius secedere iussit, quasi cum filia secretum conlóquium habitúrus (*v.*). Stimulante furore libidinis diu repugnante filia nodum virginitátis erúpit (*pl.*).

longe excedere (**A**: *exercere* **P**) (RA) ~ *longius secedere* (RB): The world of the Greek and Latin Novel abounds with stories in which a nubile girl is heavily guarded, cf. Achill. Tat. 1,9,3 ἄλλῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐραστῇ καὶ βλέμμα μόνον ἤρκεσε τηρουμένης παρθένου, καὶ μέγιστον τοῦτο ἀγαθὸν νενόμικεν ἐραστής, ἐὰν καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὀμμάτων εὐτυχῇ, οἱ δὲ εὐδαιμονέστεροι τῶν ἐραστῶν, ἂν τύχωσι κἂν ῥήματος μόνου. 'Other lovers must be content with occasional glimpses of some well-guarded virgin, and they consider just catching sight of her a great blessing.' The function of the servants (θεράποντες?) is therefore to act as a θυρωρός 'door-keeper'. The prudish change in **P**, **RB** seems somewhat comical.

secretum conloquium habiturus (RA/RB): The collocation *secretum colloquium* is very common in Latin, cf. ThLL III 1652,71: Liv. 26,24,1 *al.* But one senses the Greek here too, cf. Charit. 6,7,4 ὡς ἰδιολογήσασθαί τι βουλόμενος πρὸς αὐτήν 'as if you want to talk privately with her'; Heliod. 7,25,3 μόνος <…> πρὸς τὴν Χαρίκλειαν ἰδιάσας 'taking Charikleia to one side, he whispered', cf. *Less., s.*v. ἰδιολογέω, ἰδιολογία. (Klebs, p.289, dismissing other possibilities, points to Apul., *Met.* 3,30 *haec* <…> *quasi quippiam secreto conlocutura in suum cubiculum deducit eum*, followed by Garbugino, p.120.)

stimulante furore libidinis (RA/**Mπ**: *furoris libidine* **b)** 'under the goad of passionate desire' (Konstan, p.48): This formulation clearly breathes Christian Latinity, cf. Blaise, *Manuel*, p.49: August., *Spir. et litt.* 2,3 *spiritus invidiae* 'the goad of envy'; ibid. *stimulus carnis* 'the goad of the flesh'. For the expression itself, Thielmann, p.9 refers to Vulg., Judg. 20:5 <…> *homines civitatis illius* <…> *uxorem meam incredibili furore libidinis* (LXX aliter) *vexantes* <…>. Compare also Paul. Nol., *Carm.* 19,171 *sacra celebrabat sociata libido furori*. (Garbugino, p.120 compares Apul. *Met.* 10, 24 *libidinosae furiae stimulis efferata*, a far-fetched parallel in my view.)

diu (RA/RB): Like so many short words, *diu* did not enter the Romance languages and was soon replaced by circumlocutions, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 159. As well as the form *diu* (37, RA 20/RB 21) the *HA* has *per longum tempus* (19, RA 2/RB 3), *per multa tempora* (7, RA 3), *multo tempore* (7, RB 3-4) and *tanto tempore* (29, RB 23).

repugnant<i> (-*e* **AP**) **filiae** <…> **eripuit** (RA) ~ *repugnante filia* <…> *erupit* (**b**: *disrupit* **βπ**) (RB): The construction of *RA*, *eripere alicui aliquid*, has been altered with a minimum of change to an abl. abs. with *erumpere*. This change reflects exactly the historical evolution of Latin inasmuch as the dat. dies out and the abl. (acc.) comes to the fore, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 249. The two verbs *eripere* and *erumpere* are often interchanged

(cf. Löfstedt [1907], p.63), but RB(**b**) has clearly chosen the more significant form, i.e. *erupit* (later more emphatically *disrupit* **βπ**), which moreover produces a rhythmic *cursus* (*pl.*).

nodum virginitatis (**A**: *florem* **P**/RB) 'the hymen', 'knot of virginity': Although every Roman, I think, will have understood what was happening and what this expression means, the expression itself, also occurring elsewhere in the *HA* (33, RA 14 [RB 12 *virginitatem*]; 35, RA 15/RB 12-13), has no parallel in Latin literature, not even in the unpublished ThLL material. The *flos* (*pudicitiae*, *virginitatis*), cf. **P**, was more familiar to the Romans, cf. OLD, s.v. *flos* (c); ThLL VI.I 935,56-74. C. Weyman in a well-known article ('Nodus virginitatis', *RhM* 64 [1909] p.156) considers it a happy translation of the Greek ἅμμα παρθενίας (or κορείας) 'the hymen' (cf. ἅπτω 'to bind'), occurring in several places in the poetic cycle of the *Anthologia Palatina* (cf. ed. m. (1984), pp.109-10). The translator or adapter has given a literal rendering of the term ἅμμα (in accordance with the usual vocabularia, the *Glossaria Latina*), instead of using a more concealed expression like *zonam/cingulum solvere* 'to untie a virgin's girdle'. This highly poetical turn of phrase ἅμμα παρθενίας may tell us something about the literary quality of **HA(Gr)**, cf. Introd. VI.3. In fact the Greek Novel uses more direct expressions, cf. Xen. Eph. 2,5,7 ὁ γὰρ σώφρων Ἁβροκόμης ἐπείρασε μὲν παρθενίαν τὴν ἐμὴν ἀφανίσαι 'the "chaste" Habrocomes tried to rob me of my virginity'; Long. 3,19,2 παρθενίαν λαβών 'taking my virginity', cf. id. 3,25,2. In a recent article S. Panayotakis covers the background to this expression, 'The Knot and the Hymen: a reconsideration of *nodus virginitatis* (*Hist. Apoll.* 1)', *Mnemosyne* LIII, Fasc. 5 (2001), pp.599-605), unfortunately without drawing further conclusions about the origin, time and background of the *HA*. Schmeling, *Notes*, p.398 (followed by Garbugino, pp.113-4) proposes to explain this *nodus virginitatis* as a Latin term and compares it with 36, RB 4 *nodos quaestion‹um›* 'thorny questions', cf. comm. there. For this unfounded suggestion, cf. Kortekaas (1998), n.18.

1, RA 15-16	Perfectoque scelere evásit cubículum (**A**: *om.* **P**). 'When the wicked deed was done he left the bedroom.'
1, RB 15	Perpetratoque scelere evásit cubículum (*t.*)

Perfectoque (RA) ~ *Perpetratoque* (RB): *RB* uses the technical term, cf. ThLL X 2,2 1632,22-47; LSJ, s.v. *perpetro* (2): 'to carry out', 'to execute': Liv. 44,1,10; Curt. 7,2,29; Front., *Stateg.* 2,5,30; cf. also Schol. in Pers. 1,18 *perpetratio est rei venereae consummatio*. An argument supporting

RA is the uncomplicated, sober Greek of the *Vitae Patrum* (the environment in which the translation of *HA* is to be situated, cf. Introd. n.34): ἐτέλεσαν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν (*ROC*, 1907, p.52 n.13) over against the Latin translation/recension *Vit. Patr.* 6,4,15 *frater* <...> *miserandam virginem stupravit et perdidit*.

evasit cubiculum (RA/RB): *evado* + acc. is very common, cf. 8, RB 11 *evasit ratem*; OLD, s.v. *evado* (3.b): Verg., *Aen.* 2,731; Liv. 7,36,2; Tac., *Agr.* 33,5; Apul., *Met.* 1,14. (?) ἐκβαίνω 'to leave' + acc. is probably involved here, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐκβαίνω (3).

1, RA 16-18	Puella vero stans dum miratur (**A**: dum miratur *om.* **P**) scelestis (**A**: -sti **P**) patris impietatem, fluentem sanguinem (**A**: fluentem sanguinem *om.* **P**) coepit celare: sed guttae sanguinis in pavimento ceciderunt 'But the girl struggled to her feet and astonished at the immorality of her wicked father she tried to hide the streaming blood: but drops of blood had fallen onto the floor.'
1, RB 15	Scelesti patris impietatem puella mirans cúpit celáre (*pl.*): sed in pavimentum (**b**: -o **βMπ**) certa (**bβM**: certa indicia **π**) videntur.

Without wasting words, **A** offers a harsh version of a brutal rape scene.

stans AP ~ RB /: probably has the value of an aorist participle, i.q. στᾶσα (ἀναστᾶσα) 'after she had scrambled to her feet', cf. supra RA 12 *vigilans*; see also Introd. IV.1.

scelestis A: **scelesti P**, RB: The metaplastic doublet form *scelestis* is very likely original; it also occurs in the almost contemporaneous *Acta Andreae et Matthiae apud anthropophagos* (ed. Fr. Blatt, Gießen 1930), p.111,25 *scelestes homines* (comm.).

coepit celare AP ~ **cupit celare** RB: The reading *coepit celare* can be explained periphrastically, as an equivalent of (*imperf. de conatu*) 'she tried to hide'. For this use, compare 32, RA 5 *coepit latere post monumentum* (i.q. *latebat*), 'corrected' by *RB* to (4) *fugit post monumentum*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. coepi (*periphr.*). For further examples, cf. Blaise, s.v. *coepi* ('sens redondant', with examples from Cypr., Hier., Aug.). This periphrastic use could possibly go back to (?) ἄρχομαι, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ἄρχω (β): Acts 1:1

de omnibus <...>, *quae coepit Jesus facere* (= *faciebat*) (Gr. περὶ πάντων <...> ὧν ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν). For the slight change, see Introd. III.5.

fluentem sanguinem A, **P** ~ **certa bβM**: The collocation *fluentem sanguinem* is easily translated into Greek, e.g. Xen. Eph. 2,6,3 τό τε αἷμα κατέρρει 'blood was streaming down'. Such raw realism is in keeping with the Greek Novel, cf. Achill. Tat. 8,2,3 καὶ μεμίανται τὸ ἔδαφος ἀνθρωπίνῳ αἵματι 'the floor is stained with human blood'.

ceciderunt AP ~ RB /: The perf. is to be translated as *ceciderant*: 51, RA 25 *voluit* = *voluerat*; the reverse also occurs: 17, RA/RB 3 *permiseras* = *permisisti*; 24, RA 9/RB 8 *noveras* = *novisti*; 33, RA/RB 1 *rapuerant* = *rapuerunt*, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. tempora verborum (4).

A's harsh sentence has undergone a great deal of doctoring both within *RA* and especially in the correction by *RB*. Scrutiny of the omissions in P shows that they are not accidental: on the contrary, P offers an adapted version: *Puella vera stans scelesti patris impietatem coepit celare; sed guttae sanguinis in pavimento ceciderunt*. In particular the elimination of *fluentem sanguinem* is striking.
RB's correction is constructed with almost mathematical accuracy:

1. the metaplastic form *scelestis* is replaced by the normal form *scelestus*;
2. the curious form *stans*, a headache for translators as well (Peters, p.86: 'Das Mädchen stand da und wunderte sich'; Sandy, p.739: 'The girl stood dumbfounded by her wicked father's breach of faith'), is eliminated;
3. *dum miratur* <...> *impietatem* is shortened to *mirans*;
4. the offensive, direct *fluentem sanguinem* is elegantly, and with almost the same letters, emended to *impietatem* <...> *cúpit celáre* (*pl.*);
5. *guttae sanguinis* is also delicately paraphrased by *certa* 'but on the floor certain things were visible' (*certa indicia* **π** is even more sophisticated!). Voor *certa* in this sense, cf. 11 RA 7 *Certa non certis cecidere*. For *RB*'s prudishness in general, cf. Introd. III.2.

Since the emendations listed above have their counterparts elsewhere in the *HA*, we can probably conclude that they were devised by *RB* without any further Greek *Vorlage*.

CHAPTER 2

2, RA 1 Subito nutrix eius introivit cubiculum. 'Suddenly her nurse came into the bedroom.'

2, RB 1 Cumque puella quid fáceret cogitáret (*v.*), nutrix súbito introíit (*v.*).

Subito (RA) ~ *Cumque puella quid fáceret cogitáret* (*v.*) (RB): *Subito*, rightly given initial position by *RA*, is part of popular speech (*repente* is not found in HA). *RB* regularly omits this *subito* 'at once', cf. 7, RA 11 *subito nusquam comparuit* ~ RB 11 *nusquam comparuit*; 32, RA 18 *subitoque apud me excogitavi* ~ RB /; only in the pure sense of 'suddenly' does *RB* admit it: 13, RA 9/RB 8 *subito* <…> *ingressus*; 15, RA/RB 1 *subito introivit*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. subito. Probably to mark the transition, *RB* opens with an elegant phrase (*cursus velox* with internal rhyme), without adding any new matter. By eliminating *subito*, *RB* probably removed a Graecism (?ἄφνω, εὐθύς).

nutrix eius (RA/RB): From Homer's Eurycleia onwards (cf. Pease on Verg., *Aen.* 4,632) the nurse, as a confidante in love affairs, plays an extremely important role, both in Latin (Ov., *Metam.* 10,298 Myrrha) and in Greek literature (e.g. Eurip., *Hippol.*; cf. *Less.* s.v. τροφός, ἡ). Her place was therefore in the immediate environment of her pupil, cf. Ov., l.l. 382 *nutricis* <…> *limen servantis alumnae*. Sometimes she could be complicit or spur on, going even to criminal lengths, cf. Heliod. 7,9,4 ἕως δή τις πρεσβῦτις ὄνομα Κυβέλη τῶν θαλαμηπόλων καὶ συνήθως τὰ ἐρωτικὰ τῇ Ἀρσάκῃ διακονουμένων εἰσδραμοῦσα εἰς τὸν θάλαμον 'until an old woman by the name of Kybele, one of the chambermaids who were in the habit of abetting Arsake in her love affairs, bustled into her mistress's room.' For an identical father-daughter-nutrix situation, cf. Parth., Ἐρωτ. παθήμ. XIII,1 (Lightfoot [1999], pp.332-452). It is clear that this *nutrix* of Antiochus' daughter is quite the reverse of *Lycoris*, the nurse in Archistratis' service, faithful to her dying day (HA cc.29-30), a fact that probably required elaboration in **HA(Gr)**, cf. Introd. VI.2. In Rome of the 5th-6th c. further explication or motivation was unnecessary, cf. J. Janssens, *Vita e morte del Cristiano negli Epitaffi di Roma anteriori al sec. VII.*, Roma 1981, p.182 ff.; Greg. Tur., *Liber de miraculis B. Andreae* (p.839,32): *ecce advenit nutrix eius*.

eius (RA) ~ (RB /): In view of its frequent use, it seems highly probable that *eius* is authentic to **R(Gr)**.

2, RA 1-2 Vt vidit puellam flebili vultu asperso pavimento sanguine, roseo rubore perfusa, ait: 'When she saw the girl, with tearful face, the floor spattered with blood, she herself imbued with a rosy blush, she said:'

2, RB 1-2 Quam ut vidit flebili vultu aspersoque sánguine paviménto (*v.*), corruit et ait:

Vt vidit (RA) ~ *Quam ut vidit* (RB): *RB* has created a degree of order in *RA*'s sentence structure by means of the relative connection *Quam* and the simple *-que*.

flebili vultu (RA/RB), cf. OLD, s.v. *flebilis* (3) 'plaintive, doleful': Sen., *Oed.* 509 *vultus flebiles praefert notas* (i.e. signs of weeping); Liv. 22,60,1.

roseo rubore perfusa AP ~ (RB /), cf. 21, RA 14 *faciem* (sc. *Apollonii*) *roseo colore* (RA: *rubore* RB) *perfusam*. This turn of phrase occurs in many variants, not only in profane literature (e.g. Ov., *Metam.* 1,484 *pulchra verecundo suffunditur ora rubore*), but also in Holy Scripture, cf. comm. 21, RA 14/RB 12. It usually refers to a fresh naturalness (cf. Apul., *Metam.* 2,8), preferably in a diffident girl (Tibull. 3,4,30 *ut iuveni primum virgo deducta marito / inficitur teneras ore rubente genas*). But the blush may also be caused by an awareness of guilt, shame, cf. e.g. Catull. 65,24 *conscius ore rubor*; Ov., *Am.* 2,5,34 *at illi conscia purpureus venit in ora pudor*. Perhaps this ambiguity 'youthful blush'-'shame' led *RB* to omit the phrase. The phrase also occurs in the *Passio Agnetis*, but in the most literal sense: AASS *vita S. Agnetis* XXI Ian. p.717 (= Mombr. I, p.43,29) *roseo sui sanguinis rubore perfusam* (= Ps. Ambr., *epist.* 1,14). I do not think we should the *HA* and *Passio Agnetis* on the basis of this place connect (for real contacts, cf. ed. m. (1984) n.582). The nom. *perfusa* **AP** in apposition is plausible. It is amusing to see the various 'emendations' made in the course of time: e.g. RC 16 (= Wien 510, 13th c.) *vidensque puellam antea roseo rubore perfusam, modo tristem aspersumque sanguine pavimentum*.

ait (RA) ~ *corruit et ait* (RB): Here we find for the first time one of the main stylistic features of the *HA*: a lively dialogue consisting of extremely short sentences (cf. *HA* chs.2,4,5,7,8 etc.). This rapid-fire dialogue is particularly found in popular writings, both in Latin and in Greek. Within the Greek Novel, too, the stylistic device is very widespread, sometimes without a matching *verbum dicendi* in the reply such as ἔφη/εἶπεν/ἔλεγε, cf. Charit. 2,1,8; 2,4,8; 2,6,2-3; 2,10,8; 3,4,8; 3,6,5; 3,9,2; 4,3,9; 5,8,5; 8,6,8; Achill. Tat. 5,20,2; 7,6,3; Heliod. 1,11,5; 2,22,4; 2,23,4; 2,24,1 etc. Compare O. Schönberger, *Longus. Hirtengeschichte von Daphnis und Chloe*, Berlin 1980^{3},

on Long. 3,10-13, i.e. short dialogues for the sake of liveliness (among the figures of speech γλυκύτης 'sweetness', ἀφέλεια 'simplicity'). *RB*'s small addition *corruit* (sc. *ad pedes puellae*) is probably suggested by the servant-mistress situation, cf. 48, RA 21 *corruerunt ante pedes eius* 'they fell before her (i.e. Artemis) feet.' Likewise Greek can use e.g. προσπίπτω in an absolute sense, cf. LSJ, s.v. (III); Bauer, s.v. There is no need to think of a term like 'fainting' (very frequent in the Greek Novel, e.g. Charit. 1,1,14; 2,7,4; 3,1,3; 4,5,9; 8,1,9), cf. 37, RA 20. An emendation like *horruit* (Thielmann [1881], 47; Riese [1893], ad loc.) is therefore unnecessary. The source of the addition could be 2, RA 6 (*nutrix*) *exhorruit atque ait*.

2, RA 2-3	"Quid sibi vult iste turbatus animus?" '"What is the meaning of that distress of yours?"'
2, RB 3	"Quid sibi vult turbatus ánimus túus (*pl.*)?"'

quid sibi vult? (RA/RB): This expression is constantly on the Roman's lips, cf. OLD, s.v. *volo* (1.a): Cic., *Div. Caec.* 70 *quid sibi iste vult? accusatoremne se existimari* <...>*?* But it also occurs in Greek, cf. e.g. LSJ, s.v. βούλομαι (III) 'to mean': Plato, *Rep.* 362[c], 590[c] *etc.* τί ἡμῖν βούλεται οὗτος ὁ μῦθος· 'what does that myth mean to us?'; E. Löfstedt, *Late Latin*, Oslo etc. 1959, p.106 quotes Dionys. Halic. (ed. Usener, p.314,19) τί ποτε αὐτῷ βούλεται·; Proc., *Epist.* 15,63 ἀλλὰ τί μοι βούλεται ταῦτα·; 'what does that mean to me?'. For *turbatus animus* see 5, RA 5 *conturbatum habebat animum* ~ RB 6 *conturbatus* (comm.).

2, RA 3-4	Puella ait: "Cara nutrix, modo hoc in cubiculo duo nobilia perierunt nomina." '"Dear nurse, just now in this bedroom two noble names have perished."'
2, RB 3-4	Puella ait: "Cara nutrix, modo hic in cubiculo duo nobilium nómina periérunt (*v.*)."'

cara nutrix (RA/RB) 'Dear nurse', cf. 30, RA/RB: A term of address, strongly reminiscent of Verg. *Aen.* 4,634 *cara mihi nutrix,* cf. S.C. Harrod, *Latin Terms of Endearment and of Family Relationship*, Princeton 1909, pp.34-7. In Greek, besides τροφός and μαῖα, the prevailing term of address is μήτηρ, cf. Acta Thomae II,2 (ed. Bonnet ~ Lipsius, p.230,1-3) καὶ παραλαβοῦσα αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν εἰσῆλθεν καὶ ἐξύπνιζεν τὴν τροφὸν λέγουσα πρὸς αὐτήν? Μήτηρ ἐμὴ καὶ τροφὲ Μαρκία 'And she took him (sc. Thomas) to the court and waking up the nurse she said to her: "My mother and nurse Marcia <...>"'

hoc in cubiculo (**A**: *in hoc cubiculo* **P**) ~ *hic in cubiculo* (RB): An accurate emendation by *RB*, which also confirms the **A** reading.

duo nobilia <…> **nomina** (RA) ~ *duo nobilium nomina* (RB): This somewhat enigmatic expression – the girl does not want to say in plain terms what has happened to her – is completely transparent for the reader in Antiquity, as the girl presupposes the use of *nomen* in the sense of ‘notion’, ‘conception’, cf. E. Löfstedt, *Coniectanea, Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der antiken und mittelalterlichen Latinität* I, Uppsala 1950 (repr. 1968), p.42 with examples from both Latin (Ennius, Cicero, Petron, Seneca, Fronto) and Greek literature (cf. LSJ, s.v. ὄνομα: ‘*in periphr. phrases*: ὄ. τῆς σωτηρίας = σωτηρία Eurip., *Iph. Taur.* 905’). In Christian literature the term mainly occurs in collocations like *nomen virginis, nomen virginitatis, nomen coniugii, nomen sponsae*. This is the usage that the girl is alluding to here: two noble conceptions have been lost: that of *daughter* and that of *father*, cf. *Gesta Romanorum* CLIII (ed. Oesterley), p.511. This usage also occurs in the Greek Novel, particularly in Heliod. 4,10,3 τὸ παρθενίας ὄνομα σεμνότατον ‘(a passion damaging) <…> the august name of virginity’ with the direct counterparts ibid. 4,10,6 τὸ μὲν ἐπιθυμίας αἰσχρὸν ὄνομα ‘the shameful name of lust’ and 4,9,2 θυγατρὸς ὄνομα νόθον ‘the bastard name of daughter’. As regards the terms *nobile* (cf. σεμνότατον above) and *patris*, cf. Heliod. 7,14,5 Τὸ γὰρ χρηστότατον ὄνομα καλεῖν ἀπεστέρημαι πατέρα ‘I am deprived even of the possibility of pronouncing the best name “father”.’ The term σεμνότατον is traced back by R. Kussl, *Papyrusfragmente griechischer Romane*, Tübingen 1991, p.44 n.62 to the term σεμνότης ‘dignity’, discussed and defended by Hermogenes (Rhetor 2nd c. AD), Περὶ ἰδεῶν 1,6 (ed. Rabe, Leipzig 1913, p.245, 9-18). Whatever this relationship may be, it is clear that the phrase *duo nobilia* <…> *nomina* can be attributed to **HA(Gr)** and that it also says something about the literary quality of **HA(Gr)**, cf. Introd. VI.3. RB’s change ‘two names of noble conceptions’ has no connection with the Greek development sketched above and is based on *nobilia* (neut. pl.), as a more common term. By transposing *perierunt* he has also introduced a rhythmic cursus (*v.*).

2, RA 4-5	Nutrix ignorans ait: “Domina, quare hoc dicis?” ‘The nurse, not understanding, said: “Lady, why do you say this?”’
2, RB 4-5	Nutrix ait: “Domina, quare hoc dicis?”

ignorans (RA) ~ (RB /): The nurse is low-witted (cf. 1.9 *Si intelligis*), like other people in the *HA* (cf. 24, RA 11 *Gubernator non intellexit dictum*: RB /).

Even Archistratis is not distinguished by intelligence (cf. 21, RA/RB 9-16 comm.). **RB** does his best to make the characters as perceptive as possible.

Domina (RA/RB): A polite way of addressing the mistress: it probably corresponds to κυρία 'mistress' (in a legal sense). (The address δεσποίνα 'mistress' is rare in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*) For the overall picture, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. dominus/-na. (Klebs, p.248 *aliter*.)

2, RA 5-6	Puella ait: "Ante legitimam mearum nuptiarum diem saevo scelere violatam vides". 'The girl said: "You see a girl, who has been raped before her lawful wedding day by violent crime."'
2, RB 5-6	Puella ait: "Ante legitimum nuptiarum mearum diem saevo scelere violata sum."'

legitimam <…> **diem** (RA) ~ *legitimum* <…> *diem* (RB): For the gender of *dies* (fem./masc.), cf. Ind. verb., s.v. The classical rule that *dies* is feminine as period and masculine as day is artificial, cf. E. Fraenkel, *Glotta* 8 (1917), 24 ff.; Löfstedt, *Per.* p.192 ff. As so often in translations, *RA* probably follows his *Vorlage* in the gender of the word to be translated, in this case ἡ ἡμέρα. *RB* of course goes the classical way.

violatam vides (RA) ~ *violata sum* (RB): *Violare* is the strongest word in this situation, cf. OLD, s.v. *violo* (2.c) 'to violate sexually, euph. for *vitio*', cf. Var., *L.L.* 6.80': Inc. trag. 131 *virginem me quondam invitam per vim violat Iuppiter*; Cic., *Ver.* 4,116; id., *Nat. Deor.* 3,59; Tac., *Ann.* 14,31. The direct synonym is *maculo*, cf. RA 7 *maculavit* (comm.). The corresponding word in Greek is ὑβρίζω (cf. LSJ, s.v. 'to wax wanton, run riot <…> in sensual indulgence'); it is also very frequent in the Greek Novel, cf. Less., s.v. (β) 'far violenza sessuale' (places in Charit., Achill. Tat. en Xen. Eph.) alongside μιαίνω (cf. LSJ, s.v. [3] 'to taint, defile, dishonour'). For the same formulation, cf. 9, RA 4/RB 5 *Proscriptum vides*. The change *vides* ~ *sum* is perhaps based on the fact that *videre* 'to perceive' was regarded as too flat (as an auxiliary), cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *videor*.

2, RA 6-8 Nutrix ut haec audivit atque vidisset, exhorruit atque ait: "Quis tanta fretus audacia virginis reginae maculavit thorum?" 'The nurse was horrified by what she heard and saw, and she said: "Who trusting in so great boldness has defiled the bed of the virgin princess?"'

2, RB 6-7 Nutrix ait: "Quis tanta audacia virgínis reginae thorum aúsus est violáre (*v.*) nec tímuit régem (*pl.*)?"

ut haec audivit atque vidisset (**AP**) ~ (RB /): Many critics and editors regard *atque vidisset* either as a corruption of *atque vidit* (thus Riese [1893]; Schmeling [1988]) or as a gloss which has intruded in the text (Thielmann [1881], p.52; Klebs, p.133 n.3: 'eines der thörichten erweiternden Glosseme von RA'). But there are few glosses in *RA*, certainly in cases where the two main manuscripts agree. The alternation of ind. and subjunct. could be explained as a *variatio modorum*, very frequent in Late Latin, cf. M. Bonnet, *Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours*, Paris 1890 (repr. 1968), p.676; P.B. Corbett, *Règle du Maître*, p.97, p.208; A.H. Salonius, *Vitae Patrum. Kritische Untersuchungen über Text, Syntax und Wortschatz der spätlateinischen Vitae Patrum*, Lund 1920, p.294, p.304; G. Thörnell, *Studia Tertulliana* II, Uppsala 1920, p.13; Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr (abbr. LHS), *Lateinische Grammatik*, München 1965, II Sachverzeichnis p.876, s.v. Variation des Modus. *RB*'s abridgement is radical but understandable.

exhorruit atque ait (RA) ~ *ait* (RB): The nurse's reaction in *RA* is a natural one. Did *RA*'s reading prompt 2, RB 2 *corruit et ait*?

fretus (RA) ~ (RB /): It is unclear why the finely placed *fretus* (< Gr. (?) πεποιθώς) had to go, cf. Ter. *Phorm.* 2,1,43 *Sed si quis forte malitia fretus sua / Insidias nostrae fecit adulescentiae*. Perhaps *RB* thought *fretus* too positive?

virginis reginae (RA/RB): The expression *virgo regina* for 'virgin princess' is also recorded in Latin (cf. OLD, s.v. *virgo* [1.b]: Stat. *Theb.* 7,246 [i.e. *Antigone*]), but may come directly from the Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. παρθένος (Hesiod., *Theog.* 514 γυνὴ παρθένος; Eurip., *Phil.* 1730 π. κόρα (Sphinx); ibid., Hel. 1342 θυγάτηρ παρθένος [Persephone]). For βασίλεια as princess, see also LSJ, s.v. βασίλεια: 'queen', 'princess'.

maculavit thorum? (RA) ~ *thorum ausus est violare nec tímuit régem* (*pl.*)*?* (RB): *Thorus* has the somewhat figurative meaning of 'bridal bed' here, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *torus*: Ambr., *Hel.* 8,22 *alicuius torum appetere*; id., *Hex.*

6,8,50 *alieni tori concupiscentia*. In particular *maculare* 'to stain' 'to pollute' forms a very harsh combination with it: Hor., *Sat.* 1,5,85 *immundo somnia visu* ('nightmares') *nocturnam vestem maculant*. This directness probably led *RB* to introduce a literary embellishment: (Sen.), *Oct.* 193 (where the *nutrix* is also speaking) *violare prima quae toros ausa est tuos*. *Octavia* is among a group of ten tragedies, written as closet dramas. The tenth, *Octavia*, is the only *fabula praetexta* surviving intact and deals with the repudiation of Empress Octavia by Nero. Its authenticity has often been doubted, probably without justification. *RB*'s highly apposite quotation shows that this *fabula* was also attentively read in 6th-c. Rome, cf. Introd. VII.2.1. (The various editions ignore this remarkable borrowing, cf. L.Y. Whitman, *The Octavia. Introduction, Text and Commentary*, Bern/Stuttgart 1978, p.65.) The further addition *nec timuit regem* is original to *RB*, as the content (legal) and rhythm reveal.

2, RA/RB 8 Puella ait: "Impietas fecit scelus." 'The girl said: "Disregard for morality caused this crime."'

impietas (RA/RB): LHS II, p.748[4]: 'konkrete Verwendung der Abstrakte'; Konstan: 'The abstract, rather than the personal *impius*, generalizes (and disguises) the action.' A Greek equivalent is obviously subjective, but ἀσέβεια seems a good guess, cf. *Less.*, s.v.

2, RA 8-9 Nutrix ait: "Cur ergo (**A**: hoc **P**) non indicas patri?" 'The nurse said: "Then why do you not reveal your father?"'

2, RB 8 Nutrix ait: "Quare hoc non indicas (**b**: indicasti **βMπ**) patri?"

Cur ergo (**A**: *hoc* **P**) ~ *Quare hoc* (RB): In my view it is hard to give a reason for this change: euphony? A wish to replace monosyllabic words with polysyllabic ones? The reading *ergo* **A** is probably to be preferred, since it may go back to Gr. οὖν, cf. LSJ, (III): 'in questions "then, therefore"': Aesch., *Prom.* 771 τίς οὖν ὁ λύσων σ' ἐστίν· 'Who then will deliver you?'; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. οὖν (c. α): Matt. 21:25 διὰ τί οὖν οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε αὐτῷ·; Vulg. *Quare ergo non credidistis illi?* The change to *hoc* **P**, RB is an attempt at improvement. Elsewhere *RB* retains *ergo* in a strictly conclusive sense, cf. 4, RA 8/RB 10 *audi ergo solutionem*; 6, RA/RB 4 *ascende ergo navem*.

indicas (**RA**, **b**) ~ *indicasti* (**βMπ**): The change is telling: "Why haven't you already told your father this?", cf. Vulg., Gen. 12:18 *quare non indicasti* (LXX ἀπήγγειλας), *quod uxor tua esset?*

2, RA 9-10 Puella ait: "Et ubi est pater?" Et ait: "Cara nutrix, si intellegis quod factum est: periit in me nomen patris. 'The girl said: "And where is my father?" "Dear nurse," she went on "if you understand what has happened: for me the name of father has ceased to exist.'

2, RB 8-9 Puella ait: "Et ubi est pater? Si intelligis, nomen patris periit in me.

Et ubi (RA/RB): *Et* has the function of καὶ *indignantis*: it expresses a certain impatience, Gr. (?) καὶ ποῦ· See also ook 9, RA 5 *Et quis te proscripsit?* (Gr. [?] καὶ τίς·). For an extensive discussion of this phenomenon, see, S. Trenkner, *Le style καὶ dans le récit attique oral*, Assen 1960, *passim*.

Et ait: "Cara nutrix (RA) ~ (RB /): *RA* regularly uses *et* to connect sentences, cf. 4, RA 4 "<…>" *et* "<…>" (RB /); 39, RA 30 "<…>" *et* " (RB /); 45, RA 2 *coepit dicere* <…> 6 *Et dixit* (RB /). This is a feature of the λέξις εἰρομένη, cf. Ind. gr., s.v.: Trenkner, p.32: 'Le καὶ copulatif'. In pursuing a higher level of style, *RB* eliminates it everywhere, the more so because *Cara nutrix* (RA) repeats 2, RA/RB 3. The form *kara* A (in contrast to 2, RA 3 *cara*) occurs particularly often in Italian mss., also in contractions like *km̃i* = *carissimi,* cf. ThLL III 502,37-45.

si intelligis, quod factum est: (RA) ~ *Si intelligis,* (RB): This place calls for a brief text-critical comment. The usual interpretation is: "if you understand (= can understand) what has happened", cf. Peters, p.87: 'wenn du verstehen kannst'; Sandy, p.739: 'if only you understood what has happened.' But in theory there is another possibility, suggested by Thielmann (1881), p.50 (and by Heraeus, in his desk copy): *si* can be taken interrogatively, with the same function as *num*. Though certainly this possibility cannot be ruled out for Late Latin and biblical Latin (cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *si* [3]; Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 348), and could even be traced back to Gr. εἰ (cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. εἰ [V, Fragepartikel, 1]), I have preferred the most simple explanation, as in the parallel place 39, RA 29.

quod factum est (RA) ~ (RB /): These words may stem directly from **R(Gr)**, cf. Charit. 2,3,10 συνῆκε Λεωνᾶς τὸ γεγονὸς (cod. Laurent. Conv. Soppr. 627) 'Leonas realized what had happened'; Achill. Tat. 8,12,8 ἡ

Ἄρτεμις ὁρᾷ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην γελῶσαν καὶ τὸ πραχθὲν συνίησι 'Artemis saw Aphrodite laughing and understood what had happened'; Long. 1,26 ἡ δὲ (sc. Χλόη) οὐκ εἰδυῖα τὸ πραχθέν, μέγα βοήσασα τῶν ὕπνων ἐξέθορεν 'Chloe didn't know what had happened; giving a loud shriek, she woke up with a start.' *RB*'s 'correction', as a redundant addition in *RA*, is perfectly logical.

periit in me nomen patris (RA) ~ *nomen patris periit in me* (RB): The reason for transposition is unclear: euphonia? There is no immediate parallel in the Greek Novel, cf. Less., s.v. ἀπόλλυμι/ἀπολλύω. Garbugino, p.120 compares Apul. *Met.* 10, 25 *uxor quae nomen uxoris perdiderat*. But the diction is too common to justify further conclusions.

2, RA 10-12 Itaque ne hoc scelus genitoris mei patefaciam, mortis remédium mihi plácet (*pl.*). Horret, <ne> haec macula géntibus innotéscat (*v.*)." 'So rather than reveal my parent's crime, I prefer the solution of death. It fills me with horror that this disgrace may become known to the people."'

2, RB 9-11 Itaque ne hoc gentibus pateat mei genitoris scelus et patris macula cívibus innotéscat (*v.*), mortis mihi remédium plácet (*pl.*)."

RB has cleverly telescoped *RA*'s two sentences into one, putting the main point at the end and using all *RA*'s words, except the cluster *Horret* (*Horreat* **AP**), *<ne> haec (macula)*.

patefaciam (RA) ~ *pateat* (RB): *RA*'s direct threat is modified to the more general *pateat* (RB), corresponding in rhyme too with *innotescat* in a similar protasis. The arrangement *hoc* <…> *pateat* <…> *scelus* (RB) forms a hyperbaton, the two adjuncts are placed chiastically.

mortis remedium (RA/RB): Epexegetic gen.: 'the remedy consisting in death'. As far as I can see, there are no parallels in the lexicons, and in fact the normal translation of the Latin would be a 'remedy against death', cf. OLD, s.v. *remedium*: Liv. 10,47,6 *remedium eius mali*, cf. id. 26,3,3; Tac., *Hist.* 4,81 *remedium caecitatis*; Phaedr. 2,3,3 *remedium vulneris*; Plin., *Nat.* 18,295. The meaning of the phrase is perfectly clear: Antiochus' daughter is threatening suicide. Together with pangs of love, suicide and its threat form the τόπος *par excellence* in the classical novel, both Latin and Greek, cf. A. Calderini, *Prolegomeni alle Avventure di Cherea e Callirhoe*, Torino 1913, p.105. The *HA* forms no exception, cf. 22,

RA/RB 7 *a praesenti perdes filiam*. The immediate precursors and examples of the *HA* abound with suicide attempts (Charit. 1,6,1; 3,3,1; 4,4,10; 5,10,6; 7,6,10; Xen. Eph. 2,5,7; 2,7,1; 3,8,1; 4,5,6; 4,14,2;, 5,8,9; also Heliod. 4,7,11; 8,7,3). In practice the manner of suicide was often hanging by means of the *cingulum*, ζώνη, cf. Chione fragm. (ed. Zimmermann, p.66) l.l. 23-24; Heliod. 1,8,3 ἐγὼ μὲν ἀγχόνῃ προλήψομαι τὴν ὕβριν 'I shall forestall the outrage by hanging myself'; id. 8,15,2 τέθνηκεν Ἀρσάκη βρόχον ἀγχόνης ἀψαμένη (cf. Eurip., *Hipp.* 802 βρόχον κρεμαστὸν ἀγχόνης ἀνήψατο) 'she hanged herself in a choking noose', cf. Lucian., *Dialogi Meretricii* 12,2 (ed. Mras, p.44,9). Besides all the other parallels in Xen. Eph. (cf. app. crit. ad loc.), this scene can also be compared with Xen. Eph. 2,5,7, to which Riese (1893, Praef. XVI, n.4) draws attention: εἰ δίδως ἔκδοτον θυγατέρα τὴν σὴν τοῖς οἰκεταῖς, ἐμαυτὴν φθάσασα ἀποκτενῶ 'If you let your daughter fall into the hands of your slaves, I will kill myself beforehand.' It is more difficult to determine the origin of the phrase *remedium mortis*. Merely hypothesizing, we can point to an identical use of φάρμακον 'remedy' in the Greek Novel: Achill. Tat. 3,17,3 μή μοι φθονήσητε θανάτου καλοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ φαρμάκου τῶν κακῶν 'do not deny me this noble death, this medicine, rather, to heal my misery.' This hypothesis is supported by the fact that precisely φάρμακον has such a construction, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. φάρμακον (3): 'das Mittel um etwas zu erzielen, mit Gen. des Erwünschten': Eurip., *Phoeniss.* 893 φαρμάκον σωτηρίας 'the remedy to rescue'. It is not impossible that **R(Gr)** read: τὸ φάρμακον τοῦ θανάτου ἀρέσκει. Klebs, p.285 (followed by Garbugino, pp.117-8 with n.135) refers to Ov., *Met.* 10,298-502, the story of Myrrha's criminal love for her father Cinyras; particularly ll. 377-378 *nec modus aut requies, nisi mors, reperitur amoris*; *mors placet* are said to resonate in the *HA*. This reference is less correct, since the *HA* has the reverse situation, cf. Garin, p.200 n.1. Moreover, the characteristic *remedium* is lacking in Ovid. But perhaps we cannot rule out *RA*'s familiarity with the passage, given the use of *placet* in both. However, this verbal agreement can be questioned too, cf. R. Degl' Innocenti Pierini 'Mors placet (Sen., *Oed.* 1031), Giocasta. Fedra, e la scelta del Suicidio', *Prometheus* 29 (2003), (2), pp.171-86. The idea itself is obviously universal, cf. Aeschyl., fr. 255 ὦ θάνατε παιάν, μόνος γὰρ εἶ σὺ τῶν ἀνηκέστων κακῶν ἰατρός 'you death, our saviour, you are the only physician for our incurable troubles.'

horreat AP ~ (RB /): *horret, ne* should probably be emended; *horreat* was probably formed by analogy with *innotescat* (editors, since Riese [1893], argue for *horreo*). For this kind of impersonal *horret*, cf. Cypr., *Epist.* 73,5 *quia nec delectat id dicere, quod aut horret aut pudet nosse* 'because it is not amusing to say, what is either horror or shame to know.' Compare Heraeus, *GGA* (1915), p.477; ThLL VI.3 2979,23-31.

haec macula (RA) ~ *patris macula* (RB): This neatly avoids the perhaps too demonstrative *haec*, cf. *RB*'s 'emendation' of 1, RA 16 *guttae sanguinis* ~ RB 16 *certa*.

gentibus (RA) ~ *gentibus* <…> *civibus* (RB): *gentes* could perhaps support the thesis of translation in Romance regions (la gente, les gens), cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *gens* (4). Elsewhere *RA* uses *populi*, cf. 46, RA 8/RB / (comm.); 50, RA 18/RB /. For the sake of parallelism *RB* has introduced *cives*, the usual word. Perhaps *RB* wanted to avoid this popular form because ecclesiastical writers used it in the sense of 'pagans', cf. ThLL VI.2 1862,9-11. Obviously it is hard to determine what word **R(Gr)** used: (?) λαοί, ἐθνῆ, δῆμοι (Klebs, p.247 requires correction.).

2, RA 12-15

Nutrix ut vidit puellam mortis remedium quaerere, vix eam blando sermon<is> conloquio revocat, ut a propositae mortis immanitate excedere<t>, et invita<m> patris sui voluntati satisfacere cohortatur. 'When the nurse saw that the girl sought a solution in death, she managed with difficulty to persuade her through cajoling words and arguments to give up the horrible idea of killing herself; and she encouraged the reluctant girl to satisfy her father's desire.'

2, RB 11-13

Nutrix ut audivit eam mortis remedium quaerere, blando sermonis conloquio revocavit invitam patrisque sui ut voluntati satisfaceret hortatur.

vidit (RA) ~ *audivit* (RB): Both *video* and ὁράω can also be used for perception that is not purely sensory (so-called synaesthesia), cf. OLD, s.v. *video* (9.b): 'to notice' (not excluding other forms of sensory perception): Cic., *Orat.* 168 *contiones saepe exclamare vidi cum apte verba cecidissent*; Verg., *Aen.* 4,490; Prop. 2,16,49; LSJ, s.v. ὁράω (III): 'of mental sight, to discern, perceive': Soph., *Oed. Col.* 138 φωνῇ γὰρ ὁρῶ, τὸ φατιζόμενον 'I see by sound, as the saying is.' For *RB*'s change, which therefore probably goes against the Greek, cf. 5, RA 11 *vidit* <…> *iuvenem* <…> *solutionem invenisse*; RB 1 *audivit* <…> *solutionem iuvenem exsolvisse*.

vix <…> **revocat** (RA) ~ *revocavit* (RB): Both *vix* and μόγις/μόλις are often used to indicate something that succeeds after all, cf. OLD, s.v. (1): 'with difficulty, not easily': Tit., *orat.* 2 *vix prae vino sustinet palpebras*; Cic., *Pis.* 27; Verg., *Aen.* 6,340; Suet., *Nero* 46,2; LSJ, s.v. μόγις 'hardly': Luke 9:39

πνεῦμα <…> μόλις (μόγις v.l.) ἀποχωρεῖ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ (Vulg. *vix discedit*). For a critical reader like *RB*, *vix* is redundant.

blando sermonis (RB: *-e* **AP**) **conloquio** (RA/RB): This expression first occurs in Cypr., *Epist.* 75,25 *sermonem* <…> *coloquii communis*, cf. ThLL III 1652,29-32; Blaise, *Man.* § 80 (*gen. identicus*); see *HA* 16, RB 1 *Finitoque sermonis conloquio* ~ RA 1 *finito sermone*. Perhaps a form like *alloquio* would have been better, cf. Apul., *Met.* 4,24 *eam blando* <…> *solaretur alloquio*, but compare for this kind of careless language ThLL III 1653,75-82 with examples mainly from everyday speech.

ut a propositae mortis immanitate excederet, et (RA) ~ (RB /): *RA* expresses itself in standard terms, cf. OLD, s.v. *immanitas* (2): 'enormity, barbarity (of an action)': Cic., *Cat.* 1,14 *tanti facinoris immanitas*; Sal., *Hist.* 1,55,6; Quint., *Instit.* 9,2,53. *RB*'s elimination is clever, also in that he connects *invitam (cohortatur)* (RA) with *revocavit* (RB).

invita<m> patris sui voluntati satisfácere cohortátur (*v.*) (RA) ~ *patrisque sui voluntati* (**βMπ**: *-ptati* **b**) *satisfaceret hortatur* (RB): For *sui* (RA/RB) instead of *eius*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. suus. Alternation between *voluntas* and *voluptas* is very frequent in manuscripts, cf. Hoppenbrouwers (1960), p.219; Adams (1976), p.25. I have preferred *voluntas* **β(M)π** (= RA), though *voluptas* **b** 'lust' makes excellent sense. Both constructions (inf. and final *ut*) are possible for *(co)hortari*, cf. OLD, s.v. *cohortor* (1): Rhet. Her. 3,4 *cum alterum sequi, vitare alterum hortemur*; Cic. *Sest.* 135 *hortari ausus est* <…> *vos* <…> *ut aliquando essetis severi*. The omission of *ut* is poetic, artificial, cf. Verg., *Aen.* 3,129 *hortantur socii Cretam* <…> *petamus*; cf. 2, RB 1 *Cumque puella quid faceret cogitaret*.

Many parallels can be adduced for the effectively criminal conduct of the *nutrix*, from both Greek and Latin literature. Compare first of all Xen. Eph. 2,4,5 συγκατάθου δὲ τῇ τῆς δεσποίνης ἐπιθυμίᾳ 'but submit to your mistress's desire'; Achill. Tat. 2,19,2 ἐπεπείκειν τὴν κόρην ὑποδέξασθαί με τῷ θαλάμῳ νυκτός, τῆς Κλειοῦς συνεργούσης, ἥτις ἦν αὐτῇ θαλαμηπόλος 'I (sc. Clitophoon) persuaded her (sc. Leukippe) to admit me to her bedroom at night with the cooperation of Kleio, her chambermaid.'

CHAPTER 3

3, RA 1-2	Qui cum simulata mente ostendebat se civibus suis pium genitorem, intra domesticos vero parietes maritum se filiae gloriabatur. 'And while he presented himself deceitfully to his citizens as a devoted parent, inside the walls of his palace he boasted that he was his daughter's husband.'
3, RB 1-3	Inter haec rex impiissimus simulata mente ostendebat se civibus suis pium genitorem. Intra domesticos et privatos maritum se fíliae laetabátur (*v.*).

RA and *RB* offer the traditional image of the tyrant, cf. Sen., *De ira* 10,4 *hic inter domum saevus est, foris mitis*. *RB*'s changes are highly apt.

Qui (RA) ~ *rex impiissimus* (RB): Hypercritical *RB* might object to *qui* that it does not refer back to the subject of the previous sentence, but to a person mentioned in a subordinate clause, i.e. 2, RA 14 *patris*. The addition *impiissimus* was presumably intended to create an antithesis to *pium genitorem* (RA/RB). This form is condemned by Cicero (*Phil.* 13,43), but completely accepted from Tertullian onwards, cf. ThLL VII,1 620,49-55.

cum <…> **ostendebat** (RA) ~ *Inter haec ostendebat* (RB): The sentence needs to be viewed as a whole to determine the function of *cum* (RA), i.e. a conjunction; in itself it could also be a proposition. *RB* prevents any misunderstanding by splitting up the sentence. The addition *Inter haec* (RB) encloses the long period of passion, cf. 1, RA 7-11/RB 8-9.

simulata mente (RA/RB): This form stands typically at the crossroads of literal meaning (written in two separate words) and the adverb of the Romance languages (one word), cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 201. The *HA* uses this form elsewhere too (9, RA/RB *turbata mente*: 38, RA 13/RB 11 *stupenti* [*-te* RB] *mente*).

ostendebat se pium genitorem (RA/RB): For *se ostendere*, cf. LSJ, s.v. *ostendo* (7): 'to show oneself to be': Ter., *Haut.* 438; Nep., *Alc.* 6,4; Suet., *Cal.* 44,1.

intra domesticos vero parietes (RA) ~ *Intra domesticos et privatos* (RB): *RA*'s phrase is very well-known, cf. OLD, s.v. *paries* (4): *intra parietes* 'in private' 'under one's own roof': Val. Max. 4,4,9 *haec in foro, haec intra privatos parietes plurimum poterant*; Quint., *Instit.* 1,2,1; Cic., *Cat.* 2,1; cf. *Rhet. Her.* 4,31; this also goes for Christian circles in *RA*'s time, cf. Arnob. iun., *Libell. ad Greg*. (ed. Morin, Textes, I, p.386,3) *ad iniuriarium opprobrium intra parietes domesticos devenire*. The opposite attitude is found in Parth., *Ἐρωτ. παθήμ.* (ed. Lightfoot) 13 ἀναφανδὸν αὐτῇ ἐμίσγετο 'he (= the father) lived openly with her (= his daughter) as his wife.' *RB*'s alteration may have to do with the fact that *parietes* (Peters, p.88 'innerhalb der vier Wänden') sounds too domestic for a palace. For the typical slight change, cf. Introd. I.

gloriabatur (RA) ~ *laetabatur* (RB): *Gloriari* 'to boast' is often used pejoratively, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *gloria* (1), *glorior* (1). The change to *laetabatur* mainly serves rhythmic purposes, but also expresses the 'silent joy'.

3, RA 2-4 Et ut semper impio thoro frueretur, ad expellendos nuptiarum petitores quaestiones proponebat dicens: 'And in order to enjoy this immoral relationship for ever, he posed riddles to drive off the suitors, saying:'

3, RB 3-5 Et ut semper impiis thoris filia fruerétur (*v.*), ad expellendos petitores novum nequitiae génus excogitávit (*v.*). Quaestiones proponébat dicéndo (*pl.*): 'And with the intention of enjoying his daughter in a series of immoral contacts, he found out an unheard sort of wickedness to get rid of the suitors. He posed riddles saying:'

ut <…> **impio thoro frueretur** (*ferveretur* **AP**) (RA) ~ *ut* <…> *impiis thoris filia* (**bβ**: *filiae* **π**) *fruerétur* (*v.*) (RB): *frui* is often said of love, both in prose (Cic.; Liv. 21,3,4; Apul., *Met.* 6,23) and in poetry (Tib. 1,5,17), esp. Sen., *Phaedr.* 1187 *vindicato sancto fruereris toro*. It is harder to ascertain what Greek phrase may underlie it. The Greek Novel likes to use ἀπολαύειν, 'to have sexual pleasure', or ἀπόλαυσις (cf. *Less.*, s.v. ἀπολαύω), following the tragedians, e.g. Eurip., *Iph. Taur.* 526 ἀπολαύειν τι τῶν γάμων. Another candidate is τέρπομαι 'to have full enjoyment', cf. AP 7,572 οὐχ ὁσίοις λεχέεσσιν ἐτέρπετο λάθριος ἀνήρ 'surreptitiously the man enjoyed unholy affairs.' This quotation is relevant to the *HA* for other reasons as well. First, it shows that *impius*, too, need not be a label applied by the Christian translator (cf. Introd. II.2), but may go back directly to **R(Gr)**,

perhaps even to **HA(Gr)**. The Greek novelists like to use adjectives such as ἀθέμιτος, ἄθεσμος 'unjust', but above all ἀνόσιος 'unholy', the latter following ancient usage in the tragedians. In Aristoph., *Ran.* 850, Aeschylus reproaches Euripides with γάμους δ' ἀνόσιους εἰσφέρων εἰς τὴν τέχνην 'introducing unholy marriages into Tragedy'. This suggests incest, as here, cf. A.L.H. van der Valk, 'Zum Worte ὅσιος', *Mnem.*, s.III, vol.10 (1942), p.113. Second, AP, 572 also evidences a fondness for the plur., cf. LSJ, s.v. λέχος: 'marriage(-bed), frequently in plur.'. One might be inclined to derive the plur. in *RB* to a Greek *Vorlage*. In my view, this hypothesis is unnecessary, since *RB* prefers the poetic plural (here with a durative aspect) in other places too. In this he differs from *RA*, even when *RA* demonstrably relies on the Greek *Vorlage*, cf. 51, RA 19 *iter* ~ RB 15 *itinera* (comm.). Scholars agree that *ferveretur* **AP** (probably meaning *ferveret* 'to be aflame') is merely an early corruption of *f(e)rueretur*.

ad expellendos (**A**: *expellendum* **P**) **nuptiarum petitores** (RA) ~ *ad expellendos petitores, novum* (**b**: *petitionis nodos* **βπ**) *nequitiae génus excogitávit* (*v.*) (RB): The gerundive prevails in the tradition (**A**, **RB**): the gerund would also have been possible in **P**, cf. 31, RA 9 *ad suam recipiendum filiam* **P** (comm.).

nuptiarum petitor (RA) ~ *petitor* (RB): Late Latin can use *petitor* without further modification as *procus*, cf. ThLL X 1,2 1943,72-1944,17; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. (Ambros., *Luc.* 8,70; *Instit. virg.* 108). *RA* has the complete form: Apul., *Met.* 4,32 *nuptiarum petitor accedit* (cf. 3, RB 12), regarded by Garbugino, p.121 – wrongly I believe – as a direct source for the formulation of *RA*, cf. ThLL I.I. 1944,7-8.17. The rest of *RB*'s text is probably an addition of his own, based on his wide reading, cf. Val. Max. 9,1,3 *novum voluptatis genus*; Apul., *Met.* 208,6 *novum questus genus*, but also occurring frequently in hagiography: Mombrit. I, 556,27 *novum genus tabernaculi*; 560,20 *novi genus miraculi*.

Quaestiones proponebat dicens (RA) ~ *quaestiones proponébat dicéndo* (*pl.*) (RB): **proponebat** (RA/RB): Here in the sense of presenting with, cf. ThLL X 2,2 2067,60 (differently in 7, RA 17/RB 16, see comm.). The Greek formulation is almost parallel, cf. *Vita Secundi Philosophi* (B.E. Perry, *Secundus, the Silent Philosopher*, American Philological Association. Ithaca-New York 1964), p.74,22 εἴκοσί σοι προβλήματα προτίθημι, ὧν πρῶτον, τί ἐστι κόσμος· 'I propound twenty riddles to you, the first of which is: what is the earth?' The setting of riddles plays an important role in courtship literature, cf. F. Geissler, *Brautwerbung in der Weltliteratur*, Halle (Saale), Niemeyer 1955, *passim*.

dicens (RA) ~ *dicendo* (RB): *RA* uses *dicens* (cf. Ind. verb., s.v. dico) in a fossilized form, cf. Löfstedt, *Synt.* I, 84 ff. This corresponds to (?) λέγων, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. λέγω (8): 'Besonders λέγων wird, wie bei dem LXX, so gebraucht, z.B. nach (some 35 verbs follow, including) ἀνακράζειν (cf. 49, RA 2 *clamans dicens*; RB 3 *clamavit dicens*; 50, RA 7 *clamaverunt dicentes* ~ RB /). *RB*'s reading *ablat. gerundium* practically agrees with *RA*'s pres. part., but anticipates the construction in the Romance languages (differently in 7, RA 17/RB 16). It is incidentally found in classical authors, but is standard mainly from the 3rd c. onwards, cf. Kühner-Stegeman, *Lateinische Grammatik* I,752; Blaise, *Manuel*, § 343. *RB* has introduced a small variatio, probably for the sake of the cursus. For 48, RA 2 *proficiscens* *RB* also prefers the gerund: RB 2 *transeundo*, cf. P. Aalto, *Untersuchungen über das lateinische Gerundium und Gerundivum*, Helsinki 1949, p.70. (For the change *proficisci* ~ *transire*, see comm. ad loc.)

3, RA 3-6 "Quicumque vestrum quaestionis meae propositae solutionem invenerit, accipiet filiam meam in matrimonium: qui autem non invenerit, decollabitur." '"Whichever of you discovers the solution to the riddle I have set, he shall have my daughter in marriage. But whoever does not find it, he will be beheaded."'

3, RB 5-6 "Si quis vestrum quaestionis meae solutionem invenerit, accipiat filiam meam in matrimonio; qui vero non invenerit, decollabitur."

Quicumque vestrum (RA) ~ *Si quis vestrum* (RB): *RB*'s change may be due to a stricter use of language: 'Suppose there is someone so clever that he <...>'. On the other hand *RA* may also have been influenced by Greek, where ὅστις (= quicumque 'whoever') sometimes has the value of εἴ τις (= si quis 'if anyone'), cf. D. Tabachovitz, *Sprachliche und textkritische Studien zur Chronik des Theophanes Confessor*, Diss. Uppsala 1926, p.23; id., *Eranos* 30 (1932) pp.122-124. This kind of change can be found elsewhere too. For the Greek Novel, cf. Charit. 1,13,9 Λαβὲ τῶν σῶν εἴ τι δ' ἂν θέλῃς (cod. F = Molinié) 'Take from your things all you want', where W.E. Blake, Oxford 1938, conjectures ἅτιν' ἂν θέλῃς 'Take any of your things you want.' NT usage also provides good examples, e.g. Luke 14:26 Εἴ τις ἔρχεται πρός με καὶ οὐ μισεῖ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, 'If someone comes to me and he does not hate his father', alongside ibid., 27 Ὅστις οὐ βαστάζει τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ 'Whoever does not bear his own cross'; Mark 8:34 εἴ τις (v.l. ὅστις) θέλει ὀπίσω μου ἐλθεῖν. For a similar change from *RA* to *RB*, cf. 17, RA 4 *si quid*/RB 3 *quicquid* (comm.).

quaestionis <…> **solutionem invenerit** (RA/RB): Analogous to Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. λύσις (II,4): Polyb. 30,19,5 εὑρεῖν λύσιν τοῦ προβλήματος 'to find a solution to the problem', possibly also the medium εὑρέσθαι.

accipiet (RA) ~ *accipiat* (RB): The subjunctive is falling into disuse and probably emphasizes the solemn royal pronouncement, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, §§ 306-7.

decollabitur (RA/RB): The Greek novelists have a variety of verbs at their disposal: ἀποδειροτομέω 'to slaughter by cutting off the head'; ἀποκόπτω (Achill. Tat. 1,3,4 *et saepius* τὴν κεφαλήν); ἀποτέμνω; ἐκτέμνω, cf. *Less.*, ss.vv.

3, RA 6-8 Si quis forte prudentia litterarum quaestioni<s> solutionem invenisset, quasi nihil dixisset, decollabatur et caput eius super portae fastigium súspendebátur (*pl.*). 'And if ever anyone happened to find by chance the solution to the riddle through wisdom of learning, he was beheaded, as if he had said sheer nonsense, and his head was hung above the gate.'

3, RB 8-10 Si quis prudentia litterarum quaestionis solutionem invenisset, quasi nihil dixisset, decollabatur et caput eius in portae fastígium ponebátur (*v.*).

forte (RA) ~ (RB /): The reading *forte* 'by chance' is doubtless original and probably corresponds to (?) an adverb/adverbial phrase τύχῃ, ἐκ τύχης, κατὰ τύχην as often found in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. τύχη (β). *RB*'s omission is dictated by the argument that it was not by chance but through erudition that the riddle could be solved.

prudentia litterarum (RA/RB): This concept plays an extremely important role in the *HA*, both generally speaking, as here, and in connection with the main characters, both female (Archistratis 23, RA 6/RB 4; Tharsia 41, RA 35/RB 33; 42, RA 23/RB 16; 42, RA 27/RB 20) and male (Apollonius 44, RA/RB 3; 48, RA 25/RB 19; 49, RA 6/RB 8). It has even been argued that the *HA* originated in a schoolteacher environment, cf. O. Rossbach, review of Riese (1893) *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 13, 1893, (cols. 1231-6) cols. 1235-6. This is somewhat exaggerated, given that the Greek Novel also puts great emphasis on knowledge and erudition, cf. Xen. Eph. 1,1,2 Παιδείαν πᾶσαν καὶ μουσικὴν ποικίλην ἤσκει 'For

he (sc. Habrocomes) acquired culture of all kinds and practised a variety of arts.' It is impossible to establish a Greek equivalent of the concept *prudentia litterarum*: Riese (1872) himself suggested (praef.): '*fortasse* λόγων ἐπιστήμη'. Other possible terms are: πολυμαθία 'learning', παιδεία 'culture', σοφία 'wisdom', σύνεσις 'conscience', σωφροσύνη (in the sense of 'wisdom'). The dative *prudentiae* **A** cannot stand, though it does occur as dative of cause in Greek.

quasi nihil dixisset (RA/RB): Though possible in Latin (cf. ThLL V.1 974,65-8), this is probably a direct translation of οὐδὲν λέγεις 'to speak nonsense', a common phrase, e.g. Arist., *Thesm.* 625; *Aves* 986; Xen., *Cyr.* 8,3,20; Theoph., *Char.* 7,2. The opposite is λέγειν τι 'to say something valid, of real value'.

et caput eius ‹...› **portae fastigium suspendebatur** (RA) ~ *et caput eius* ‹...› *ponebatur* (RB): The reference is probably to the story – immensely popular in Antiquity – of Oenomaos (Οἰνόμαος), king of Elis en Pisa, who, like Antiochus, fell in love with his only daughter (Ἱπποδάμεια). To discourage suitors, he and his master of horse Myrtulos devise chariot races: if the suitors lose – their chariot has been tampered with – they will be killed. A gruesome detail found in Apollod., *Epit.* 2,5 (Greek text quoted in *app. fontium*) mentions that 'he had the heads of the suitors cut off and fastened to his house' or, as a Latin source says (Hygin., *Fab.* 84, also quoted there), 'human skulls attached above the gate' (probably of his palace). Oenomaos acts so ruthlessly because an oracle had predicted that his future son-in-law will kill and succeed him (Hygin., l.l.). Nevertheless, the suitors persist: 12 to 13 princes try their luck, with the inevitable outcome, till Pelops arrives from Ionia. He strikes a bargain with Myrtulos, and thus eventually becomes king. This story was disseminated in countless sources, often in an extremely cryptic form with varying details, both in Latin and in Greek. We can mention Ennius in Cic., *Tu*sc. 3,12,26; Cic., *Fam.* 9,16,4; Statius, *Theb.* 1,274 as well as the brief passage in Ov., *In Ibin* (ed. J. André, Collection Budé, Paris 1963), 365-370, with p.41 n.10. For Greek we can mention Pindar., *Olymp. Odes*, 1,79; Apollod., *Epit.* 2,4-5; Pausan. 6,21,6-7; 6,22,2; 8,20,2). (For some other places, cf. Garbugino, p.125 with n.7. As a theme in Greek drama, see the end of this note.) This chariot race with tragic consequences is depicted on many Roman sarcophagus reliefs, sometimes with great artistic licence, cf. Carcopino, *Symbolisme funeraire*, pp.467-8. So it is no surprise that the *HA* contains a contaminated version of the Oenomaos-Pelops story: where the original myth has chariot races, the *HA* has a family riddle. In both situations the heads of the unfortunate suitors are *ad valvas*. For further points of contact with the Oenomaos story, cf. Introd. VI.1. Students of the *HA* have of

course been aware of this parallel (cf. Rohde, o.c., p.448 n.1) but to my knowledge G. Chiarini, 'Esogamia e incesto nella 'Historia Apollonii regis Tyri' (in: *Materiali e discussione per l'analisi dei testi classici* 10-11, 1983, pp.267-92 [esp. pp.267-9]) was the first to explore this parallel in any depth, but without any practical elaboration for Apollonius as the lawful successor in Antioch (cf. 24, RA 14-18/RB 11-12) and the narrative pattern of the *HA*. Naturally this parallel is crucial to determining the contents and level of **HA(Gr)**. The Greek author was venturing into a field where great playwrights like Sophocles (frs.771-7 Radt) and Euripides (frs.571-7 Nauck) had laboured. The total lack of any further motivation is due to **R(Gr)**: **HA(Gr)** must have dealt at length with this condition. (The 'discussion' of this reference to Oenomaos in Klebs, p.300, is disgraceful; the reference is absent in Schmeling [1988], p.20,2; my statement in ed. m. [2004] p.55 first line, was overhasty and requires correction.)

super portae fastigium súspendebátur (*pl.*) (RA) ~ *in portae fastígium ponebátur* (*v.*) (RB): The *RA* reading may be quite correct, cf. Hygin., l.l., *super valvas fixa* 'attached above the door'; Ov., *Fasti* 1,557 *ora super postes adfixaque bracchia pendent*. Greek has a similar use of ὑπέρ 'above', cf. Herod. 5,14 καί μιν (sc. τὴν κεφαλήν) ἀνεκρέμασαν ὑπὲρ τῶν πυλέων 'and they attached the head above the gate' (of their city). The *RB* reading is probably more precise from an archeological viewpoint, as *fastigium* may represent the gable/pediment, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀετός (IV). On it could be placed the so-called ἀκρωτήρια, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀκρωτήριον II.3: '*end* or *extremity*' <…> 'in temples, etc., statues or ornaments placed on the angles of a pediment'. Antiochus hung the heads above the entrance (double doors) of his palace/house, cf. Apollod., l.l. τῇ οἰκίᾳ προσεπαττάλευε 'he fastened them to his house/palace.' Perhaps *RA*/*RB* assumed that the heads were hung above the city gate of Antioch. In medieval depictions, mostly drawings and woodcuts, the heads are often represented dangling from the battlements of the city walls.

3, RA 9-10 <A>tqui (et quia **AP**; quia RB 7) plurimi undique reges, undique patriae principes, propter incredibilem puellae speciem contempta morte properabant.
'Nevertheless (and because **AP**) many kings from far and wide, many princes of their country from all directions hastened to come, scorning death because of the girl's incredible beauty.'

3, RB 7-13 quia plurimi undique reges, undique principes patriae, propter incredibilem speciem puellae contempta morte properabant, (10-13) ut advenientes imaginem mórtis vidéntes (*pl.* + internal rhyme) cónturbaréntur (*pl.*), ne ad talem conditiónem accéderent (*t.*).

et quia AP ~ *quia* (RB): This sentence is crucial to the scheme of *HA*'s textual genesis which I support, cf. Introd., I *Stemmata*. In *RA* this statement comes after the 'beheading' of the suitors, and according to the manuscripts it is introduced by *et quia* **AP** 'and because'. This *et quia* should perhaps be retained as indicating a more or less unhappy epitomization of **R(Gr)** from Gr. (?) καὶ ὥς 'even so, nevertheless'. This expression occurs *passim* during the entire Greek era (Hom., *Il.* 1,116) through to the late papyri of the 4th c. AD, cf. LSJ, s.v. ὥς (2). In any case *RB* also read *et quia* in his model. To make the text more logical, he repositioned the statement about the interested kings and princes immediately after *decollabatur*, the idea being: 'the suitors were treated this way *because* there was so much public interest.' The result, however, despite this well-meaning attempt at emendation, is that *contempta morte* 'scorning death' is now pointless. For the sake of readability I have incorporated Riese's early emendation (1893) in the text of RA, though, as in many authors, *atqui(n)* does not occur elsewhere in the *HA*, cf. ThLL II 1084,36-9.

plurimi undique reges, undique patriae principes (RA: *principes patriae* RB) (RA/RB): This sentence echoes the words and breathes the atmosphere of the Greek Novel. Since Homer and the suitors of Penelope, kings and princes have been part of the standard entourage at royal and important marriages, also in the Greek Novel, cf. Charit. I,1,2 μνηστῆρες κατέρρεον εἰς Συρρακούσας, δύνασται τε καὶ παῖδες τυράννων, οὐκ ἐκ Σικελίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Ἠπείρου καὶ ἐθνῶν τῶν ἐν ἠπείρῳ 'suitors flocked to Syracuse, rulers and tyrants' sons, not only from Sicily, but also from Italy, Epire and from tribes on the continent', cf. id. 1,1,8. An interesting parallel is also found in Lucian., *Toxaris* 44, ἔτυχον

ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ πολλοὶ μνηστῆρες παρόντες, βασιλεῖς καὶ βασιλέων παῖδες 'it chanced that many suitors were at the banquet, kings and sons of kings', cf. also Herod. 6,127. The word βασιλεύς-*rex* does not so much have its specific meaning 'king' here, but a weaker sense, cf. LSJ, s.v. βασιλεύς (2): 'as a title of rank, *prince* Od. 1,394 βασιλῆες 'Αχαιῶν εἰσὶ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ ἐν <...> 'Ιθακῃ' 'there are also many other princes on Ithaca'; Lightfoot 'Ερωτ. παθήμ., p.557. In this interpretation *reges* (βασιλεῖς) was part of the original narrative material of **HA(Gr)**. For the place of *undique* in this situation, cf. Long., 3,25,1 μνηστήρων πλῆθος ἦν περὶ τὴν Χλόην καὶ πολλοὶ πολλαχοθέν ἐφοίτων παρὰ τὸν Δρύαντα πρὸς γάμον αἰτοῦτες αὐτήν 'There were a great number of suitors after Chloe; many from all directions came to Dryas asking to give her in marriage.' The Greek Novel is fond of forms like πανταχόθεν, πανταχοῦ, and πάντοθεν. For the anaphora *undique – undique,* cf. Index gr., s.v. anaphora (epanalepsis).

patriae principes (RA: *principes patriae* RB): See 4, RB 2 *patriae suae princeps* (comm.). (According to Klebs, p.250 n.4, the *RA*/*RB* reading is 'zweifellos inkorrekt'.)

propter incredibilem speciem (RA/RB): A standard description in the Greek Novel, cf. Achill. Tat. 6,3,4 χρῆμά τι κάλλους ἄπιστον 'quite an incredible thing of beauty'.

ut advenientes <...> **conturbarentur, ne** <...> **accéderent** (RB): As rhyme, rhythm and choice of words show, this additional sentence stems from *RB*'s corrective faculty. The image *imago mortis* actually comes from Verg., *Aen.* 2,639 *plurima mortis imago,* where it represents the burning of Troy. Here it is taken completely out of context, to represent the heads of the murdered suitors. The technical term for the activity of a *procus* 'suitor' is *accedere,* cf. Apul., *Met.* 4,32 *nuptiarum petitor accedit*. The verb is often used in legal situations too, cf. OLD, s.v. *accedo* (9). *RB*'s unoriginal argumentation makes it very unlikely that he consulted a Greek source in this place, cf. Introd. VII.2.b.

CHAPTER 4

4, RA 1-3	Et cum has crudelitates rex Antiochus exerceret, quidam adulescens locuples valde, genere Tyrius, nomine Apollonius, navigans attíngit Antiochíam (*v.*). ‘While King Antiochus was engaged in these cruel practices, a very rich young man, Tyrian by birth, named Apollonius, arrived by ship at Antioch.’
4, RB 1-4	Cum has crudelitates exerceret rex Antiochus, interposito brevi témporis spátio (*t.*) quidam adolescens Tyrius, pátriae suae prínceps (*v.*), locuples immenso, Apollónius nómine (*t.*), fidus habundántia litterárum (*v.*) navigans adtiíngit Antiochíam (*v.*).

crudelitates (RA/RB): In Late Latin *crudelitas* has the meaning ‘acts of cruelty’, Ital. le crudeltà. This plural anticipates the plural in the Romance languages (Fr. les richesses, souffrir mille morts; Span. las aguas del mar, las nieves; Ital. le acque, gli armori). It is frequently combined with the verb *exercere* (in Greg. of Tours e.g. *negotium exercere, ultionem exercere, venationem exercere*).

quidam adulescens (RA: *adol-* RB) (RA/RB): Most remarkably, at this cardinal point Apollonius is not presented as *king of Tyre*, but as a member of the moneyed ruling class. In all likelihood this account is quite right and the *HA* is following the original tradition of **HA(Gr)**. In Chariton and Xen. of Eph. the main characters are also leading, wealthy members of the city’s elite, cf. C. Ruiz-Montero, ‘La estructura de la Historia Apollonii regis Tyri’, *CFC* (1983-84), pp.292-334, esp. p.330; Billault (1991), pp.124 ff. (p.126 ‘aristocratie intellectuel’; p.151 ‘brillante origine sociale’); Bremmer (2001), pp.158-9. For this problem as a whole, see Introd. V.2.

locuples valde (RA) ~ *locuples immenso* (RB): Like *valde* here in Latin, σφόδρα in Greek prefers the postpositive position, cf. *Gen.* 13,2 *Erat autem dives valde*: LXX Αβραμ δὲ ἦν πλούσιος σφόδρα, cf. Protevangelium Iacobi 1. ἦν Ἰωακεὶμ πλούσιος σφόδρα, cf. LSJ., s.v. σφόδρα(2). The *RB* change to *immenso/-um* is probably because he thought *valde* (RA) too weak. Choosing from the various readings is very difficult for an editor. The

most common form is *immensum* **π**, cf. OLD, s.v. (with examples from Sall., Ov., Tacit., Apul.), naturally preferred by Schmeling (1988), ad loc. But the other forms, though not often recorded, cannot be ruled out in Late Latin; Riese (1893), following **β^II^**, opts for *immenso*, a form questioned by ThLL VII 453,81-3. For *in immenso* **βM** as a variant form alongside *in/ad immensum*, cf. OLD, s.v. *immensum* (1 b., 2): Sall., *Iug.* 92,5 *mons saxeus in immensum editus*; Ov., *Met.* 2,220.

genere <...> **nomine** (RA) ~ *nomine* (RB): The Greek Novel likes the antithesis γένος (=genus) and ὄνομα (=nomen), esp. Achill. Tat. (1,3,1; 3,25,1; 5,11,5; 5,17,5; 7,7,3; 8,4,3).

Tyrius (RA/RB): Tyre was an important commercial centre on the Phoenician coast of the eastern Mediterranean (modern Lebanon). The city of Tyrus (Τύρος) plays a significant role in the Greek Novel (references in Charit., Xen. Eph., Achill. Tat. and Heliod.). Authors like to expand on the foundation of Tyre, supposedly by Heracles (= the Phoenician god Melqart) (Heliod. 4,16,6), on the pirates (Long. 1,28,1), the wine (Achill. Tat. 2,2,2; Heliod. 5,27,9) and the special purple dye (Charit. 6,4,2; 8,1,14; 8,6,7); hence Tyre was also well-known for its stench. Though the story in the *HA* probably invited digressions (*digressiones*, ἐκφράσεις), these are lacking in the present compendium, probably due to the influence of **R(Gr)**.

nomine Apollonius (RA) ~ *Apollónius nómine* (*t.*) (RB): A theophorous, very common name in Greek too (Ἀπολλώνιος), and in the history of the Seleucids. The question whether there was a family relationship between Antiochus and Apollonius is highly complicated, cf. Introd. VI.1. *RB* seems to assume a brother-brother relationship, cf. 4, RA 8/RB 11 where Antiochus says *Quaero fratrem meum* and 48, RB 25 where Apollonius refers to Antiochus' kingdom as *patrium regnum*. On the other hand *RA* only talks about (48, RA 32) *regnum*. Various scholars go along with the assumed family tie. R. Merkelbach, *Roman und Mysterium in der Antike*, München-Berlin 1962, p.161, even assumes a father-son relationship. C.W. Müller, 'Der Romanheld als Rätsellöser in der Historia Apollonii regis Tyri', *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumwissenschaft*, N.F. Band 17 (1991), pp.267-79, reconstructs a brother-brother relationship (pp.269-70). It may be, however, that Apollonius in the *RA*/**HA(Gr)** version was completely unrelated to Antiochus. As an eminent suitor and after accepting the marriage settlement (4, RA 7/RB 9), he (like Pelops once, cf. 3, RA 8 comm.) having succeeded was automatically entitled to the throne (cf. 24, RA 18 *devotum regnum* [comm.]). His only transgression is that he ventures to solve Antiochus' riddles, cf. 7, RA 17 *Tyrium Apollonium, con-*

temptorem regni (RB /), cf. comm. The fact that the actual situation is difficult to piece together must be blamed on **R(Gr)**.

navigans attingit (RA: *adt-* RB) **Antiochiam** (RA/RB): *attingit* is probably a perfect, cf. F.G. Banta, *Abweichende spät- und vulgärlateinische Perfektbildungen*, Freiburg i.d. Schweiz 1952, s.v. tango. The phrase itself could come directly from Greek, e.g. πλέων (πλεύσας?) καταλαμβάνει (κατέλαβε?) τὴν 'Αντιοχείαν, cf. *Less.*, s.v. καταλαμβάνω 'raggiungere un luogo' and Lampe, *Dict.*, s.v. καταλαμβάνω (3): 'to arrive at, reach'. For an example of the combination of the two verbs in an identical situation, cf. H. Grégoire ~ M.A. Kugener, *Marc le Diacre, Vie de Porphyre, évêque de Gaza*, Paris (Les Belles Lettres, 1930) c.4, 12 πλευσάς ἐκ τῆς Θεσσαλονικέων, καταλαμβάνει τὴν Αἴγυπτον 'after sailing from Thessalonica he arrived in Egypt' (a parallel relevant to **(R(Gr)** is mentioned by Vogeser (1907), p.45). Both *RA* and *RB* ignore the geographical detail that Antioch lies on the Orontes, some 15 miles from the sea, cf. The Oxford Classical Dictionary, s.v. Antioch. Likewise in the parallel place 6, RA 10/RB 8.

RB (1-4) has rhythmically filled out this sentence with three adjuncts from elsewhere in the *HA*: (a) *Interposito brevi témporis spátio* (*t.*); (b) *pátriae suae prínceps* (*v.*); c) *fidus habundántia literárum* (*v.*). I will now comment on each addition.

a. **Interposito brevi témporis spátio** (*t.*), cf. 18, RA 13 *Interposito brevi* (RA: *pauci* RB) *temporis spatio*;
b. **pátriae suae prínceps** (*v.*) 'Prince of his country', but equally 'Prince of his city', to flesh out the bare notion of *adulescens* (RA). This is a standard title in *HA*, both in *RA* and in *RB*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. princeps patriae. *Patria* 'native country' is simply a synonym here of 'native town', cf. 24, RA 6 "*De Tyro*", immediately followed in both recensions by: "*Patriam meam nominasti*." This usage tallies with Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. πατρίς 'fatherland': 'simply, *native town or village*'. This means that the expression *patriae princeps* is simply synonymous with *princeps civitatis*, also a key notion in the *HA*, cf. Introd. VI.1; Ind. verb., s.v. princeps. It is matched by the phrase ὁ πρῶτος τῆς πόλεως, 'as a title', cf. LSJ, s.v. πρότερος (B I.4). This expression (in many variations) is very frequent in the Greek Novel, esp. Xen. Eph. 1,1,1 ἀνὴρ τῶν τὰ πρῶτα δυναμένων 'a man among the most influential citizens (of Ephesus)', cf. ibid. 2,13,5; 3,2,1; 3,2,5; 3,9,5; 5,1,4. This connection between HA and Xen. Eph. 1,1,1 was made long ago (Riese, 1893, Index s.v. *princeps*; Dalmeyda, *Xénophon d'Éphèse*, Paris 1962², Introduction XXVIII). More recent investigations mention the occurrence of the title πρῶτος τῆς πόλεως, esp. in sources from Asia Minor, cf. L. Robert, *À travers l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1980, p.244; Bremmer (1995), p.42 n.18;

id. (1996), p.41 'Eastern Caria and Northern Lycia'; id. (2000), p.15. The title also occurs in hagiographical sources from these regions, cf. Fr. de' Cavalieri, *I martiri di S. Teodoto e S. Ariadne* (Studi e Testi 6, Vaticano 1901, pp.91-133), p.123 (c.1) Ἀρεάδνη <…> δούλη γὰρ ὑπάρχουσα Τερτύλλου τινὸς πρώτου τῆς πόλεως Πρυμνησσοῦ Φρυγίας Σαλουταρίας 'Ariadne <…> in fact was the female slave of a certain Tertullus, leading man of the city of Prymnessos of Phrygia Salutaris.' It is curious to note that this system of titles persists in our Latin sources, cf. Greg. Tur., *Liber de Miraculis B. Andreae*, l.l., p.828,35 *Demetrii autem primi civitatis Amaseorum*. However this may be, the Latin reading public, without knowing much about the actual background of the title, will have understood the context, cf. Liv. 29,28,7 *Hasdrubal, Gisconis filius, genere, fama, divitiis, regia tum etiam adfinitate longe primus civitatis* (sc. Carthaginis) *erat*. 'Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo, was by far the first man of his native town (Carthago), by birth, fame, wealth and royal kinship.' We can conclude, then, that the title *princeps civitatis*, like *patriae princeps*, probably goes back to **R(Gr)**, perhaps even to **HA(Gr)**. In the present place, however, *RB* has merely normalized *RA*'s primary reading on the basis of usage elsewhere in the *HA*. In other places, too, *RB* is precise in his use of titles, cf. Introd. VI.2. (Klebs, p.250 n.4 accepts the phrase *patriae princeps* only in a few places. (Within the thesis of a Late Latin original Garbugino, p.104 with n.6 wants to explain the expression as part of the 'linguaggio amministrativo del tardo impero' [with exx. from Africa 4th-5th c.])

c. **fidus** <…> **litterárum** (*v.*) (RB): Probably with a view to the situation (cf. below [14] *scientia* and *sapientia*), *RB* has inserted a sentence here which he read elsewhere in *RA*, cf. 20, RA 9/RB 8 *habundantia* <…> *studiorum*: *fidus* + abl. occurs only in Christian authors, cf. ThLL VI,1 706,21. For a further explanation of *habundantia litterarum*, see 20, RA 9 (comm.).

4, RA 3-4 Ingressusque ad regem ita eum salutavit: "Ave, domine rex Antioche," et "quod pater pius es, ad vota tua festinus veni: 'He entered the presence of the king and greeted him with these words: "Hail, my lord King Antiochus" and "As you are a devoted father, I have come in haste to your wedding-party.'

4, RB 4-7 Ingressus ad regem ait: "Ave, rex." Et ut vidit rex, quod videre nolebat, ad iuvenem ait: "Salvi sunt cuncti parentes tui?" Iuvenis ait: "Vltimum signaverunt diem." Rex ait: "Vltimum nomen reliquerunt." Iuvenit ait:

Ingressusque ad (RA) ~ *Ingressus* (RB): For *ingressus ad*, ThLL VII,1 1569,23 notes 'passim praecipue in VULG.'; Thielmann, l.l., p.43 points to 2 Kgs. 3:24 *et ingressus est Ioab ad regem et ait* <...> . Here, too, there is an almost directly underlying Greek text, cf. LSJ, s.v. εἰσέρχομαι πρός τινα: 'enter one's house', often with the connotation 'to have an audience', cf. Mark 15:43 Ἰωσὴφ ὁ ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας <...> τολμήσας εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς τὸν Πιλᾶτον 'Joseph of Arimathea <...> took courage and went to Pilate (asking for the body of Christ). This is incidentally a good example of how *RB* abridges, cf. 4, RA 12 *sic ait*: RB 15 *ait*.

domine rex (RA) ~ *rex* (RB): The voc. *domine rex* occurs a few times in the *HA*, and is treated with a certain licence by RB, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. dominus. The *RA* redaction could go back directly to Greek, e.g. κύριε βασιλεῦ, cf. LSJ, s.v. κύριος (B): 'κύριε, as a form of respectful address, "sir": Ioh. 12,21; 20,15; Pap. Fayoum. 106,15 (II A.D.)' and see also Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. κύριος (II.2.b): 'Seit Claudius <...> finden wir auch die röm. Kaiser in steigendem Maße so bezeichnet.' It is unclear why *RB* drops *domine* here and retains 7, RA/RB 14 *domine rex*.

et (RA): For this striking usage, see 2, RA 9 *Et ait* (comm.): compare e.g. Hor., *serm.* 2,6,115-17 *tum rusticus* (sc. mus) *'haud mihi vita / est opus hac' ait et 'valeas: me silva cavusque / tutus ab insidiis tenui solabitur ervo.'*

quod pater pius est (RA): Tragic irony: it is extremely unlikely that Apollonius did not know about the risk involved in his suit, cf. 7, RA 17 *contemptorem regni* (comm.).

quod (**A**: *si* **P**) **pater es** (es *om.* **A**): The omission of *es* may be due to a not uncommon ellipsis of εἰμί and its various forms, cf. F. Zimmermann, *Griechische Roman-Papyri und verwandte Texte*, Heidelberg 1936, p.100

s.v. Ellips. It probably dropped out here in *RA* owing to the influence of *pius*. (Klebs, p.43 regards *quod pater pius es* as an interpolation.)

ad vota tua (RA): This formulation, 'I have come in haste to your wishes', has posed problems to translators. What is the actual meaning of *vota*? Peters, p.89 translates: 'Zur Brautwerbung bin ich hergeeilt'; Konstan, p.51 annotates: 'to your bidding'; literally 'to your wishes'; Archibald, p.115: 'I have come in haste to carry out your wishes.' In my view, *vota* should be taken in the Late Latin, Christian sense of 'matrimonial engagement' 'marriage', cf. Lewis ~ Short, *Dict.*, s.v. votum (B.2); Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. votum (4): 'Ambros., *Sermo* 25 *in votis suis hoc est nuptiis*; Aug., *Gen. litt.* 11,41 *votorum solemnitas et convivii celebritas.*' A more specific translation might therefore read: 'to the fulfilment of all your wishes regarding a marriage.' This usage corresponds to Greek in general and that of the Greek Novel in particular, cf. Ninos novel (ed. Zimmermann, p.21, ll.123-5) τὰς κοινὰς τῆς οἰκίας καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἁπάσης εὐχὰς 'the common vows of the royal house and the whole kingdom', where the editor annotates: 'mit εὐχαί ("Wünsche") werden hyperbolisch die γάμοι bezeichnet.' An adjective (Ninos novel, l.121) often used here is εὐκταῖος 'desired', cf. Charit. 1,1,14 πάρεστι γὰρ ἡ εὐκταιοτάτη πᾶσιν ἡμῖν ἡμέρα 'the day we have all been praying for so hard has come'; Achill. Tat. 8,19,2 τοὺς πολυεύκτους ἐπιτελέσαντες γάμους 'after celebrating our long-awaited marriage', cf. Kussl, l.l. p.46 n.82. This interpretation is sanctioned by the glossaries, cf. CGL VII, 29 s.v. *votum*: εὐχή.

festinus (RA). The use of an adj. as adv. (*festinus* = *festinanter*) is widespread in Latin both in poets and in prose, cf. Löfstedt, *Syntact.* II, p.368 ff. This also holds for Late Latin, cf. *Acta Thomae* (ed. M. Bonnet, *Supplementum codicis apocryphi*, Leipzig 1881), p.142,10 *coepit ire festinus*. Greek has this usage too, esp. for δρομαῖος, cf. LSJ, s.v.: Sophocl., *Trach.* 927 κἀγὼ δρομαία βᾶσα 'and I after going in a hurry'; Protevangelium Iacobi (Papyr. Bodm.) 15,2 ἀπῇει δρομαῖος.

veni A (*perveni* **P**): *veni* **A** may derive directly from Greek, cf. a similar usage with ἀφικνέομαι 'to arrive', e.g. Parthen. 6,2 τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους μνηστῆρας; id. 6,3 δυὸ μνηστῆρας ἀφιγμένους; Ninos novel (ed. Zimmermann, p.16), 39 ἀφῖγμαι <...> εἰς τὴν σὴν ὄψιν 'I have come to your face', cf. Kussl, l.l. p.18,1; 39 n.29. (The theoretical possibility of interpreting *veni* as an imperat. must be rejected.)

Instead of these lines in RA (2-3), which are sometimes hard to explain, RB (5-7) has a passage of his own, which strongly gives the impression of

deriving from a Greek text. It is highly doubtful whether it was part of **R(Gr)** and, by extension, of **HA(Gr)**, cf. Introd., VII.2.2.3.

ut vidit rex, quod videre nolebat (RB): A duplication vis-à-vis RA (5-6) *Rex ut audivit, quod* (**A**: *quem* **P**) *audire nolebat* (RA). Perhaps it was added by RB in view of the fact that Antiochus immediately checks whether this *procus* has supporters. This information may be useful to him if the need arises to take further action.

salvi sunt cuncti (**β**: *nupti* **b**, om. **π**) **parentes tui?** (RB): Romans will doubtless have understood this menacing question, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *parens* (5): 'parents, proches (autres que le père et la mère, postcl.)'. In this sense the phrase corresponds to Gr. (?) πάντες οἱ σοῦ συγγενεῖς 'all your kinsmen', cf. LSJ, s.v. συγγενής (II.b): 'frequently in plur. "*kinsfolk*" "*kinsmen*".'

ultimum signaverunt diem (RB) 'They have sealed their last day', cf. 29, RA 15 *ultimum fati signavit diem* (RB 13 *ultimum vitae finivit diem*) (comm.). The meaning, as a figurative use in e.g. *signare testamentum*, will not have escaped Romans, cf. OLD, s.v. *signo* (8): 'to attest a will, contract, *etc.* by affixing a seal': Plin., *Epist.* 1,9,2 *ille me ad signandum testamentum* <...> *rogavit*; Suet., *Claud.* 9,2. I have not been able to find direct parallels for *diem signare ultimum*, cf. ThLL V,1 1047,57. Its origin should probably be sought in Greek, cf. OT Esther 8:13 ἀφεῖλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ δακτύλιον ἀπὸ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσφραγίσθη ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ βίος αὐτοῦ 'the king took the ring from his hand and with this gesture his life (sc. of Mardocheus) was sealed'; Epitaph of Lucius Minicius Anthimianus, 3rd c. AD (Smyrna) (ed. H.W. Pleket, *Epigraphica*, vol. II, Leiden 1969, pp.54-55, l.11) ἐν δ' ὥραις ὀλίγαις Μοιρῶν σφραγεῖδες ἐπῆλθον 'within a few hours the Goddesses of Fate came nearby with their enclosing seals.' Neither LSJ, ss.vv. σφραγίζω (II.5) 'to set an end or limit to'/σημαίνω (III) 'to indicate' 'to declare', nor Lampe, *Patristic Dict.* (A.7) supply further material. A useful list of the many paraphrases for the notion 'to die' in Late Greek authors is given by Thurmayer (1910), pp.17-19. But no connection with the terms *fatum* and *signare* is recorded.

ultimum nomen reliquerunt (RB) 'They have left a last descendant', cf. Hom., *Od.* 4,70 ἵνα μηδ' ὄνομ' αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀνθρώποισι λίπηται 'that not even his name may be left among mankind'; 26, RA 14 *ultimus suorum decidat*, cf. Gow, *Theocr.* XVI,97 (comm.). This kind of utterance belongs with curses in general, as often found in funerary inscriptions, directed against desecrators of graves, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐξώλης 'utterly destroyed'. Such maledictory formulae are particularly found in Phrygia, cf. L. Robert,

À travers l'Asie Mineure, Paris 1980, p.310; J.H.M. Strubbe, 'Vervloekingen tegen grafschenners', *Lampas*, 1983, pp.248-74, *passim*. They are also echoed in the hagiography of these regions, e.g. *Martyrium S. Theodoti* (ed. Fr. d. Cavalieri), l.l. p.66,13 καὶ τὸ γένος σου ἅπαν ἀφανισθήσει 'and your race will disappear totally'. This suggests that the *RB* passage was drawn from such a source: interrogations in trials of Christians often start with some introductory questions about parents and close relatives, soon followed by fierce threats. See Introd. VII.2.b.3. (Klebs, p.43 n.1; p.176; p.387 n.5 rejects RB 5-7 as an interpolation without further argument.)

4, RA 5	[gener] regio genere ortus peto filiam tuam in matrimonium." 'As [a future son-in-law] of royal birth, I ask for your daughter's hand in marriage."'
4, RB 6-7	"Regio genere ortus in matrimonio filiam tuam peto."

[gener] (**A**: om. **P**): This crux arises from the interpretation 'future son-in-law'. This prolepsis is mainly found in marriage situations: the suitor is called *sponsus* 'fiancé' (Catull., 65,19; Hor., *Epist.* 1,2,28) or *maritus* 'husband' (Verg., *Aen.* 4,35); the fiancée is called *coniunx* 'wife' (Verg., *Aen.* 3,131.330) or *uxor* 'wife'; the parents of the bride are called *socer* (Ter., *Andria* 792; Verg., *Aen.* 11,440) and *mater* (Verg., *Aen.* 12,74 = 'mother-in-law'). The same goes for *gener* (Verg., *Aen.* 2,343; 12,31; Claud., *Epith. Hon.* 20). This loose usage is also found in legal literature (Gaius, Ulpianus) and in the Vulg., e.g. Gen. 19:14 *Lot locutus est ad generos* (Gr. γαμβρούς) *suos, qui accepturi erant filias eius* 'Lot spoke to his future sons-in-law, who were to marry his daughters.' It can also be found in the Greek of the Greek Novel, cf. Achill. Tat. 1,8,6 ὁ δὲ Πηνελόπης (γάμος) <...> πόσους νυμφίους ἀπώλεσεν; 'But Penelope's marriage, how many husbands (literal meaning: suitors) did that destroy?' For the *HA* itself, cf. 22, RA/RB 1. Despite the above points, I have put *gener* between brackets in the text: it could perhaps be original, but it probably crept into the text due to the influence of *regio genere*, cf. E. Baehrens, *Neue Jahrbücher* 1871, p.856.

regio genere ortus (RA/**bM**: *exortus* **βπ**), cf. 27, RA 19/RB 17 *regio genere esse ortam*. The phrase *regio genere* is of course frequent in Greek, cf. Achill. Tat. 7,12,1 ἦν δὲ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους 'he was of royal family' (cf. also Heliod. 4,9,2; 7,2,5; 10,12,1). For the question to what extent Apollonius was *regio genere ortus*, cf. above 4, RA 1 *adulescens*.

4, RA 5-7 Rex ut audivit, quod audire nolebat, irato vultu respiciens iuvenem sic ait ad eum: “Iuvenis, nosti nuptiarum conditionem?” ‘When the King heard what he did not want to hear, he looked angrily at the young man and said to him: “Young man, do you know the terms of the marriage?”’

4, RB 8-9 Rex ut audivit, quod audire nolebat, respiciens iuvenem ait: “Nosti nuptiarum conditionem?”

Rex ut audivit, quod (**A, RB**: *quem* **P**) **audire nolebat** (RA/RB): The *HA* likes to connect sentences in this way (cf. 27, RA/RB 1), sometimes with small changes, cf. 5, RA 1 *rex ut vidit*: RB 1 *rex ut audivit*. See also 14, RA 1; 25, RA 1.

irato vultu (RA) ~ (RB /): This telling detail is left out by *RB*, perhaps for several reasons: (a) it does not befit a king to show passion and strong emotions; (b) Antiochus has to play his cards cleverly, without raising suspicion. For this τόπος, see W.V. Harris, *Restraining Rage. The ideology of Anger Control in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge (Mass.-) ~ Londres Harvard U.P., 2001.

respiciens iuvenem (RA/RB): The acc. is very common, both in Latin and in Greek, cf. OLD, s.v. *respicio* (2) and LSJ, s.v. ἀποβλέπω (2) ‘to regard’.

sic ait ad eum (RA) ~ *ait* (RB): No comment necessary.

conditionem (RA/RB): Corresponds perhaps to Gr. (?) συνθήκη, cf. LSJ, s.v.: Plut., *Luc.* 18 γάμων συνθήκη.

4, RA 7-8 At ille ait: “Novi et ad portae fastigium vidi.” ‘But he said: “I do know (the condition) and I saw (the heads) on the top of the gate.”’

4, RB 9-10 Iuvenis ait: “Novi et ad portam vidi.”

Novi <…> **vidi** (RA/RB): Probably a wordplay in the Greek: οἶδα καὶ εἶδον, cf. LSJ, s.v. εἴδω (B.8).

ad portae fastigium (RA) ~ *ad portam* (RB): A purely subjective change, cf. 3, RB 10 *in portae fastigium*.

4, RA 8-10 <Rex ait>: "Audi ergo quaestionem: Scelere vehor, maternam carnem vescor, quaero fratrem meum, meae matris virum, uxoris meae filium: non invenio." '(The king said:) "Then listen to the riddle; I am dragged by crime; I eat my mother's flesh; I seek my brother, my mother's husband, my wife's son: I do not find him."'

4, RB 10-12 Indignatus rex ait: "Audi ergo quaestionem: Scelere vehor, maternam carnem vescor, quaero fratrem meum, matris meae filium, uxoris meae virum, nec invenio."

<**Rex ait**> ~ *Indignatus rex ait* (RB): With much misgiving I have added <*Rex ait*> (cf. 35, RB 15) to produce a more fluent reading. A change of person is not always indicated in dramatic stories. The reader himself can easily supply a *verbum dicendi* like *ait*/ἔφη, cf. Zimmermann, l.l. Ninos novel, p.28, l.20 (additional literature in note); S. Stephens ~ J. Winkler, *Ancient Greek Novels, The fragments*, Princeton University Press 1995, Sesonchosis novel, p.265, ll.11-12.

quaestionem (RA/RB): See Introd. VI.4.2.1, with factual data on this graffito, transcription and correspondence with the *HA* riddle (the connection was first made by K. Kerényi, *Die griechisch-orientalische Romanliteratur in religions-geschichtlicher Beleuchtung*, Tübingen 1927, p.235 Anm. 23 'eine Spur des Nachlebens der griechischen Fassung.'). For an illustrative survey of the various interpretations, see Garbugino, pp.126-36. His critical discussion (pp.136-40) of the real value of the Pergamum graffito for the existence of **HA(Gr)** (cf. Kortekaas [1984], n.617) is useful. The value of this inscription for the *HA* thus becomes relative and is confined to a striking parallelism in phraseology.

scelere vehor (RA/RB) 'I am dragged by crime': For a possible translation error based on ὀχεύομαι 'to cover', cf. ed. m. [2004], Introd. VI.4.2.1.

maternam carnem vescor (RA, **bM**) ~ *materna carne utor* (**βπ**): *vescor* + acc. is rarely found in classical authors, cf. OLD, s.v. *vescor* (2.b): 'Tib. 2,5,64; Phaedr. 1,31,11; Tacit., *Agric.* 28.' It is common in Late and Christian Latin, cf. Blaise, s.v. *vescor*. The correction *utor* **βπ** not only provides a correct case, but is also a polite synonym for the very graphic *vescor*: Ov., *Met.* 4,259 *dementer amoribus usa*; Hor., *Sat.* 1,4,113 *ne sequerer moechas concessa cum venere uti possem*; Gell., *Hist.* 15 *liceat nuptiis* <...> *prosperis uti*; Lamprid., *Heliog.* 30, § 3.5 *mulieribus uti*. Of course every suitor

will have understood *materna caro* (= filia): if he had the temerity to say so to Antiochus, he paid with his life. For the phrase itself there are no parallels available, cf. ThLL III 484,47; ibid. VIII 468,40.

fratrem meum, meae matris virum (RA) ~ *fratrem meum, matris meae filium* (RB): *RB*'s correction seems logical, but is belied by the Pergamum enigma: τὸν ἀδελφόν, τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς μητρός μου.

uxoris meae filium (RA) ~ *uxoris meae virum* (RB): Here too the Pergamum enigma agrees with *RA*: τὸν υἱὸν τῆς γυναικός μου.

non invenio (RA) ~ *nec invenio* (RB): This second part of Antiochus' neck riddle was for the insider: Antiochus is probably referring to an extremely complicated incestuous family relationship of husband-brother-son in one person. Only intimates could know about these scabrous details, cf. Apollonius' reaction: he reads and consults books (6, RA 11-12). Despite many attempts and a wide variety of 'solutions', no one has yet succeeded in finding a satisfactory solution to this part of the riddle. On the one hand names for various family relationships can be considerably extended by terms like 'future' and '-in-law'. On the other hand family relationships within the Seleucids were much entangled through divorce and remarriage. The elegant variation RB *nec invenio* is reflected in 7, RA 2 *et non inventum est* ~ RB 1 *nec invenitur*; Matt. 26:60 *et non invenerunt* ~ Mark 14:55 *nec inveniebant*. On *nec* and *neque*, see Löfstedt, *Synt.* I,331 ff.; Adams (1976), p.87.

4, RA 10-11 Iuvenis accepta quaestione paululum discessit a rege; quam cum sapienter scrutaretur, favente deo invenit quaestionis solutionem. 'When the young man had heard the riddle he withdrew a little from the king. He thought about it intelligently, and with God's help he found the answer to the riddle.'

4, RB 12 Puer accepta quaestione paululum secessit a rege. Et dum docto péctore quáereret (*t.*), dum scrutátur sciéntiam (*t.*), luctátur cum sapiéntia (*v.*), favente deo invenit quaestionis solutionem.

Iuvenis (RA) ~ *Puer* (RB): for this change, cf. 4, RA 1 comm. No exact reason can be given, though *puer* does emphasize innocent youth. (Klebs, p.337 deletes *puer*: 'verkehrte Bezeichnung'.)

discessit (RA) ~ *secessit* (RB): A nice stylistic distinction. *Discedere* means separation at a greater remove, cf. OLD, s.v. *discedo* (1) and (3); *secedere* describes separation involving a shorter distance, cf. OLD, s.v. *secedo*: 'to withdraw to a private place': Sall., *Cat.* 20,1 *in abditam partem aedium secedit*; Suet., *Nero* 15,1 *quotiens ad consultandum secederet*, cf. 1, RB 13.

cum <...> scrutaretur (RA) ~ *dum <...> quaereret, dum scrutatur, luctatur* (RB): An example of *RB*'s literary capacity for amplificatio: a tricolon with emphatic rhythmic structure and with end rhyme (*scrutatur, luctatur*) and variatio in a construction with *dum*. For the tricolon, cf. E. von Dobschütz, 'Paarung und Dreiung in der evangelischen Überlieferung', in: *Neutestamentliche Studien G. Heinrici zu seinem 70. Geburtstag*, Leipzig 1914, pp.92-100, continued in: 'Zwei- und dreigliedrige Formeln', *JBL* 50, 1931, pp.117-47.

favente deo invenit quaestionis solutionem (RA/RB): A typical, standardized form (abl. abs., cf. 'God willing'), cf. 12, RB 26; 13, RA 10-11. So this form, like the many variants in the *HA* (cf. Ind. verb., s.v. deus), should not be eliminated: they are wholly embedded in the context and occupy a central position, as here. Like more of these formulations, the phrase *deo favente* has its origin in the heathen Latin authors, even if the expression itself does not occur very frequently (like e.g. *deo volente*). We can mention Tibull. 1,10,30 *favente Marte* as well as Suet., *Galba* 10,30 *faventibus diis*. Christian authors use the expression more often, e.g. Patrick (385-461), *Ep.* 5 *favente deo*; *Conf.* 44 *favente domino*; Coripp., John 3:29; Acta Andreae et Matthiae (ed. Blatt), p.98,4 *te favente, tuis paratus sum obsecundare mandatis* (sc. Andrew to Christ). It is also found in Roman hagiography, cf. *AB* 51 (1933), 76 c.4 *Deo favente et domino Iesu Christo*. A second reason to accept this and similar phrases in the abl. abs. as authentic narrative elements is the fact that such formulations also occur in Greek in the gen. abs. This means that they may derive directly from previous stages of the *HA*, perhaps even from **HA(Gr)**, cf. Xen. Eph. 1,7,2 τοῦ θεοῦ βουλομένου (cited by R^2[1893], s.v. deus) 'the god willing'; Heliod. 1,22,6 θεοῦ νεύοντος 'god willing'. Naturally the word deus/θεός has a different conceptual content for each of these stages has a different conceptual content in each of these stages. (Klebs, p.190 regards *favente deo* [RA/RB] as an interpolation.)

4, RA 12-16 Ingressusque ad regem sic ait: “Domine rex, proposuisti mihi quaestionem: audi ergo solutionem. Quod dixisti: scelere vehor, non es mentitus: te respice. Et quod dixisti: maternam carnem vescor, nec et hoc mentitus es: filiam tuam intuere.” ‘Going to the king he said: “Lord king, you have set me a riddle: so listen to the answer. When you said: I am dragged by crime, you did not lie: look at yourself. Nor did you lie when you said: I eat my mother’s flesh: look at your daughter.”’

4, RB 15-18 Et reversus ad regem ait: “Bone rex, proposuisti quaestionem. Audi eius solutionem. Nam quod dixisti: scelere vehor, non es mentitus: te respice. Maternam carnem vescor: filiam intuere tuam.”

Ingressusque (RA) ~ *reversus* (RB): After *secessit* (RB 13) *RB* uses the correct formulation *reversus*.

Domine rex (RA) ~ *Bone rex* (RB): For *RA* (from [?] κύριε βασιλεῦ), see 4, RA 3-4 (comm.). Many have regarded the *RB* reading as corrupt (Riese (1893), p.5 n.2; Klebs, p.38 n.1; p.221). It could possibly be explained as a misreading of RA: *dñe* > *bone*. Even so, I believe that the *RB* reading should stand, not so much as irony but because *bone rex* is a customary address, also used in moments of reproach, cf. 50, RB 12 *Scelerata mulier ait: “Bone domine, quid?”* ‘The wicked woman said: “Good sir, what do you mean?”’ For *bone rex*, said mainly of Archistrates, see 14, RA 7 (comm.).

ergo (RA) ~ *eius* (RB): Cf. 2, RA 8 *ergo* ~ RB / (comm.).

Quod (RA: *Nam quod* RB) **dixisti**: In the same way Greeks say: ὅ τι/ὅτι ‘for what’, cf. LSJ, s.v. ὅ τι.

Scelere vehor <…> **intuere** (RA) ~ *Scelere* <…> *intuere tuam* (RB): A typical retrenchment by *RB*. There is no need for Apollonius to spell out the missing part (4, RA 8-9): *quaero fratrem meum, matris meae virum, uxoris meae filium*. In fact he probably could not do so in a few words. For Antioch an answer to the first part of the riddle is more than enough, cf. 5, RA 1.

CHAPTER 5

5, RA 1 Rex ut vidit iuvenem quaestionis solutionem invenisse, sic ait ad eum: ‘When the king saw that the young man had found the solution of the riddle, he spoke to him as follows:’

5, RB 1 Rex ut audivit quaestionis solutionem iúvenem exsolvísse (*v.*), timens ne scelus suum patefieret, irato vultu eum respiciens ait:

vidit (RA) ~ *audivit* (RB): Cf. above 2, RA 12 *vidit* ~ RB 11 *audivit* (comm.). The codd. vary within recensions too. Compare 16, RB 5 *Puella ut vidit sibi* <…> *permissum* **bβMπ**, with the variant in many redactions (RSt, RT, Rβ): *audivit*; 17, RB 1 *vidit* βMπ ~ *audivit* b; 24, RB 15 *vidit* b ~ *audivit* βπ. This usage is also found in classical Latin authors like Cicero, Celsus, but especially in biblical Latin: Vulg., Ex. 20:18 *cunctus autem populus videbat* (Gr. ἑώρα) *voces et lampadas et sonitum bucinae*; ibid. 20:22 *Vos vidistis* (Gr. ἑωράκατε) *quod de caelo locutus sim vobis*.

invenisse (RA) ~ *exsolvisse* (**bβ**: *exposuisse* **π**) (RB): *RB* changes the standard term *invenio* probably on account of the wordplay *solutionem* <…> *exsolvere* and the rhythmic cursus, cf. 4, RA 10/RB 12.

sic ait ad eum (RA) ~ *ait* (RB): A remarkable abridgement by *RB*. The use of *ad* with acc. for the person addressed instead of dat. is very rare in classical Latin, cf. ThLL 1,512,30-60. The construction is normal in Late Latin and Christian authors. *RB* makes the same change elsewhere too, 6, RA 14 *ad semetipsum locutus est dicens* ~ RB 14 *secum cogitans ait*; 8, RA 18/RB 25; 34, RA/RB 8; 39, RA/RB 7), though not consistently (cf. 39, RA 26 ~ RB 25 *ait ad unum de servis*). This *dicere ad*, with synonymous verbs, might go back to Gr. εἰπεῖν, λαλεῖν, φράζειν πρός τινα, cf. C. Mohrmann, *Études sur le Latin des Chrétiens* I, Roma 1962^2, p.39 ff. and LSJ, s.v. πρός (C.5.). The Greek Novel abounds in this kind of construction: Charit. 6,7,6 λέγει πρὸς αὐτὴν ‘he says to her’; Xen. Eph. 5,7,6 εἰπεῖν πρὸς σὲ ἐβουλόμην ‘I wished to say you’; Heliod. 9,24,3 Ὁ οὖν Θεαγένης <…> πρὸς τὴν Χαρίκλειαν “Ἐρεῖς,” ἔφη, “δηλονότι <…> πρὸς βασιλέα τὰ καθ’ ἡμᾶς. Ἰδοὺ γὰρ καὶ Ὑδάσπης ὃν πατέρα σοι γεγενῆσθαι πρός με πολλάκις ἔφραζες.” ‘Theagenes whispered to Charikleia: “Obviously <…> you will tell the king the truth about us. This is indeed Hydaspes, who you have often told me is your father.”’ So *RB*’s abridgement may have eliminated a Graecism as well as a Christianism. For

further changes by *RB* regarding a freer use of *ad*, see 34, RA 20 *dedit ad te* ~ RB 21 *tibi dedit* (comm.); 35, RA 19 *exponens ad omnes* (RB /).

timens ne scelus suum patefieret (**b**: *-faceret* **βπ**) (RB): An addition to motivate the curious stay of Apollonius' execution. For the choice of words, cf. 2, RA 10-11 *ne hoc scelus genitoris mei patefaciam*.

irato vultu (RB): Cf. 4, RA 6 *irato vultu* ~ RB 8 /: mentioned more pertinently in this place by *RB*.

5, RA 2-3 "Erras, iuvenis, nihil verum dicis. Decollari quidem mereberis, sed habes triginta dierum spatium: recogita tecum. '"You are wrong, young man, there is no truth in what you say. Indeed you will deserve to be beheaded, but you have thirty days' grace: think it over again.'

5, RB 2-4 "Longe es iuvenis, a questione: erras, nihil dicis. Decollari merueras, sed habebis XXX dierum spatium: recogita tecum.

Erras <…> **nihil verum dicis** (RA) ~ *Longe es* <…> *a quaestione: erras, nihil dices* (RB): *RA*'s formulation could stem directly from the Greek: (?) πλανᾶσαι <…> οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς λέγεις, cf. LSJ, s.v. πλανάομαι (II.7): 'to be misled'; Lampe, *Patristic Lexicon*, s.v. (B.c.): 'to be erroneous (of opinions, etc.)'; for the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. (d): 'sbagliare, ingannarsi'; for the second part, cf. Plato, *Apol.* (ed. Stephanus), p.17^{A} καίτοι ἀληθές γε, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲν εἰρήκασιν 'Nevertheless, they have not said anything true'; p.17^{B} οὗτοι μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ λέγω, ἤ τι ἢ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς εἰρήκασιν 'those accusers, as I should say, have said nothing or almost nothing of truth.' *RB*'s phrase *longe esse/abesse ab aliqua re* is not part of everyday speech, cf. OLD, s.v. *longe* (6.c): Cic., *de Orat.* 1,30 *perfectionem* <…> *a qua ipse longe absum*; id., *S. Rosc.* 94; Aug., *Conf.* 2,8; Quint. 8 prooem. § 3. By inserting this sentence, *RB* creates a tricolon. By omitting *verum*, *RB* introduces the more common phrase *nihil dicere* 'nonsense', cf. 3, RA 7/RB 9.

habes (RA) ~ **habebis** (RB): Cf. Introd. III.1.

mereberis (RA) ~ *merueras* (RB): The future (RA) is actually less logical (cf. Thielmann, p.52; *merebaris* Ring), as if the author meant *si decollavero te, mereberis*, but for the present 'I will grant you a stay' (cf. Konstan, p.52). *RB*'s 'correction' to the pluperfect is standard (*debueram* = *debebam*; *oportuerat* = *oportebat*; *merueras* = *merebaris*). (Klebs, p.262 is of little real value.)

triginta dierum spatium (sc. recogitandi) (RA/RB): This period is very common in the literature (cf. our ‘I’ll give you a month’). Xen., *Memor.* 4,8,2 (Socrates’ period); Lucian., *Ver. Narr.* 2,35; *Acta Scillitanorum* (ed. Klette, *Texte u. Unters.*, p.100), 13 προθεσμία τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν ὑμῖν ἔστω ‘there will be a delay of thirty days for you.’ The Greek Novel has it too: Chione novel (ed. Zimmerman, l.l., p.41) ἔχομεν δὲ εἰς σκέψιν χρόνον ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα ‘For deliberation we have a time of thirty days’; Charit. 2,10,7 Δός μοί <…> καὶρον εἰς σκέψιν, cf. 5,3,11; 6,2,3; 6,7,13; Xen. Eph. 2,13,8 ἀναμεῖναι χρόνον ὀλίγον ὅσον ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα ‘wait a little while, as much as thirty days.’ For hagiography: *Acta S. Sebastiani* (Migne 17, c.2, p.1114[B]) *Unde factum est ut ab Agresto Chromatio urbis Romae praefecto triginta dierum inducias impetrarent*; *Martyrium S. Ariadnes* (ed. F. de’ Cavalieri), p.124, ll.10-12 ἡμερῶν δὲ τριάκοντα ὅλων διελθουσῶν ‘after having passed the thirty days wholly’. The period of a month is very common in Roman law as well. The later versions, especially in popular literature, drastically altered this period, either reducing it (one or three days, twenty days) or lengthening it (e.g. 40 days in Shakespeare’s *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*).

5, RA 3-5	Et dum reversus fueris et quaestionis meae propositae solutionem inveneris, accipies filiam meam in matrimonium.” ‘And when you have come back and have found the answer to my riddle, you shall have my daughter in marriage.”’
5, RB 4-5	Revérsus dum fúeris (*t.*) et quaestionis meae solutiónem invéneris (*t.*), accipies filiam meam in matrimonio: sin alias, légem agnósces (*pl.*).”

dum reversus fueris (RA/RB): *dum + fut. exact.* is a very unusual combination, cf. 48, RA 4 *ubi dum veneris* (RB /): Corbett, (op Reg. Magistri) p.106 ‘We may assume that it occurs very infrequently at any time.’ For examples, cf. ThLL V.1 2218,67 ff.

in matrimonium (RA) ~ *in matrimonio* (RB): The same change in 1, RA 7/RB 5.

sin alias (**b**: *autem* **βMπ**), **legem agnosces** (**b**: *-cas* **βπ**) (RB): The phrase *sin alias*, as an ellipsis of an entire sentence, is very late. Normal usage is *sin aliter* (Cic.), *sin minus* (Cic.), *sin secus* (Plaut.), *sin* (Cic.), and most frequently *sin autem* (Cic.; Vulgate). Hence the βMπ reading. Attestations to the expression *sin alias* are very late, cf. ThLL I 1550,41 (Bened., *Reg.* 2,41) (and ed. m. (1984), p.100). The expression occurs again in the *HA*,

31, RA 17/RB 12, which shows that *RA* knows it too. So this is a reason not to reject *RB*'s reading out of hand. It may be that *RA* was a little careless here (direct threats could have undermined Antiochus' cause and strengthened Apollonius' suspicions); on the other hand **R(Gr)** may have already contained this element, cf. *Martyrium S. Ariadnes* (ed. F. de' Cavalieri) p.129,17 Θῦσον ἄνευ βασάνων· εἰ δὲ μή γε, ποιῶ σε κακιγκάκως τοῦ βίου ἀναλῦσαι 'Sacrifice without torments: if not, I shall put you to death in a horrible manner.' But it seems more likely that *RB* considered such a threat necessary on the basis of legal knowledge, cf. Introd. VII.2.2. (Klebs, p.39 argues the exact opposite: 'Hier fehlt [in *RA* dus], was nicht fehlen darf, die Strafandrohung für den entgegengesetzten Fall.' He therefore proposes to add this statement to *RA*.)

This reaction of Antiochus vis-à-vis Apollonius is very curious at first sight: why is a stay granted and why isn't Apollonius killed on the spot? We can probably discern the hand of the epitomator **R(Gr)** here. It is likely that the original novel **HA(Gr)** elaborated on the situation, by analogy with Oenomaos and Pelops. Oenomaos had been warned by the oracle that the future husband of his daughter would kill him and take over his kingdom, cf. Hygin, *Fab.* 84,1 *sibi* (i.e. Oenomaos) *responsum fuit* (sc. ab oraculo) *a genero mortem cavere*. Hence on the one hand Antiochus' fierce opposition to possible suitors, and on the other hand his conduct towards Apollonius: he lets him go, but plans to murder him as soon as possible. A totally different view is taken by S. Panayotakis, 'The Logic of Inconsistency: Apollonius of Tyre and the Thirty Days' Period of Grace', *Ancient Narrative*, suppl. 5, Groningen (Barkhuis) 2006, pp.211-26. He connects this place with 40, RA 35 *triginta dies a lenone te redimam* and 50, RA 31 *horarum spatium* and sees this as reflecting the usual form of Roman legal proceedings. See the comm. ad loc.

5, RA 5-6	Iuvenis conturbatum habebat animum. Paratamque habens navem ascendit ad patriam suam Tyrum. 'The young man had a disturbed mind. He had his ship ready, and embarked for Tyre, his home.'
5, RB 6	Iuvenis conturbatus accepto commeato navem suam ascendit, tendit in patriam suam Tyro.

conturbatum habebat animum (RA) ~ *conturbatus* (RB): In Late Latin a paraphrase with *habere* is far from unusual, cf. Linderbauer (on *Reg. Bened.* 7,128), p.221; Löfstedt, *Per.*, p.147; in translation literature this *habere* often corresponds to ἔχειν + acc., cf. Mohrmann, 'Note sur la vie latine la plus ancienne de la Vie de saint Antoine par saint Athanase',

Studia Anselmiana 38 (1956), (pp.35-44) p.43. This leaves open the possibility that *RA* goes back directly to Greek, e.g. Charit. 5,9,3 ἔτι τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχεις τεταραγμένην 'You have a mind still distressed', cf. id. 8,1,7. This *habebat* followed again by *habens* with a similar construction (? ἔχων [τὴν] ναῦν παρεσκευασμένην) was probably too much for *RB*. Yet *RA* is much more authentic than *RB*: it is telling for the situation that Apollonius was so fearful of the outcome that he had his ship ready to sail, probably riding at anchor, cf. Achill. Tat. 2,31,5 ναῦν ἐφορμοῦσαν 'a ship ready for sea'. See Rougé (1978), p.266.

ascendit ad (RA) ~ *ascendit, tendit* (RB): *RA*'s statement is rather lapidary ('embarked for', Konstan, p.52), but not impossible, cf. Acts 21:4 *dicebant* (sc. discipuli), *ne ascenderet Hierosolymam* (Gr. ἔλεγον <…> μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα). By adding *suam (navem)* and *tendit*, *RB* has adjusted the statement by means of the standard expression, cf. e.g. 6, RA 13/RB 21; 28, RA/RB 17; 49, RA 14/RB 15.

accepto commeato (**b**: *-u* **βMπ**) (RB): *Accipere* has the meaning *sumere* here, as it sometimes already has in so-called Silver Latin, cf. Plin., *Epist.* 3,4,2 *accepto commeatu* (reference by Klebs, p.238); see also Liv. 5,54,4 *quo maritimi commeatus accipiantur*. *Accipere* acquires this meaning mainly in Christian Latin, cf. Thielmann, p.14; Blaise, *Dict.* (2): 'prendre'; ThLL I 304,55-63; 305,22-43. (The further references by Riese, Index., s.v. *accipere = sumere* require correction.) The form *commeato* **b** has been retained as a metathesis from the 4th to the 2nd declension. For this change of declension, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. metaplasmus; ThLL III 1822,80-1; Adams (1976), p.181 (General Index), s.v. declension.

Tyrum (RA, **π**) ~ *Tyro* **bM**; *Tiron* **β**: The reading *Tyrum* was wrongly disputed by Riese (1893), praef. VI, n.1 ('AP *corrupti*'). It can be defended both as an apposiiton to *ad patriam suam* and as an acc. of direction, cf. 6, RA 5. The form *Tyro* (also 39, RB 1) can be regarded as a fossilized form, in most cases originally from the abl., Blaise, *Manuel*, § 118.

After *Tyrum* the main manuscript **A** contains an interpolated clause saying that Apollonius immediately consults his scrolls, and what his fate will be (*et aperto scrinio – neceris*). This clause is now placed in 6, RA/RB 11, cf. Riese (1893), p.8,2. Perhaps the interpolation points to the custom, mainly prevalent among Irish monks, of taking their own private library with them on their travels, cf. L. Traube, *O Roma nobilis, Untersuchungen aus dem Mittelalter*, München 1892, (I-II) II, p.372. (For the connection between Irish monks and *HA*, cf. Introd. IX.) This transposition has given rise to many 'emendations' in the *Nachleben*, cf. N.Å. Nillson, *Die Apollonius-Erzählung in den slavischen Literaturen*, Uppsala 1949, pp.52-53.

CHAPTER 6

6, RA 1-2 Et post discessum adolescentis vocat ad se Antiochus rex dispensatorem suum fidelissimum, nomine Thaliarchum, et dicit ei: 'And when the young man had departed, King Antiochus summoned his steward, a most loyal man, named Taliarchus, and said to him:'

6, RB 1-2 Sed post discessum adolescentis vocavit rex dispensatorem suum, cui ait:

Et (RA) ~ *Sed* (RB); *vocat ad se* (RA) ~ *vocavit* (RB); *Antiochus rex* (RA) ~ *rex* (RB): A systematic abridgement.

fidelissimum nomine Thaliarchum (RA) ~ (RB /): An epic verbal repetition in *RA* (cf. the immediately following sentence), retrenched by *RB* (the same procedure in e.g. 31, RB 10).

dispensatorem (RA/RB): Probably the *dispensator domus* 'steward', 'majordomo', a position of trust, to which only the most reliable slaves (often enunuchs) were appointed, in the Imperial Era sometimes *ingenui* 'freeborn', cf. OLD, *Dict.* s.v. *dispensator*. (Here a slave, cf. 6, RA 7/RB 6.) For their presence in the Oriental world, and a description of their activities, cf. F. Cumont, *L'Egypte des astrologues*, Bruxelles 1937, p.58, p.154 n.1. As regards their occurrence in the Greek Novel, cf. Billault (1991), pp.140-1. In 39, RA/RB 7 a *dispensator navis* helps Apollonius in the victualling of the crew, cf. comm. It is impossible to determine what Greek term was used here: διοικητής? / οἰκονόμος? / ἐπίτροπος?, cf. LSJ, ss.vv. For the situation and choice of words, cf. Charit. 6,3,1 Βασιλεὺς δὲ καλέσας τὸν εὐνοῦχον, ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ πιστότατος ἁπάντων <…> «τί κρύπτεις» ἔφη «δέσποτα, δοῦλον σόν, εὔνουν σοι 'The King called the eunuch to him, who was his most trusted servant <…> "Sir," he said, "what are you hiding from your slave? I am your friend'; id., 1,12,8 κἀκεῖνος ἀπεκρίνατο· «Διοικητής εἰμι τῶν ὅλων, τρέφω δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα 'The other replied, "I am controller of his household, and I also look after his infant daughter."'

nomine Thaliarchum (RA), cf. RB 2 *Taliarche*: A Greek male name (Θαλίαρχος: 'Merry-maker'), only attested in Latin literature in Hor., *Carm.* 1,9,8 *Vides ut alta stet nive candidum Soracte*, in which he addresses a certain *Thaliarchus* (7): *deprome quadrimum Sabina / o Thaliarche merum diota*

as a carefree pleasure-lover. The name is quite common in Greek, obviously in an aspirated form, cf. Fraser ~ Matthews (1987-), I, II, III (only Greece). The name derives from θαλία, (Ion.)/θαλίη 'abundance' 'good cheer' + ἄρχομαι 'to begin with', cf. θαλιάζω PLD, s.v.: 'to make merry'. As such this name belongs with the 'self-declarative' names in the Greek Novel: Agele, Eudromos, Gnathon, Philopoimen, cf. Schönberger, l.l., p.202 (on Long. 4,5,2) and Kerényi, l.l., p.170 ff. The name does not occur in the Greek Novel. The manuscripts (both **AP** and **bβ**) give the non-aspirated (i.e. non-authentic) form.

6, RA 2-3 "Thaliarche, secretorum meorum fidelissime minister, scias, quia Tyrius Apollonius invenit quaestionis meae solutionem. '"Taliarchus, most loyal confident in my secrets, you must know that Apollonius of Tyre has found the answer to my riddle.'

6, RB 2-4 "Thaliarche, secretorum meorum fidelissime minister, scias quia Tyrius Apollonius invenit quaestionis meae solutionem.

secretorum meorum fidelissime minister (RA/RB): This is probably based on a wordplay via τὰ ἀπόρρητα 'the unspeakable things': (1) this word is used especially for 'state secrets', cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀπόρρητος (II): Plut., *Luc.* 17 ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων τοῦ βασιλέως 'The Minister of State Secrets of the King', cf. F. Cumont, l.l., p.154 n.1; (2) a second meaning is 'my secret acts', 'my love life'. This is the sense mainly found in the Greek Novel: Charit. 3,9,11 Σύ <…> εὐεργετὴς ἐμός <…> πιστότατος ἐν τοῖς ἀπορρήτοις 'You are my benefactor <…> the most faithful partner in my secrets', Heliod. 7,27,8 κοινωνοῦντα καὶ τῶν ἀπορρητοτέρων 'made intimate to our lady's inmost secrets', cf. id., 7,12,6; 7,20,2; 7,26,2. At the imperial court these was a special functionary for ὁ ἐπίτροπος τῶν ἀπολαυσέων 'the overseer of the imperial entertainments', cf. LSJ (Suppl.) s.v. ἀπόλαυσις.

scias quia (**A,** RB: quod **P**) **invenit** (RA/RB): This analytical construction with *quia, quod* (*quoniam* is absent in *HA*; it dies out in the mid 3rd c.) instead of the classical construction acc. with inf. is very frequent in the *HA* (the regular construction is exceptional), cf. Ind. verb., ss.vv. scio, quia; scio, quod. Though this analytical construction is very common in Christian and Late Latin (cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *scio*), the Greek construction ὅτι will doubtless have exerted influence in the *HA*, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 374: 'non sans une influence ultérieure de Gr. ὅτι.'; Garbugino, pp.108-9. In particu-

lar the combination οἶδα, ὅτι/ὡς occurs very often in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. οἶδα (5). Perhaps an imperative occuring frequently in Greek is the underlying construction here, which was then translated as a subjunctive, cf. Charit. 8,2,3 «Ἴσθι» φησὶ «ὅτι βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν ἀνῄρηκεν τὸν Αἰγύπτιον '"I have to tell you (literally: 'Do know')" he said, "that the Persian king has killed the Egyptian king."' For a similar use of γι(γ)νώσκε(τε), ὅτι, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. γινώσκω (6.-c). (Klebs, pp.240-1 fails to address the matter seriously.)

6, RA 4-7 Ascende ergo navem confestim ad persequendum iuvenem, et dum veneris Tyrum, in patriam eius, inquires inimicum eius, qui eum aut ferro aut veneno interimat. Postquam reversus fueris, libertátem accípies (*t.*)." 'So take ship immediately to pursue the young man, and when you come to Tyre, in his homeland, seek out some enemy of his, who would kill him with a sword or with poison. When you return, you shall have your freedom."'

6, RB 3-6 Ascende ergo confestim navem ad persequendum iuvenem. Et cum perveneris Tyro, quaere inimicum ei, qui eum aut ferro aut veneno perimat. Revérsus cum fúeris (*t.*), libertátem accípies (*t.*)."

Ascende <…> **navem** (RA/RB): Gr. allows both ἀναβαίνω ναῦν (LSJ, s.v. ἀναβαίνω) and ἀναβαίνω εἰς ναῦν.

et dum veneris <…> **interimat** (RA): A series of classical emendations in *RB*: *dum* (RA) ~ *cum* (RB), cf. 1, RA/RB 4 (comm.); *Tyrum* (RA) ~ *Tyro* (RB), cf. 5, RB 7 (comm.); *in patriam eius* (RA) ~ (RB /); *inquires* (RA) (fut. with the value of an imperat.) ~ *quaere* (RB); *aut* <…> *aut* (RA) ~ *aut* (RB); *interimat* (RA) ~ *perimat* (RB), a stronger verb, cf. OLD, s.v. *perimo* (1 b): 'espec. by violent means'. A remarkable correction is *eius* (RA) ~ *ei* (RB) as a dat. of possession, perhaps simply based on an abbreviated spelling (*ei'=eius*).

Postquam reversus fueris (**P**) ~ *Revérsus cum fúeris* (*t.*) (RB): For the rare, late construction *postquam* + *fut. exact.*, cf. Georges, *Wörterb.*, s.v. *postquam* (ε): Pallad. 12,22,4; *Per. Aeth.* 39,4; ThLL X 2,1 251,36-43. So *RB*'s 'correction' is both classical and rhythmic. For *libertatem accipies*, cf. 31, RA 23/RB 14. The sentence itself, passed down in *RA* only by **P**, has been

incorporated in the text on account of the fact that it is far from improbable that Thaliarchus was a slave, cf. above 6, RA 1-2. (Riese [1893] doubts the authenticity and instead of *libertatem* follows cod. Vels. in preferring *praemium magnum (accipies)* with the motivation [Praef., p.XII]: 'si quidem certum est dispensatorem non fuisse servum'; Klebs, p.24 deletes **P**; Schmeling [1988], p.4,1-2 has serious doubts too.)

6, RA 7-9	Thaliarchus vero hoc audito adsumens pecuniam simulque venenum navem invectus est. 'When Taliarchus heard this, he provided himself with money and also poison, and boarded a ship.'
6, RB 6-7	Statim Thaliarchus assumens pecuniam simulque navem petiit patriam innocentis.

vero (RA) 'and so' (Konstan, p.53) ~ *Statim* (RB): A colourless connective (RA) adapted to the demands of the context (RB): Thaliarchus, in contrast to Hellenicus (8, RA 3-26/RB 11-31) and Theophilus (31, RA 14-38/RB 10-25), blindly obeys his master's order. This contrast of characters was probably elaborated in **HA(Gr)**.

adsumens pecuniam simulque venenum (RA) ~ *assumens pecuniam simulque navem* (RB): Perhaps *adsumens* overlies (?) ἀναλαμβάνω, cf. LSJ, s.v.: 'to take on board ship' <...> 'partic. ἀναλαβών often = *with*.' *RB*'s attempt at improvement may be based on the fact that strong poison was hard to transport (cf. Ps. Callisth. 3,31) and was probably in Tyre already (cf. RA 6/RB 5): the reading *navem,* based on almost the same letters as *RA* (cf. Introd., *Stemmata*), produces a very curious zeugma.

navem invectus est A ~ *navem ascendens petiit patriam* **P** ~ *petiit patriam innocentis* (RB): The **A** reading is odd, cf. ThLL VII,2 p.133. Perhaps it is based on a translation error, though eligible Greek forms like ἐμβαίνειν/ἀναβαίνειν/ἔρχεσθαι εἰς (τὴν) ναῦν can hardly lead to a misunderstanding, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. πλοῖον. Perhaps we are dealing with a translation (?) of (?) φέρομαι/εἰσφέρομαι 'to embark', cf. Act. Barn. (edd. R.A. Lipsius ~ M. Bonnet, 2 vols. Leipzig 1891-1903), p.297, 14 καὶ ἀνήχθημεν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ 'and we went on board', cf. LSJ, s.v. εἰσφέρω III.2 'to rush in'; Pall., *Hist. Laus.* 83, p.1186 ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ εἰσενηνοχέναι 'to have put on board'. Both the **P** reading and **RB** are actually based on the next sentence in *RA* (10) *Pervenit innocens tandem Apollonius prior ad patriam suam*. From this last sentence Riese (1893) supplies an additional *Apollonii* in **P** behind *patriam,* making the context more understandable;

Schmeling (following Tsitsikli) supplies *innocentis*, though *innocens* in RA 10 has a different meaning and has been misinterpreted by *RB*, cf. 6, RA 10-11 (comm.). Given these uncertain or partly incorrect emendations, I have retained the **A** reading as the *lectio difficilior*.

6, RA 10-11	Pervenit innocens tandem Apollonius prior ad patriam suam et introivit domum. 'Without any harm Apollonius at last arrived in his homeland first and went into his palace.'
6, RB 8-11	Apollonius vero prior attigit pátriam súam (*pl.*). Excipitur cum magna laude a cívibus súis (*pl.*), sicut solent principes, qui béne meréntur (*pl.*). Ducitur in domum suam cum laude et vocibus laetitiae, interiorem petiit cubiculum.

The beginning of a longer passage (RA 10-20) with radical 'corrections' by *RB* (RB 7-21), cf. Introd. III.

pervenit <...> **ad** (RA) ~ *attigit* (RB): *attingere* is often used for an arrival after a sea voyage, cf. 4, RA 3/RB 4 *navigans attingit*; OLD, s.v. *attingo* (6 a) 'to reach, arrive at, set foot on': Cic., *Verr.* 2,161 *omnia ista ante facta sunt* <...> *quam iste Italiam attigit*; Catull. 64,75; Caes., *Bell. Gall.* 4,23,2. A sea voyage is obviously meant here too: Antioch ~ Tyre. No mention is made of the geographical detail that Antioch lies on the Orontes, cf. 4, RA 2/RB 4 (comm.).

innocens (RA) ~ (RB /): *Innocens* here means not so much 'innocent' as 'unharmed', cf. 42, RA 32 *innocens intrarem per istum ignem* ~ RB 24 *innocens intrarem in ignes*. ThLL VII 1705,57-8 also accepts the passive meaning. The meaning 'unharmed' is wholly appropriate to the Greek Novel, where every voyage is hazardous, cf. 51, RA 4-5 *Pervenit feliciter* (comm.), the more so here since Apollonius is being pursued. We are probably dealing with a translation error, cf. Introd. IV.1. It is difficult to establish a Greek equivalent: (?) ἄκακος, cf. LSJ, s.v. (II); ἀπήμων, cf. LSJ, s.v. (I); esp. ἀβλαβής would be an excellent candidate, cf. LSJ, s.v. (I): 'unharmed' 'unhurt', esp. because this adj. is also used in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v.

tandem (RA) ~ (RB /): This *tandem* 'finally' goes very well with what I believe to be the required meaning 'unharmed' for *innocens*: the epitomator **R(Gr)** (via a recapitulatory ἤδη 'by this time'/δή 'so' 'then') had nothing to say about possible adventures, hazards, difficulties during the passage from Antioch to Tyre, cf. Introd. V. In my view, changes relating

to *innocens* (deleted here by Schmeling [1988] and transposed as *innocentis* to the previous sentence) and *tandem* (Riese [1893] conjectures *tamen*) are unnecessary.

introivit A: *introivit domum* **P** (RA) ~ *Excipitur cum magna laude a cívibus súis* (*pl.*), *sicut solent principes, qui béne meréntur* (*pl.*). *Ducitur in domum suam cum laude et vocibus laetitiae, interiorem petiit cubiculum* (RB): In all its brevity the *RA* reading is to be regarded as authentic: *RB* is a literary elaboration of the 'joyous arrival' τόπος. Within *RA* one might want to give preference to **A**: εἰσέρχομαι is also used in this way with an ellipsis of εἰς τὸν (ἑαυτοῦ) οἶκον, esp. in colloquial speech (Arist., *Vesp.* 107; *Acharn.* 202; *Ran.* 981; cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. εἰσέρχομαι (d)). But in constituting the text I have preferred **P** (cf. 2, RA 1 *introivit cubiculum*), because the formulation without *domus* would be too lapidary and because *domus*, too, may stem directly from Gr. οἶκος in the sense of οἶκος τοῦ βασιλέως 'palace'. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. οἶκος (1.β) refers esp. (alongside Ael. Aristid. 32,12 K.; Ios., *antiq.* 9,102) to Matt. 11:8 *Ecce qui mollibus vestiuntur, in domibus regum sunt* (Gr. ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις τῶν βασιλέων). Given that such usage does not occur elsewhere in the Greek Novel (cf. *Less.*, s.v. οἶκος), this place forms an indirect argument for the language of **R(Gr)**, cf. Introd. V.

RB's expansive description testifies to a certain erudition. It corresponds to real, historical events, well-known in Rome, cf. Dion. Halic. 2,60,2 ὑπήντων ἔτι καθ' ὁδὸν ὄντι σὺν ἐπαίνῳ πολλῷ (cf. *cum laude*) καὶ ἀσπασμοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τίμαις παραπέμποντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν 'On his return (viz. Augustus from Spain) he was received with cheers and greetings and every form of honour, while they escorted him into the city.' The Greek Novel likes to enlarge on this, cf. Heliod. 1,7,2 Πολλὰ τὸν λῄσταρχον τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας εὐφημοῦντες ἐπὶ τὴν οἴκησιν αὐτοῦ παρέπεμπον 'Extolling their chiefs' excellence at great length, they escorted him to his dwelling', cf. also 10,1,1; 10,6,1. For other Greek novelists, cf. *Less.*, s.v. παραπέμπω 'to escort' en προπέμπω 'to conduct'. *RB* here uses distinctly biblical terms (8-9) *cum magna laude,* ‹...› (10) *cum laude et vocibus laetitiae* (i.q. cum clamore laeto). For *vox laetitiae*, cf. ed. m. (1984), p.117. In other places, too, *RB* likes to hark back to this kind of a joyous reception, where *RA* remains silent (cf. 51, RB 4 ~ RA /). The reception is remarkable here inasmuch as it celebrates the return of a young man whose only achievement is to have solved a neck riddle. In relation to the sober statement in *RA*, *RB* thus proves itself to be secondary.

interiorem (**b**: *interius* **βMπ**) **petiit cubiculum** (RB): An example of the disappearance of the neuter, very common in Late Latin and widely illustrated by scholars. Examples for the *HA* are sparse, cf. Ind. gr., s.v.

neutrum. The usage is frequent for the comparative, as here, cf. V. Bulhart, *Euseb. Vercell.*, Turnholti 1957, pp.X-XI (examples and literature). The **βMπ** 'correction' is perfectly understandable, but historically wrong. Obviously the formulation is found on various levels. An interesting place for our discussion is *Passio Apostolorum Petri et Pauli*, pars prior, c.3 (Bonnet p.225,18) *Nero in palatium suum discessit: iussit autem et Simonem secum ingredi. Et cum simul intus essent, introierunt in cubiculum interius et nescio quas iniquas et magicas sanctiones faciens Neroni, plurimas ei ostendit artis suae virtutes.* Compare on the other hand Vulg. 2 Kgs. 9:2 *introduces in interius cubiculum*. We can even point to a parallel in the Greek Novel (probably in a jocular mode): Xen Eph. 5,1,10 εἰς τὸ ἐνδότερον δωμάτιον '(the fisherman brought Habrocomes) into the inner room'. (Klebs, pp.43, 256, 273 regards *excipitur* <…> *cubiculum* as an independent interpolation within *RB*.)

6, RA 9-12 Et aperto scrinio codicum suorum inquirit omnes quaestiones auctorum omniumque pene philosophorum disputationes omniumque etiam Chaldaeorum. 'And he opened his bookchest, and examined all the problems of history writers and the debates of almost all the philosophers and also of all the Chaldaeans.'

6, RB 11-13 Continuo iussit adferre sibi scrinea cum voluminibus graecis et latinis universarum quaestionum, ut ex animo quaereret quaestionem illam.

et aperto scrinio codicum suorum (RA) ~ *Continuo iussit adferre* (**b**: *-rri* **βπ**) *sibi scrinea*. A *scrinium* was een cylindrical, wooden chest, cf. OLD, s.v.: 'a receptacle for holding letters or papers', in practice papyrus scrolls. These were placed vertically and sometimes provided with a *titulus*. The *scrinia* could be closed with a lid. So the term *codicum* (written books) is actually inaccurate, but in practice books could also be fitted into *scrinia*, cf. T. Birth, *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst. Archäologisch-antiquarische Untersuchungen zum antiken Buchwesen*, Leipzig 1909, p.248. This double function is confirmed by the glosses. As an alternative to the *scrinium*, cf. CGL VII 244: on the one hand χαρτοθήκη/χαρτοφυλάκιον 'case for storing papers/papyri', on the other βιβλιοφόριον 'book- or lettercase'. It is therefore uncertain what Greek word underlies *scrinium*: θήκη? κιβώτιον? Birth, ad. loc., quotes Aristides (ed. Jebb), p.282: κομίζειν τὸ κιβώτιον 'to bring the bookchest'. The correction in *RB* is highly effective: it intro-

duces not only the plur., but also the appropriate verb, certainly for a prince, i.e. *iubere*: this is not something one does oneself, as in *RA*, but something one orders to be done, cf. Hor., *Epist.* 2,1,113 *scrinia posco*. *RB* makes a similar change in 6, RA 19 *deferens*.

codicum suorum (RA) ~ *cum voluminibus graecis et latinis* (RB): The questionable *codicum* is replaced with *volumina*, which can indicate both a scroll (cf. volvere) and part of a book, or the book as a whole, cf. 51, RB 27 (comm.). The combination *graecis et latinis* is found very frequently, both in Latin and in Greek: Petron. *Sat.* 48,4 *et ne me putes studia fastiditum*, II (Ms. III, probably right) *bibliothecas habeo, unam Graecam, alteram Latinam*; CIL III no. 431 (Ephesi tempore Hadriani): *proc(uratori) bibliotheca(rum) Graec(arum) et Latin(arum)*; CIL (Romae) VI 28,138 (puer sex annorum et dimidium) *educatus litteris Graecis et Latinis*; CIL VI 339,29 *puero, qui studens litteras graecas, non monstratas sibi latinas adripuit*; Suet., *Oct.* 31. For Greek, cf. Vita S. Melaniae (ed. Gorce), 26 (p.180). Naturally this τόπος becomes popular in hagiography, e.g. Mombr. I 535,10 *quem prima eius mater litteris graecis et latinis erudiri fecit*; II 31,35 (S. Hieronymus) *in qua* (Romae) *litteris graecis et latinis diligenter eruditus*; II 391,36 (Passio SS. Prothi et Hyacinthi martyrum) *cuius filia Eugenia* <...> *sexto decimo aetatis anno ita graeco latinoque sermone in liberalibus litteris probatur esse perfecta* <...> *ut eam etiam philosophi mirarentur*. More literature is supplied by M. Dubuisson, 'Utraque lingua', *L'Antiquité Classique* 50, 1981, pp.274-86. It is clear that *RB* could hardly avoid introducing this τόπος.

inquirit omnes quaestiones auctorum omniumque pene philosophorum disputationes omniumque etiam Chaldaeorum (RA) ~ *universarum quaestionum, ut ex animo quaereret quaestionem illam* (RB): A rhetorically arranged enumeration (see the tricolon) of Apollonius' laborious consultation of history books (think of the legends surrounding Oedipus, Oenomaos; the intrigues of and relating to the Seleucids), philosophical debates (on *fatum* and free will) and finally astrological works. The formulation sounds Greek, e.g. (?) ἀναζητεῖ πάντα τὰ ζητήματα, cf. LSJ, s.v. ζητεύω/ζητέω (4): 'to investigate' 'to examine' of philosophical investigation; ibid., s.v. ζήτημα (II), 'inquiry' <...>'espec. of a philosophic nature'. The spelling *actor* **A** = *auctor*, based on pronunciation, is very frequent, cf. Friedrich (on Catull., *carm.* 68,67), p.459.

Chaldaei (RA) ~ (RB /) = Χαλδαῖοι, a people of Assyria, distinguished, in an early age, for their knowledge of astronomy and astrology: in general, '*soothsayers*'. *Chaldaei* was the most appropriate name, the common people talked about *mathematici*, cf. Gell., *Noct. Att.* 1,9,6 *vulgus autem, quos gentilicio vocabulo 'Chaldaeos' dicere oportet, 'mathematicos' dicit* (reference by

Schmeling, *Notes* p.136). Their influence was particularly great on family life and marital relations. This is one of the few places where, thanks to **R(Gr)**, we can hear an echo of the original astrological motivation (cf. Introd. VI.1). There is another special reason for consulting the books of the *Chaldaei* in the *HA*. Traditionally the *Chaldaei* occupied themselves with problems relating to succession, the education of princes, and affairs of the realm. They also performed the initiation ritual for the accession of a new king (Plut., *Artox.* c.3). For further information, see H.A. Holden, *The Cyropaedeia of Xenophon*. Books III, IV, V. Cambridge 1887, Notes (on *Cyr.* 4,5,14), pp.103-4.

universarum quaestionum (RB): *RB*'s 'correction' is very resolute: Apollonius confines his investigations to the riddle literature, the so-called ἐρωτήματα. *Universus* is a common word in *RA/RB*, cf. Ind. verb. It has the value of an emphatic *omnis*. *RB* repeatedly alters to *omnis* (17, RA 11 ~ RB 10; 35, RA 22 ~ RB 18) or omits (23, RA 12; 35, RA 19; 51, RA 2). A conspicuous feature is the 'reduction' in 7, RA 22 *universas* ~ RB 21 *diversas*. The τόπος of Greek and Latin and the etymological figure *quaerere/questionem* eliminates the fraught, highly significant *Chaldaei*. For the literary phrase *ex animo* (RB), cf. OLD, s.v. *animus* (8.b): 'heartily', 'sincerely'.

6, RA 13-14	Et dum aliud non invenisset, nisi quod cogitaverat, ad semetipsum locutus est dicens: 'Since he found nothing except what he had already thought out, he said to himself:'
6, RB 13-14	Et non invenit meritum, nisi quod invenerat. Et cum aliud non invenisset, secum cogitans ait:

Et dum aliud non invenisset, nisi quod cogitaverat (RA) ~ *Et non invenit meritum, nisi quod invenerat. Et cum aliud non invenisset* (RB): For the change *dum* (RA) / *cum* (RB), cf. 1, RA/RB 4 comm. The text of *RA* suggests an underlying Greek text, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἄλλος (III): 'less frequent = ἀλλοῖος' 'of other sort' 'different': οὐδὲν ἄλλο <...> ἤ 'nothing else than' (with references Herod. 1,40; 7,68; Thuc. 4,14 *al.*); cf. also LSJ, s.v. εὑρίσκω and εἴομαι 'to expect' 'to suspect'. *RB* marks the decisive moment with a pun: *Invenit* (sc. *in libris*) over against *invenerat* (sc. *mente*). *RB*'s text is not clear in every respect. The codd. diverge: *meritum* **bβ**: *merito* **π**, Klebs 269; it may be that we should read the sense as *sibi meritum esse* 'was granted to him' (cf. ed. m. (1984), p.287), but in that case not so much as a reference to astrology as, more generally, to *fatum*, a possibility

which *RB* does accept, cf. 12, RB 4 *fortuna proicitur* (comm.). The conjecture *scriptum* (Riese (1893) seems no more than an easy way out.

ad semet ipsum locutus est dicens (RA) ~ *secum cogitans ait* (RB): Solemn diction both in Latin and in Greek, abridged by *RB*. In particular Charit. likes to use the expression λέγων (εἶπεν) πρὸς αὑτόν, sometimes with slight variations (cf. 1,7,1; 1,7,2; 1,9,6; 1,13,2; 2,2,6; 2,4,4; 2,8,2; 5,2,7; 6,1,8). The complete identity of the two verbs *locutus est dicens* (RA) ~ ἔλεγεν εἰπών is in the first place a Hebraism; it also occurs separately and incidentally in Greek literature (cf. LSJ, s.v. λέγω (III.7), but especially in the OT and NT (cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. λέγω (8)) and hence in the Vulgate. Compare Luke 12:16 Εἶπεν δὲ παραβολὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγων: Vulg. *Dixit autem similitudinem ad illos dicens*; Luke 20:2 καὶ εἶπαν λέγοντες πρὸς αὐτόν: *et aiunt dicentes ad illum* (cf. Mohrmann, *Études*, l.l. I, p.49). *RB*'s change to *secum cogitans* (cf. 31, RB 5) can be regarded as a change from almost biblical pleonasm to classical succinctness (cf. 5, RA 1 *sic ait ad eum*: RB 2 *ait*).

6, RA 14-16 "Quid agis, Apolloni? Quaestionem regis solvisti. Filiam eius non accepisti. Ideo dilatus es, ut neceris." '"What are you doing, Apollonius? You have solved the king's riddle. You have not obtained his daughter. You have been put off only to be killed."'

6, RB 14-17 "Nisi fallor, Antiochus rex impio amore diligit filiam suam et ideo vult istud adferre. Quid agis, Apolloni? Quaestionem regis solvisti, filiam non accepisti: et ideo dilatus es, ut neceris."

Quid agis, Apolloni? (RA) ~ *Nisi fallor, diligit <…> vult istud adferre. Quid agis, Apolloni?* (RB): The introductory main sentence leads to a monologue full of complaints and self-pity. These are part of the Greek Novel's standard repertoire, cf. Rohde, l.l. p.526 n.1; Calderini, l.l. p.148. A favourite beginning here is a kind of anastrophe, cf. Charit. 1,12,2 ἔφη δὲ πρὸς αὑτόν· 'Ανόητος, ὦ Θήρων, εἶ· 'he said to himself: You're a fool, Theron <…>'; Xen. Eph. 3,6,3 Νυνὶ δὲ τί ποιήσεις, 'Ανθία; ἀδικήσεις 'Αβροκόμην τὸν ἄνδρα· 'But now, what will you do, Anthia? Will you wrong Habrocomes, your husband?'; 5,10,5 ἀλλὰ καρτέρησον, 'Αβροκόμη 'But persevere, Habrocomes.' This 'self-address' is often found in Latin too, cf. Kroll on Catull. 8,1 *Miser, Catulle, desinas ineptire*; Apul., *Met.* 6,26 *et ipse mecum: 'quid stas, Luci <…> ?' RB* rhetorically expands the protasis to underline the painful situation. The meditation disturbs the effect of the

anastrophe. The phrase *impio amore* is a literary embellishment and is regularly found in Latin literature, cf. ThLL VII 621,61-72. A nice feature is the progressive text development: *istud adferre* b ('to cause this'); then *ista afferre* β (*a. corr.*); *istud caput auferre* RBern 4 ('to take away this my head'); *ista auferre* β ('to take away all these things'); *istam aufferre* β^{II} ('to take her away'): *illam mihi auferre* π 'to take her away from me'.

soluisti <…> **accepisti** <…> **neceris** (RA/RB): A tricolon, with an almost rhetorical conclusion.

dilatus est (RA/RB): *Differre* is *the* technical term for 'to put off', 'to bear' (cf. ThLL V,1 1166,11) and corresponds to ἀναβάλλω: Achill. Tat. 2,12,1 ἐζήτουν μηχανήν, δι' ἧς δυναίμην ἀναβαλέσθαι τὸν γάμον 'I had to find some way to postpone the marriage'; Xen. Eph. 5,1,7 ἡ κόρη πολλὰς προφάσεις ἐποιεῖτο ἀναβαλλομένη τὸν γάμον 'She kept making excuses and putting off the wedding.' The garbled *dilatatus* **A**, instead of *dilatus*, occurs frequently, but is less authentic here on account of the translation milieu, cf. Introd. II.

neceris (A/RB): The reading *nocearis* **P** is based on *noceo* + acc. and is intended to replace the harsh, direct *neceris* **A**.

6, RA 17-20 Atque ita onerari praecepit naves frumento. Ipse quoque Apollonius cum paucis comitantibus fidelissimis servis navem occulte ascendit, deferens secum multum pondus auri atque argenti, sed et vestem copiosissimam. Et hora noctis silentissima tertia tradidit se alto pelago. 'In this situation he ordered his ships to be loaded with grain. Apollonius himself, accompanied by a few most trustworthy slaves boarded his ship in secret, taking with him a large amount of gold and silver and a very great abundance of clothing. And at the third hour of the night, when it was deep silence, he entrusted himself to the open sea.'

6, RB 18-19 Continuo iussit sibi, ut homo locuplex, navem praeparare, et in ea centum milia modios frumenti onerare praecepit et multum pondus auri et argenti et vestem copiosam. Paucis comitantibus fidelissimis servis hora noctis tertia navem ascendit tradiditque se alto pelago.

Atque ita (**A**: *Et exiens foras* **P**) ~ *Continuo* <…> *ut homo locuplex* (RB): In its very vagueness the reading *Atque ita* **A** is the best of all further variants and probably corresponds to καὶ οὕτως, 'in this situation'. This term is likely to have come down via **R(Gr)**, cf. Introd. IV.1. It implies that Apollonius, after consulting his library, merely finds confirmation of what he already suspected, i.e. that he is enthralled by fate. According to the definition of Isid., *Etym.* 10,13, he is *quasi malo sidere natus*. Only through good works can he ward off this fate (cf. ed. m. [1984], p.127). Apollonius' decision to throw himself into the corn trade is not entirely surprising: (1) Tyre was the port of transit particularly for corn imported from Syria and Phoenicia, cf. Headlam (on Herondas 2,17 πυροὺς ἄγων), p.77 and Ezek. 27:17 *Juda et terra Israel, ipsi institutores tui* (*sc.* Tyri) *in frumento primo* 'Juda and the land of Israel, they are your brokers for grain of first quality'; (2) the occupation of grain merchant was held in very low esteem, cf. 10, RA 12/RB 10 *mercatoris nomen adsumere*: precisely by taking on this lowly, despised occupation, Apollonius shows his submission to fate; (3) great figures in the past had acted similarly, cf. 10, RA 14/RB 12 *statuam* (*bigam*) *statuere*. This background information makes Apollonius' conduct understandable to a certain point. Other readings, both *Ex exiens foras* **P** (cf. 22, RA 12; preferred by Riese [1893], praef. XIX and by Klebs, p.174 n.1) and *ut homo locuplex RB*, are merely attempts at explanation.

onerari praecepit (RA) ~ *iussit sibi* <…> *praeparare et onerare praecepit* (RB): *RB* is very precise: first a ship needs to be prepared (cf. 5, RA 6; 8, RA/RB 1) and then loading can begin. For the emphasis on *iussit*, cf. above 6, RB 11.

naves (RA) ~ **navem** <…> **et in ea** (RB): *RA* talks about a 'fleet' in several places, where the more precise *RB* mentions only a ship (which is obviously large), cf. 25, RA 2 ~ 25, RB 1; 29, RA 17-19 *naves* <…> *pervenerunt* ~ RB /.

frumento (RA) ~ *centum milia modios* (RB): For *RB*'s precise information, cf. 10, RA 7/RB 6 (comm.)

Ipse quoque Apollonius (RA) ~ (RB /): In *RB*'s following reduction (in which 2 sentences are merged into one) *RB* omits various epic formulations as superfluous, or not appropriate to a king. In doing so he probably eliminates a number of Graecisms: cf. (18) *cum* ([?] from Gr. σύν 'with'): (18) *occulte*; (19) *deferens secum* (from [?] κατάγων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, cf. LSJ, s.v. κατάγω (3) 'to bring down to the seacoast'); (19) *sed et* (from [?] ἀλλὰ καί, cf. Riese [1871], praef. XII); (20) *silentissima*.

(vestem) copiosissimam (RA) ~ *copiosam* (RB): *RB* often replaces the exuberant superlative with the positive, cf. 15, RA 11 *verecundissimo sermone* ~ RB 10 *verecundo sermone* (comm.), cf. Ind. gr., s.v. gradus comparationum.

multum pondus <…> **vestem copiosissimam** (RA: *-osam* RB) (RA/RB): Such enumerations occur very frequently both in Latin and in Greek, in a short (like here in *HA*) as well as in a longer form (cf. 17, RA/RB). The closest parallel is Xen. Eph. 1,10,4 ναῦς τε μεγάλη <…> πολλὴ μὲν ἐσθὴς καὶ ποικίλη, πολὺς δὲ ἄργυρος καὶ χρυσός (already noted by Riese [1893], praef. XVI n.4) 'a great ship <…> a large selection of cloths of all kinds, a great deal of gold and silver'; id., 4,3,2, ἦν δὲ πολὺ μὲν πλῆθος χρυσοῦ, πολὺ δὲ ἀργύρου, πολλὴ δὲ ἐσθής 'There was a great deal of gold, silver and clothing'; Heliod. 1,22,3 ὁλκὰς οὖν ἐπληροῦτο χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ ἐσθήτων 'So a boat was loaded with gold, silver, vestments.' For Latin, cf. Verg., *Aen.* 1,363 *ignotum argenti pondus et auri*; Tacit., *ann.* 3,53 *argenti et auri pondus*; Vulg., Ex. 3:22 *postulabit mulier* <…> *vasa argentea et aurea ac vestes*, cf. Cassiod., *Instit. div. litt.* 28 *auro et argento et veste suffarcinatus*. The longer formulation mentions concubines, slaves, horses, etc.

hora noctis silentissima tertia (RA) ~ *hora noctis tertia* (RB): Around nine o'clock, when people are in their first, deep sleep. Latin Antiquity divides the periods of light and dark into twelve equal hours each. This means that the length of an hour varies depending on the time of year. The Greek Novel prefers to reckon in terms of the φυλακή 'watch', cf. Achill. Tat. 2,31,3 ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες ἐκάθευδον περὶ πρώτας νυκτὸς φυλακάς, προῄειμεν ἀψοφητί 'when the whole city was asleep, at about the first watch of the night, we set out without a sound', cf. ibid. 3,16,2; Heliod. 1,8,1 νυκτὸς εἰς πρώτην φυλακὴν προελθούσης 'It was the time of the concluding first watch.' A slight adaptation probably took place in the passage from **R(Gr)** to *RA*. For *silentissima* (RA), cf. *Excidium Troiae* (ed. Atwood): *Helena respondit: 'Sunt mihi de familia mea famuli fidelissimi, qui cum thesauris vel omnibus ornamentis hora noctis silentissima de palatio exeant; tantum ut cum nave ad ora maris paratus sis.'* A synonymous expression is *intempesta nocte*, *intempestae noctis silentio*.

tradidit (RA; *-que* **b**) **se alto pelago** (RA/**b**): For the fatalistic interpretation supported here, see Introd. VIII. RA 1. It seems likely that neither *RA* nor **b** apprehended what the actual intention was but set out to provide the most literal possible translation, cf. the misunderstood technical term φοιτάω rendered by *currere*, cf. 1, RA 6 (comm.). But the actual meaning was probably comprehended by **βMπ**, which replace the expression in question *tradiditque se alto pelago* **b** with *Alto pelago navigat*. The

precise Greek reading is of course pure conjecture: δίδωμι ἐμαυτόν (alongside παρα-/ἐπι-), ἀφίημι ἐμαυτόν (alongside ἐφ-, καθ-). It is probable that πέλαγος did go into the making of this expression (see the examples cited). *Less*, s.v. πέλαγος and s.v. ὑψηλός does not offer any parallel for *altum (pelagus)*. ThLL X 1,2 990,8 refers to e.g. Lucan. 9,312; Avien., *Orb. terr.* 814. For the consequences of this fatalistic interpretation, cf. 8, RB 3-10 (comm.).

A final remark on chs. 1-6 (cf. the introductory remark on chs. 1-5)
Few words are needed to indicate the degree of skill and sophistication shown by the author of **HA(Gr)** in these chapters. His starting-point was the almost prosaic historical fact of corn transports from Tyre to Tarsus ordered by Caracalla to prevent a disastrous situation. (The citizens of Tarsus had to supply grain for Caracalla's expedition against the Parthians, cf. Garbugino, p.61 n.50.) He was able to interweave this historical information with the story of Apollonius and his unsuccessful proposal of marriage after the pattern of Oenomaos-Hippodameia and Pelops' marriage proposal. Caracalla's provident transports of grain were combined with Apollonius' activitities. Whereas the former acted purposefully, Apollonius was driven by the winds of fortune. These forces, as the original novel stated, governed Apollonius' fate and ultimate success. This aspect and the sophisticated internal cohesion was completely disrupted by the epitomator **R(Gr).** What remains is a charming but bare framework, without any internal motivation.

7, RA 1-2 Alia vero die in civitate sua quaeritur a civibus suis ad salutandum et non inventus est. 'Next day in the city his people looked for him in order to pay their respects, but did not find him.'

7, RB 1 Alia die quaeritur a civibus nec invenitur.

Alia die (RA/RB): For *alius* in the sense of *alter* (said of two), cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *alius* (1), who particularly quotes Tert., *Apol.* 23 *alia die* (= le lendemain). This specific usage with *dies* is well-known in Latin literature, from Plautus onwards for poetry and Curtius for prose, cf. ThLL 1, 1648,70-1649,35. It corresponds to ἄλλος = ἕτερος, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ἄλλος (3) (since Soph., *Electra* 739). No examples are given there which can illustrate *alia die* from the Greek. The Greek Novel uses τῇ ἐπιούσᾳ ἡμέρᾳ, cf. *Less.*, s.v. ἔπειμι (2). The usage occurs at only one other place in the *HA*: 7, RA 2; 51, RB 27-28 *unum* <…> *aliud*.

quaeritur <…> **et non inventus est** (RA) ~ *quaeritur* <…> *nec invenitur* (RB): A frequent combination, esp. in the NT, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. εὑρίσκω, and *HA* 7, RA 21-22/RB 20-21.

ad salutandum (RA) ~ (RB /): This refers to the morning call paid to friends, eminent citizens, and especially at court, in vogue not only among the Romans (Klebs, 211 'römische Sitte') but also among the Greeks, where the term is ἀσπασμός 'visit at the court to pay respect', cf. U. Wilcken, 'Eine neue Roman-Handschrift', *APF* 1 (1901) (pp.227-72), p.258 n.2: see also LSJ., s.v. ἀσπασμός 'salutation'; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v.: 'feierliche Begrüßung'. *RB* probably failed to see the importance of this ritual and eliminated the statement as superfluous.

inventum A: This reading, though defensible as an impersonal passive, has not been incorporated in the text, because it does not accord with standard usage in 5th-c. Rome, in contrast to 7, RA 21 *Quaeritur Apollonium*, cf. Introd. III.1.

7, RA 2-3 Fit tremor (**P**: tremor ingens **A**), sonat planctus ingens per totam civitatem. 'They were alarmed

and the sound of great lamentation was heard throughout the entire city.'

7, RB 1-3 Maeror ingens nascitur, quod princeps amantissimus nusquam comparet. Sonat planctus in totam civitatem.

Fit tremor (RA) ~ *Maeror* <…> *nascitur* (RB): In terms of both verb and subject *RB* offers the more appropriate word: *fit* (from (?) γί(γ)νεται) can be used for anything (*gaudium, terrae motus*); *nascor* is a poetic equivalent, cf. OLD, s.v. *nascor* (10): 'to spring' (of abstracta or non-material things). Likewise *tremor* does not specifically denote sadness, dismay, cf. OLD, s.v. *tremor*. On the other hand the probable Greek substrate τρόμος 'trembling, quivering' is often used in situations of fear, cf. LSJ, s.v. (1). The term *maeror, maestitia* draws a clearer picture of the situation for a Roman readership.

tremor ingens A ~ *planctus ingens* **P**: The displacement of *ingens* **A** means that it is difficult to establish *RA*'s actual text. *Ingens*, one of Virgil's favourite words, has its original meaning here. In Late Latin it often occurs in a weaker sense, alongside *grandis* and *nimius*, to replace an obsolescent *magnus*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. ingens.

quod princeps amantissimus (**bM**π [cf. ed. m. (1984), ad loc]; *amatissimus* **β**, Schmeling) **nusquam comparet** (RB): An explicative clause added by *RB* to clarify the term *maeror*, cf. OLD, s.v. *maeror*: 'Cic., *Phil.* 11,1 *magno in dolore* <…> *vel maerore potius*; Val. Max. 3,3,2'. The form *amantissimus* **b**, i.q. *amatissimus* 'very beloved', is certainly to be preferred to *amatissimus* **β**, the classical form. The first occurs preferably in Christian authors, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *amans* (Hier., August., Lact., Sulpic. Sev.). Nevertheless this non-classical form is found also in pagan authors, cf. ThLL I 1959,13-46 (Garbugino, p.105, n.65 overemphasizes the closeness of the sources cited in the ThLL to the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*). The combination *princeps amantissimus* might even provide a time-marker, because its occurrence is late: in the correspondence of Pope Hormisdas (pope 514-523), *Epist.* 146 (PL 63), p.985. For the idea, cf. below 7, RA 10 *subito nusquam comparuit*.

7, RA 3-5 Tantus namque amor civium suorum erga eum erat, ut per multa tempora tonsores privaréntur a público (*t.*), spectácula tolleréntur (*v.*), bálneae clauderéntur (*v.*). 'So great was his people's love for him, that for a long time the barbers were deprived of their clientele, the shows were cancelled and the baths closed.'

7, RB 3-4 Tantus vero amor circa eum cívium érat (*pl.*), ut multo tempore tonsóres cessárent (*pl.*), publica spectácula tolleréntur (*v.*), bálnea clauderéntur (*v.*), non templa neque tabernas quísquam ingrederétur (*v*). '<…> that for a long time the barbers stopped work, the public shows were cancelled, and no one went into the temples or taverns.'

erga (RA) ~ *circa* (RB): *Erga* may derive directly from Greek πρός, cf. e.g. Xen. Eph. 5,8,4 σύ που τέθνηκας πόθῳ τῷ πρὸς Ἁβροκόμην 'You must have died for love of Habrocomes.' In Latin, however, *erga* is dubious: it can be used both for friendly and for hostile feelings. Perhaps this is why both recensions prefer *circa* elsewhere, cf. 32, RA 39 *tantam simplicitatem et amorem circa nos gerens*; 36, RA 6 *tantusque amor circa eam excrebuit*; 36, RB 9 *et tantus circa eam civium amor excrevit*. Note the identical hyperbaton, both here and in the last example. This figure of speech mainly occurs in late Latinity, cf. Linderbauer, p.120; Hoppenbrouwers (1960), p.112 n.10.

per multa tempora (RA) ~ *multo tempore* (RB): Cf. 1, RA/RB 14 *diu* (comm.).

tonsores <…> **spectacula** <…> **balneae** (RA: *-ea* RB) (RA/RB): A depiction of public mourning, which took place not only in the western part of the Roman Empire (as Klebs, p.211 states), but especially in the East. It meant that the noisy public life in barbershops, theatres and bathhouses (tricolon) came to halt. Such deep mourning was mainly observed when rulers passed away (pharaohs in Alexandria, cf. Diod. Sic. 1,72); the family of Emperor Augustus in Roma, cf. Suet., *Cal.* 24; Iuven., *Sat.* 13,129 (ed. Friedländer, p.610); Tac., *Annal.* 2,82). It is important for the position of **HA(Gr)** (cf. Introd., VI.1) that this kind of mourning for royalty was also known in Asia Minor (cf. Herod. 6,5,2).

tonsores (RA/RB): Both in the West and in the East of the Roman Empire the barbershop (*tonstrinum* ~ κουρεῖον) was regarded as a place of gossip. Hair and beards were neglected in times of mourning (cf. Suet., *Calig.* 24;

28, RA/RB 14 (comm.). Hence the barber was deprived of customers: his shop was empty. The term κουρεύς does not occur in the Greek Novel. But recent studies have drawn attention to the function of the barber in social life (for Egypt, cf. Cumont, p.92 n.3; for Asia Minor, cf. L. Robert, in various essays, esp. *À travers l'Asie Mineure*, p.343 n.6). The change of *privarentur a publico* (RA) to *cessarent, publica (spectacula)* (RB) assumes that the barbers stopped working, which was not actually the case, cf. Introd. III.5. For the alteration of *privo* (RA) to *cesso* (RB), cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *privo* (3); s.v. *cesso* (2).

spectacula (RA/RB): The suspension of spectacles in the theatre (= θεωρίαι, cf. LSJ, s.v. θεωρία (III,3): 'esp. *public spectacle at the theatre* or *games*') is the next facet of public mourning. The change of *spectacula* (RA) to *publica spectacula* (RB) is a natural one, cf. Suet., *Aug.* 44,1 *quotiens quid spectaculi usquam publice ederetur*; Plin., *Nat.* 10,50 *Pergami spectaculum gallorum publice editur ceu gladiatorum*. Yet the change is inappropriate, since it may suggest the opposite notion of *privata spectacula* 'spectacles, not given by the emperor', cf. Suet., *Nero* 21. All festivities in whatever form are postponed (cf. Dion. Sic., l.l. τὰς ἑορτὰς οὐκ ἦγον 'they did not celebrate the festivities'). For the situation, cf. Charit. 1,5,1 Φήμη δὲ <…> καθ' ὅλην τὴν πόλιν διέτρεχεν, οἰμωγὴν ἐγείρουσα <…> καὶ πανταχόθεν ὁ θρῆνος ἠκούετο 'Rumor ran all over the town <…> arousing cries of grief <…> wailing was to be heard on all sides.'

balneae (RA; *-ea* RB) **clauderentur** (RA/RB): The closure of public bathhouses (βαλανεῖον δημόσιον; τὰ δημόσια λουτρά POxy. 1252 B 22 [3rd c. AD]) is a standard part of official mourning (Suet., *Calig.* 24 *lavisse* <…> *capital fuit*; Diod. Sic., l.l., Οὐδεὶς δ'ἂν οὔτε λουτροῖς <…> προείλετο χρῆσθαι 'Nobody would have dared to take a bath'). The term *balnea(s) claudere* does not occur as such in ThLL. Grammarians and purists prefer the form *balnea* **b**, perhaps by analogy with βαλανεῖον; as the neuter dies out, the feminine comes to prevail, as in RA.

non templa neque tabernas (*taberna* **b**; *tabernacula* **βMπ**) **quísquam íngrederétur** (*pl.*) (RB): Sometimes a statement is found (also in Greek) indicating that temples, too, were closed during periods of national mourning (cf. Diod. Sic., l.l. τὰ δ' ἱερὰ συνέκλειον καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐπεῖχον 'they shut the temples and suspended the sacrifices'; cf. Heliod. 7,11,5), but generally temples remained open for that very reason. However, both form (alliteration and cursus planus) and content suggest that the statement is an addition born from *RB*'s wide reading. Latin literature repeatedly talks about the closing of *tabernae* (with *tabulae* 'shutters'): Liv. 9,7,8 *tabernae circum forum clausae* 'the shops round the forum were closed'

(cf. ibid. 23,25,1 after the defeat of Cannae); Vlp., *digest.* 50 16,183 *tabernae* <…> *aedificium* <…> *ex eo, quod tabulis clauditur* (*sic*). It is likely that, as we find more often (25, RB 26 [comm.]; 46, RA/RB 9 [comm.]), *RB* has failed to understand an antique practice, since closure of the *tabernae* was meant to prevent looting. The form *taberna* **b** occurs sporadically, cf. Gloss. 5,396,30 *tabernum*. The influence of *templa* is probably felt here. The term *tabernaculum* **βMπ** can be regarded as a later alternative form of *taberna*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *tabernaculum* (4).

7, RA 5-6	Et ut cum haec Tyro aguntur, supervenit ille Thaliarchus, qui a rege Antiocho fuerat missus ad necandum iuvenem. 'While this was happening at Tyre, there arrived at the scene our Taliarchus, the man who had been sent by King Antiochus to kill the young man.'
7, RB 5-7	Et dum haec Tyro geruntur, supervenit Thaliarchus dispensator, qui ad necandum eum a rege fúerat míssus (*pl*).

ut cum AP: This reading is supported by a weight of scholarship, cf. Löfstedt, *Per.*, p.462 (cf. Heraeus, GGA [1915], p.478); *Beiträge*, p.33; *Vermischte Studien*, p.59; Blatt, l.l., p.125,23 with further lit.; Hofmann-Szantyr, *Lat. Gramm.* II, p.620[4]: 'Die Häufung von Temporalpartikeln is vulgär.'

Tyro (RA/RB): This reading should be retained, where classical Latin would prefer *Tyri* (loc.) (thus Riese [1893], ad loc.; Konstan, p.54). The classical locative does not occur in the *HA* (only in 49, RB 10 *Ephesi* **M**, a corrective humanist manuscript, 13th-14th c. [ed. m. (1984), pp.47-9]). This is in accordance with the position in Vulgar and Late Latin, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.* § 243. Its function is taken over by the abl., cf. 37, RA 1 *Mytilena* **A** (see app. crit.); 49, RA 8 *Ephes‹o›* (see app. crit.); 15, RB 13 *Tarso* **βMπ** (28, RB 2; 48, RB 4); *Tyro* 7, RA 5/RB 6 **bβπ** (48, RB 18 **βMπ**). *RB* eliminates a Graecism in two places by introducing this abl.: 28, RA 1 *applicuit Tharsos* ~ RB 2 *applicuit Tharso* **bβMπ**; 29, RA 9 *Tharsos* (in apposition) ~ 29, RB 8 *Tharso* (**b**: *-um* **βπ**). For this abl. of place, cf. Adams (1976), p.57.

supervenit (RA/RB): *Supervenire* often has the meaning 'suddenly', cf. OLD, s.v. (2.b.c.). The Glossaria suggest ἐπέρχομαι, cf. CGL VII, 298. This verb has the special meaning 'to come suddenly upon', cf. LSJ, s.v. (I). The remaining formulation (RA/RB), though Taliarchus was intro-

duced only a chapter ago, is part of the narrative style, probably introduced as such by **R(Gr)**.

ille (RA) ~ (RB /): *Ille* functions here as a definite article, cf. Introd. II.1 and G. Wolterstorff, 'Über *ille* als Artikel', *Glotta* 10 (1919), p.62 ff. RB often corrects, as here, but not consistently, cf. 48, RA 8/RB 6 *illi dixerunt*; 48, RA 15 *illi maiori* ~ RB 10 *illi matri*. The same applies to *ille* in the sense of *is*, cf. 15, RA 9/RB 8 *interroga illum*; 19, RA 12 *illa sibi* ~ RB 12 *ipsa*; 20, RA 14 *aperuit illum* ~ RB /; 30, RB 5 *illi*; 50, RA 4 *adduci illos* ~ RB /. For this phenomenon, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 270.

7, RA 7-8	Qui ut vidit omnia clausa, ait cuidam puero: "Indica mihi, si valeas: quae est haec causa, quod civitas ista in luctu moratur?" 'When he saw everything closed he asked a boy: "If you can, tell me why it is that this city is in mourning?"'
7, RB 7-8	Et videns omnia clausa ait cuidam puero: "Dic, si valeas, qua ex causa civitas haec in luctu moratur?"

ut vidit (RA) ~ *videns* (RB): A very common variation.

Indica <…>: (RA) ~ *Dic* <…>, (RB): Presumably the editor could have punctuated differently in *RA* too by inserting a comma. Late Latin has no problem with the use of the indicative in an indirect question, where classical Latin would have preferred a subjunctive, cf. 14, RA 5 *vide quis sit* ~ RB 4 *vide quis est*; 24, RA 6/RB 5 *dic mihi unde venisti* (RB *venis*); 34, RA 20/RB 21 *indica mihi quantum dedit*. See also Ind. gr., s.v. modi.

si valeas (RA/RB): The simplest explanation is probably a translation of εἰ δύνῃ (ind./subjunct.) = εἰ δύνασαι 'if thou canst', cf. LSJ, s.v. δύναμαι. For a highly complicated position that *si valeas* = *si vales*, cf. J.B. Hofmann, *Gnomon* 2 (1926), pp.670-1. In fact the form *si valeas* occurs elsewhere too: 24, RA 6/RB 5 and probably 34, RA 19 *Si salva sis* ~ RB 20 *si valeas*.

quae est haec causa, quod (RA) ~ *qua ex causa* (RB): We should probably interpret *causa* in *RA* as a thing ('chose', 'cosa'), cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *causa* (6): 'affaire, chose': Bened., *Reg.* 35 *aut in causa gravis utilitatis*; as we might expect, *RB* adjusts to the classical meaning 'reason'. The same classicism is reflected in *civitas ista* (RA) ~ *civitas haec* (RB), cf. Linderbauer, p.271: 'In der Itala steht oft *iste*, wo Hier. *hic* gebraucht.' See also 46, RA 6 (comm.).

7, RA 8-11 Cui puer ait: “O hominem inprobum! Scit et interrogat! Quis est enim, qui nesciat ideo hanc civitatem in luctum esse, quia princeps huius patriae, nomine Apollonius, reversus ab Antiochia subito núsquam compáruit (*t.*).” ‘The boy replied: “What a shameless man! He knows perfectly well and yet he asks! In fact who does not know that this city is in mourning for this reason, because the prince of this country, named Apollonius, having returned from Antioch, suddenly disappeared.”’

7, RB 9-11 Cui puer ait: “Hominem improbum et stultum! Scit et interrogat! Ideo civitas haec in luctu moratur, quia patriae huius princeps Apollonius ab Antiocho rege reversus nusquam comparuit.”

O (RA) ~ (RB /): The *HA* does not use the so-called ‘exclamative O’ all that often: it adds a dramatic aspect to the story. *RB* mostly follows *RA*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. o *exclamativum*. Only here and 41, RA 15 O me miserum! (RB Audi me miserum!). For o + acc., cf. OLD, s.v. *o* (2): Plaut., *Men.* 640 *O hominem malum, ut dissimulat*; Cic., *Fam.* 14,4,3 *O me perditum, O me adflictum*; id., *epist. Att.* 4,13,2 *O hominem nequam*. The Greek novel is also fond of using ὦ / ᾧ for so-called exclamative O: ὦ ἄνθρωπε four times in Achill. Tat., cf. *Less.*, s.v. ὦ. But with acc. it occurs only in Heliod. 7,14,5 and in Novel papyri, cf. *Less.*, s.v. ὦ. The omission in **b** may be merely due to carelessness: *O hominem* **βMπ**.

scit et interrogat (RA, **b**) ~ *scis et interrogas* **β**, **π** (*interrogas* ?): For the τόπος character, cf. Charit. 7,4 (Γελάσας) ὁ Χαιρέας εἶπεν· “Ὦ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀφυέστατε, οὐκ οἶδας πῶς <…> ‘Chaireas laughed: “What a fool you are!” he said. “Don’t you know how to deal with a woman?’; id. 1,12,6 “Ξένος εἶναί μοι δοκεῖς ἢ μακρόθεν ἥκειν, ὃς ἀγνοεῖς Διονύσιον <…> ‘“I think you must be a stranger <…> or come from a long way off if you don’t recognize Dionysius <…>.’ For this last, compare also Luke 24:18 *Tu solus peregrinus es in Jerusalem et non cognovisti* <…>? These examples show that the change of person in the secondary codd. of RB makes proper sense in itself (cf. 26, RB 13). Obviously the **RA**, **b** reading has been retained.

Quis est enim <…> **in luctum esse** (RA) ~ *Ideo* <…> *in luctu moratur* (RB): A deft *abbreviatio* by RB. For *in luctu moratur*, cf. 39, RA 25/RB 23; *morari* serves as a synonym for stark *sum*.

reversus ab Antiochia (RA) ~ *ab Antiocho rége revérsus* (*pl.*) (RB): We may compare 24, RA 7 *de Tyro* ~ RB 6 *a Tyro*. It is perhaps amusing to note for *RA* that, according to the testimony of Suet., *Aug.* 86, Emperor Augustus did not object to *praepositiones urbibus addere*. For the phenomenon, cf. J.B. Hofman – A. Szantyr, *Lat. Gramm.* (1965), p.102.

subito nusquam comparuit (RA) ~ *nusquam comparuit* (RB): For *subito* ([?] εὐθύς), which *RB* likes to omit as a popular element, cf. 2, RA/RB 1 (comm.). A smooth narrative style, and the Greek Novel in particular, is fond of circumlocutions like Achill. Tat. 7,9,4 γέγονεν ἐξαίφνης ἀφανής, sometimes embellished with οὐδαμοῦ 'nowhere', cf. *Less* s.v. ἀφανὴς εἶναι/γίνεσθαι; φαίνομαι. *RB* also omits this *subito* in what immediately follows (7, RB 11).

7, RA 12-13 Tunc Thaliarchus dispensator regis hoc audito gaudio plenus rediit ad navem. Et certa navigationis die attigit Antiochiam. 'When Thaliarchus, the king's steward, heard this, he returned to his ship full of joy. And on the usual day of sailing he arrived at Antioch.'

7, RB 12-13 Dispensator ut audivit, gaudio plenus dirigit ad navem. Et certa navigationis die attigit Antiochiam.

hoc audito (RA) ~ *ut audivit* (RB): The phrase *hoc audito* is quite common in the *HA*, and is sometimes altered, sometimes preserved by *RB*, cf. 6, RA 8 *hoc audito* ~ RB 6 *statim*; 7, RA 12 *hoc audito* ~ RB 12 *ut audivit*; 13, RA/RB 6; 18, RA 12/RB 11-12; 35, RA 11/RB 9; 37, RA 6-7 *hoc audito* ~ RB /; 37, RA 19/RB 20.

gaudio plenus (**A**, RB) ~ *gaudio* **P**: The formula (**A**, RB) is also part of standard phraseology in the *HA*, cf. 24, RA 15 (cf. app. crit.)/RB 12; 27, RA 12/RB 11. We should probably regard *gaudio* **P** as incorrect.

rediit (RA) ~ *dirigit* (RB): *RB*'s change lifts the version to a literary level. For the ellipsis of *iter* with *dirigo* (RB) 'to go his way', see Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *dirigo* (2): '(s. -ent. *iter*) se diriger vers, se rendre (Sen.)' with further examples in authors of repute like Paul. Nol., *Carmen* 20,377 and Ambros., *Hex.* 4,5,23.

certa (**AP**, **b**) **navigationis die** (RA) ~ *coepta navigatione, die III*^{a} (**βM**: *tercio* **π**) **βMπ**: *RA*'s reading has often been questioned. It is sometimes replaced

by *tertia* (thus Riese [1898], Tsitsikli [1981], Archibald [1991]). Yet we should follow Klebs, p.28 in retaining the RA, **b** reading, since *certus* here means ‘at the usual time’, cf. 25, RA 8 *certum iter navigant* ‘they sailed the usual course’. This accords with normal usage (Cic.: *certa dies, tempus certum*; Suet.: *certum praefinitumque tempus*; Plin. *Epist.* 7,65 *certo tempore anni*). For *die tertia* cf. 26, RA/RB 1.

7, RA 13-15 Ingressusque ad regem ait: “Domine rex, laetare et gaude, quia iuvenis ille Tyrius Apollonius timens regni tui vires subito nusquam conparuit.” ‘He entered the presence of the king and said: “Lord king, rejoice and be glad, for the young Apollonius of Tyre fearing your royal power has suddenly disappeared.”’

7, RB 12-15 Pervenitque ad regem et ait: “Laetare, domine rex, Apollonius enim timens regni tui vires nusquam comparuit.”

Ingressusque (ad regem) (RA) ~ *Pervenitque* (RB): Cf. 4, RA 12 *Ingressusque* (comm.).

laetare et gaude (RA) ~ *laetare* (RB): This pleonastic phrase occurs repeatedly in *HA*, sometimes in both redactions (24, RA 12/RB 10; ibid., RA 24/RB 19), sometimes, as here, only in *RA* (7, RA 14; 14, RA 25). Though the collocation is also found in pagan authors (Klebs, p.236 = Garbugino, p.100, n.33; ThLL VII,2 880,16-17), Thielmann (1881, p.9) is right to say that the combination is mainly biblical, cf. e.g. Vulg., Lam. 4:21 *Gaude et laetare, filia Edom* (LXX χαῖρε καὶ εὐφραίνου, θύγατερ Ἰδουμαίας). The collocation occurs in many variants, both in biblical manuscripts and in the Church Fathers, cf. Joel 2:21 *exulta et laetare*; Zech. 2:10 *lauda et laetare*. For Greek, cf. Bauer, s.v. χαίρω (1).

quia (RA) ~ *enim* (RB): A skilful ‘correctie’ by *RB*, as *quia* can mean both ‘that’ and ‘because’, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, §§ 374-5.

iuvenis ille Tyrius Apollonius (RA) ~ *Apollonius* (RB): Cf. above 7, RA 5 *ille* (comm.).

regni tui vires (RA/RB), cf. 18, RA/RB 10; 50, RA 15. Latin is supported by Liv. 33,4,4 *robur omne virium eius regni*; Petron. 115 *iactabas vires imperii tui* (sc. navis, cf. Klebs, p.279). For Late Latin, cf. Löfstedt, *Per.*, p.112; Heraeus, *GGA* (1915), p.479; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *vis* (4): *vires fisci* (=*fiscus*).

Yet there may be an underlying Greek expression here, cf. LSJ, s.v. κράτος (II): 'rule', 'sovereignty': 'especially in plur.'. Lampe, s.v. κράτος (B): 'Imperial Majesty'. The corresponding term of address is therefore τὸ ὑμέτερον κράτος 'Your Majesty', cf. Thurmayer (1910), p.9.

subito (RA) ~ (RB /), cf. 7, RA 11.

7, RA 15-16 Rex ait: "Fugire quidem potest, sed effugire non potest." 'The king said: "He can run away, but he cannot escape."'
7, RB 15 Rex ait: "Fugere potest, sed effugere non potest."

fugire <…> **effugire** (RA) ~ *fugere* <…> *effugere* (RB): The form *fugire* has been retained because the shift to the 4th conj. had long set in when the *HA* was translated/adapted, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *fugio* (with examples from Hier.; Iord.; Greg. Magn.); Väänänen, *Introd.*, p.144 § 132. Though we are dealing with a Latin wordplay here, possibly in the form *fugere* <…> *effugere* (alongside this place ThLL V,2 p.205,11 cites Coripp. *Ioh.* 8,18 *fugiat licet improbus astu, non tamen effugiet*; cf. Klebs, p.282) with reference to Titin., v.14 (Ribbeck^{2}) *fugi atque effugi,* there may well be an underlying Greek pun, e.g. (κατα)φεύγειν <…> ἐκφεύγειν, cf. Herod. 5,95 αὐτὸς (sc. Ἀλκαῖος) μὲν φεύγων ἐκφεύγει 'he himself fleeing escaped.'

7, RA 16-17 Continuo huiusmodi edictum proposuit: 'Immediately he announced the following edict:'
7, RB 15-16 Continuo huiusmodi edictum proposuit rex Antiochus, dicens:

proposuit (RA/RB): *Proponere* is a technical term 'to affix a proclamation', cf. O. Seeck, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311-476 n. Chr.*, Stuttgart 1919, p.8 ff., p.79 ff., like προτιθέναι ('offentlich anschlagen'), cf. LSJ, s.v. προτίθημι (II,3): 'to notify publicly'; U. Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit*, Leipzig-Berlin 1927, p.462, p.552. For a different method of tracking down someone, cf. Fortun., *Ars rhet.* 1,18 (Halm 1,95): *cuiusdam servus fugerat: libello proposito vel per praeconem dixit daturum se denarios mille ei, qui ad servum perduxisset*; Apul., *Metam.* 6,8 *nihil ergo superest, quam praeconio premium investigatores publicitus edicere*; Lucian., *Demonax* 17.

rex Antiochus, dicens (RB): Added on account of the official character; *dicens* is almost without meaning, approx. ':'. This *dicens* (λέγων) is regar-

ded as a Hebraism (cf. E. Kieckers, *IF* 35 [1915] p.34 ff; Blaß-Debrunner, § 420), though it occurs in secular Greek as well, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. γράφω (2.a). Clear examples are 1 Macc. 11 :57 *scripsit Antiochus* <…> *dicens* (LXX ἔγραψεν Ἀντίοχος <…> λέγων); Luke 1:63 *postulans pugillarem scripsit, dicens* (sc. Zechariah) (Gr. αἰτήσας πινακίδιον ἔγραψεν λέγων) 'Zechariah (who was mute) asked for a writing-tablet and wrote his name (sc. John), saying.' This usage probably plays a role here too, but because of its more or less general character we should not directly assume a Greek model, or **R(Gr)**, but rather attribute it to *RB*'s erudition (cf. H. Ljungvik, *Studien zur Sprache der apocryphen Apostelgeschichten*, Uppsala 1926, pp.7-8).

7, RA 17-18 "Quicumque mihi Tyrium Apollonium, contemptorem regni mei, vivum exhibuerit, accipiet auri talenta centum: qui vero caput eius attulerit, accipiet ducenta." 'Whoever delivers to me alive Apollonius of Tyre, despiser of my reign, shall receive one hundred talents of gold; whoever brings me his head, shall receive two hundred.'

7, RB 16-18 "Quicumque mihi Tyrium Apollonium vivum perduxerit, accipiet L talenta auri: qui vero caput eius pertulerit, centum accipiet."

Quicumque <…> **vivum exhibuerit; qui vero caput attulerit** (*pertu-* RB) (RA/RB): The form of Antiochus' proclamation is a comic twist on the public appeal for the capture of a runaway slave (*fugitivus*, δραπέτης) (cf. AP IX, 440; literary elaboration Apul., *Met.* VI, 7-8): of course the owner wants to see his property returned alive. Antiochus is more interested in possessing Apollonius' head. For content and practice, cf. e.g. Charit. 7,5,14 πολλοὺς μὲν ἐζώγρησε, πλείονας δὲ ἀπέκτεινεν. Ὁ δὲ Αἰγύπτιος (namely Pharaoh) ζῶν καταλαμβανόμενος ἀπέσφαξεν ἑαυτὸν καὶ Διονύσιος τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκόμισε πρὸς βασιλέα 'He (namely Dionysius) took many of them prisoner, and killed more. The Egyptian king, who was going to be taken alive, killed himself; Dionysius took his head back to the King'; Heliod. 2,9,2 ἐπιδεικνύναι τὸν μοιχὸν ἢ ζῶντα ἢ καὶ τεθνηκότα ἠξίουν 'They requested him to produce her lover, dead or alive', cf. *Less.*, s.v. ζωγρέω.

contemptorem regni mei (RA) ~ (RB /): *RB* leaves out an essential part of the proscription: the reason why Antiochus acts in this way. The term *contemptor* (cf. OLD, s.v. (1): 'one who looks down or despises') is coex-

tensive with Gr. καταφρονητής 'to despise', cf. CGL VI, 268 s.v. *contemptor*. The verb καταφρονέω is most instructive in this context and probably reveals the aim of Apollonius' marriage proposal, cf. LSJ, s.v. καταφρονέω with the subsidiary meaning (ibid., II): 'to aim at': Herod. 1,59 καταφρονήσας τὴν τυραννίδα 'despising the despotic rule'. By solving Antiochus' riddle, Apollonius is entitled to the throne and thus 'disrupts' Antiochus' tyranny, cf. 4, RA 2 (comm.).

auri talenta (RA/RB): Both *RA* and *RB* employ this almost absurd scale of remuneration involving talents of gold, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. talentum. This in sharp contrast to the Greek Novel, which has τάλαντον in combination with ἀργυρίου 'a talent of silver': Charit. 1,14,5 τάλαντον οὖν ἀργυρίου προκομίσας ἠνάγκαζε λαβεῖν 'So he pressed him to accept a talent of silver (= six thousand drachmas! Reardon, ad loc. p.37 n.32) he had brought with him'; Achill. Tat. 4,13,4 ἐδίδοσαν δὲ αὐτῷ ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἑκατόν 'They offered him a personal gift of a hundred silver talents.' The *auri talenta* are probably connected with Homer's χρυσοῖο τάλαντα, cf. LSJ, s.v. τάλαντον. The confusion in value scale should probably be attributed to **R(Gr)**.

centum <...> **ducenta** (RA) ~ *L* <...> *centum* (RB): Angry King Antiochus wants Apollonius dead at all costs. The price put on Apollonius' head, certainly in terms of *talenta auri*, is colossal (a sum of 2,400,000 sesterces has been calculated, cf. Konstan, 1985). The figures of 100 and 200 need not surprise us, since Plutarch repeatedly mentions such sums (Plut., *Sert.* 22 ἐπεκήρυξε γάρ, εἴ τις αὐτὸν ἀνέλοι Ῥωμαῖος, ἑκατὸν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα δώσειν; 'For he (sc. Metullus) made proclamation that to any Roman who should kill Sertorius he would give a hundred talents of silver'; id., *Pomp.* 32, τάλαντα ἑκατὸν; id., *Themist.* 29 διακόσια τάλαντα (see 8, RA 21 comm.)). The halved figures in *RB* should be seen in connection with the difficult interpretation of 8, RA 23-24 *centum talenta* (see comm.). For other examples of a reduction in value scale, cf. 46, RA 24/RB 22 and 47, RA/RB 8. (These places refute Klebs, p.337.)

exhibuerit (RA) ~ *perduxerit* (RB): *Exhibere* is general, cf. OLD, s.v. *exhibeo* (1): 'to bring out' 'to present for inspection': Plin., *Epist.* 1,2,1 *librum quem prioribus epistulis promiseram, exhibeo*; Apul., *Met.* 11,13. *Perducere* on the other hand is the technical term for bringing a witness, etc. before a legal authority, cf. OLD, s.v. *perduco* (1.b): 'to bring (before a court, judge, or other authority)': Cic., *Verr.* 1,11 *si istum vivum ad aliud iudicium perducere poterimus*; Plin., *Ep. Tra.* 10,74(16).1 *perductum ad magistratus*; Paul., *dig.* 19,1,43 *cum ceteri quoque servi* <...> *heredem ad praetorem perduxissent*. For this legal terminology in *RB*, cf. Introd. VII.2.

7, RA 19-21 Hoc edicto proposito non tantum eius inimici, sed etiam et amici cupiditate ducebantur et ad indagandum properabant. 'When this edict was proclaimed, not only Apollonius' enemies but also his friends were influenced by greed and hurried to track him down.'

7, RB 18-20 Hoc edicto proposito non solum inimici, sed etiam amici eius cupiditate seducti ad persequendum iúvenem properábant (*v.*).

non tantum <…> **sed etiam et** (RA) ~ *non solum* <…> *sed etiam* (RB): Particle pleonasms like *RA* are part of colloquial Latin, cf. Löfstedt, *Late Latin*, p.175 n.4; id., *Spätlateinische Studien*, p.27, 32 n.2; Blatt, *Acta Andreae* (on Casan. 11,3 *non solum ego tantum*), p.54 n.3; A. Erikson, *Sprachliche Bemerkungen zu Epiphanius' Interpretatio Evangelica*, Lund 1939, p.115. There is probably some resonance here from the Greek phrase καὶ δὴ καί 'and what is more', (cf. LSJ, s.v. δή (IV.4)), but not necessarily, cf. Bieler (on Patrick, *Epist.* I,42) p.171.

cupiditate ducebantur (RA) ~ *cupiditate seducti* (RB): For *RA*, cf. 34, RA 8 *pietate ductus*; for *RB*, cf. 31, RB 14-15 *spe libertatis seductus*.

ad (**A**: *om.* **P**) **indagandum** (RA) ~ *ad persequendum iuvenem* (RB): The verb *indagare* is mostly used in the sense of 'rounding up animals', cf. OLD, s.v. (1): 'to hunt out (animals)': Colum. 5,1,2 *in magna silva boni venatoris est indagantem feras quam plurimas capere*; Sen., *Dial.* 7,14,3. But another possible meaning is 'to hunt down people', as here, cf. OLD, s.v. (2): 'to search out (persons or things)': Plaut., *Merc.* 623 *eo si pacto posset indagarier mulier?*; Apul., *Met.* 7,10. *RB* probably thought this expression too crude (cf. Gr. [?] ἐρευνάω 'to search for', 'to track') and opts for the more decorous *ad persequendum iuvenem*, cf. 8, RA 2. The construction *indagandum properabant* **P** can be explained as a contamination of *ad indagandum properabant* and *indagare properabant*, cf. R.A. Haadsma et J. Nuchelmans, *Précis de Latin Vulgaire*, Groningen 1963, § 87. Of course it may also be a simple omission.

7, RA 21-22 Quaeritur Apollonium per terras, per montes, per silvas, per universas indagines, et nón inveniebátur (*v.*). 'They looked for him on land, in the mountains, in the forests by every manner of search, but they did not find him.'

7, RB 20-21 Quaeritur Apollonius per mare, per terras, per montes, per silvas, per diversas indagines, et nón invenítur (*pl.*).

Apollonium (RA) ~ *Apollonius* (RB): The form *Apollonium* has been retained for an impersonal passive (*quaeritur*) which governs the acc. This is not uncommon in Late Latin: *Peregr. Eg.* 25,3 *fit orationem*; Palad. 1,6,14 *olivam* <…> *plantatur*; Oros. 8,39,9 *hymnum* <…> *canitur*, cf. Löfstedt, *Per.*, p.291; Svennung, *Oros.*, p.81, *Pall.*, p.473; Norberg, *Syntakt. Forschungen*, pp.92-101; id., *Beiträge*, p.21 ff. For the *HA* cf. 8, RA 26 *amicitiam* <…> *comparatur*; 12, RB 1 *mortemque minatur*.

per terram (**A**: *-as* **P**) (RA) ~ *per mare, per terras* (RB): The **A** reading makes good sense: Apollonius is sought on land (and at sea): **P** probably means 'the lands' (and not Riese [1893], app. crit. ad loc.: *i.e. possessiones*): *RB*'s erudition gets the better of him (cf. Cic. *terra marique*: Plaut./Liv. *mari terraque*; Ovid. *pelago terraque*); the sea search does not start until the next chapter (conversely Klebs, p.88: '*per mare* fehlt in RA'), cf. Introd. III.6.

per universas indagines (RA) ~ *per diversas indagines* (RB): Cf. 6, RB 12 *universarum quaestionum* (RB) (comm.). The change here is deliberate, to avoid exaggeration.

indagines (RA/RB): Romans will have easily understood this image: 'by all kinds of battue', cf. OLD, s.v. *indago* (2): 'the act of tracking down or searching out = *indagatio*.' Gr. (?) ἔρευνα 'inquiry, search' probably plays a role too. The translation 'through all places of refuge' (Konstan, ad loc.) is possible, but not very likely (cf. Verg., *Aen.* 4,121 *saltus indagine cingere*; Tibull. 4,3,7 *colles indagine claudere*; Tacit., *Agr.* 37 *indaginis modo silvas persultare*).

Finally, we can note the fourfold anaphora in this passage (RA), in which the last has a different meaning from the first three (a deliberate use of variatio).

CHAPTER 8

8, RA 1 Tunc iussit rex classes navium praeparari ad persequendum iuvenem. 'Then the King ordered ships for his fleet to be made ready in order to pursue the young man.'

8, RB 1 Tunc rex iussit classes navium praeparare (**b**; -ari **βMπ**).

classes navium (RA/RB): The plural is probably emphatic: 'entire fleets of ships', cf. Cic., *Imp. Pomp.* 4,9 *posteaquam maximas aedificasset ornassetque classes*, perhaps from an original νεῶν στόλος 'a fleet of ships'.

praeparari (RA, **βMπ**) ~ *-e*: For the change *praeparare* **b** ~ *-ari* **βMπ**, see 6, RB 11 *adferre*. For making ready to sail, Greek likes to use a combination with σκευάζω, e.g. δια-; κατα-; παρα-. For the Greek Novel, cf. Achill. Tat. 4,18,1 παρεσκευαζόμεθα τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν 'Αλεξάνδρειαν πλοῦν 'we prepared to sail to Alexandria', cf. 5, RA 6 (comm.).

ad persequendum iuvenem (RA) ~ (RB /): In effect a repetition of 6, RA 5/RB 4 and therefore dispensable for *RB*.

8, RA 2-3 Sed moras facientibus his, qui classes návium praeparábant (*v.*), devenit Apollonius civitatem Tharsiam. 'But the men responsible for preparing the ships for the fleet were dilatory. Apollonius arrived at the city of Tharsus.'

8, RB 1-11 Sed moras facientibus, qui classes návium insistébant (*v.*), (2-4) iuvenis ille Tyrius Apollonius iam ut medium umbilicum pelagi tenebat, repiciens ad eum gubernator sic ait: (4-6) "Domine Apolloni, numquid de arte mea áliquid quéreris (*t.*)?" Apollonius ait: "Ego quidem de arte tua nihil queror, sed a rege illo Antíocho quaéror (*pl.*): (6-8) interiorem itaque partem pélagi teneámus (*v.*) Rex enim longam habet manum: quod voluerit fácere, perficiet (*v.*). Sed verendum est, né nos persequátur (*v.*)." (8-10) Gubernator ait: "Ergo, domine,

armamenta paranda sunt et aqua dulcis quaerenda est. Subiacet nobis lítus Társiae (*t.*).” (10) Iuvenis ait: “Petamus Tarsum et érit nobis evéntus (*v.*).” (10-11) Et veniens Apollonius Tarsum evasit ratem. ‘But the crew of the ships was lingering and as young Apollonius of Tyre was keeping to the middle of the sea, the helmsman looked at him and said: (4-6) “Lord Apollonius, do you have any complaint about my skill?” Apollonius said: “Indeed, I do not have any complaint about your skill, but I am being sought by that King Antiochus: (6-8) so let us keep to the most remote part of the sea, for the King has a long arm: he will carry out whatever he has determined to do. It is to be feared that he may pursue us.” (8-10) The helmsman said: “Well, lord, we need to prepare the tackle and look for fresh water. We are lying just near the coast of Tarsus.” The young man said: “Let us make for Tarsus and there we shall have the opportunity to disembark.” And Apollonius arrived at Tarsus and disembarked.’

moras facientibus (RA, **b/βπ**): The expression *moras facere = morari* is perhaps a Christianism, cf. Tob. 10:1 (Thielmann, p.15/16; Löfstedt, *Per.* p.164; LHS II 755[3]; Svennung, *Pall.*, 451), but cf. ThLL VIII 1470,28-31. In Greek the variations διατριβὴν/διατριβὰς and ποιεῖν/ποιεῖσθαι are common, cf. LSJ, s.v. διατριβή (3).

his, qui (RA) ~ *qui* (RB): The ellipsis of an antecedent in a case other than nom. or acc. is very common, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 371.

praeparabant (RA) ~ *insistebant* (RB): The *RA* reading is straightforward, cf. above. *RB*’s change is hard to explain, since *insistere* means ‘to press vigorously’, which is precisely not the case here. Should *in-sistere* be taken literally here, and does it translate e.g. ἐπιβαίνω LSJ, s.v. (II): ‘to get upon’ ‘to board’, (IV,3): ‘to go’ or ‘to be on board ship’ (for acc., cf. LSJ, s.v. III)? Or is the underlying verb ἐπιβατεύω (LSJ, s.v. II) ‘to be an ἐπιβάτης (passenger or soldier) on board ship’? This makes the matter more logical: the fleet was ready, but the crew (either the sailors or the (naval) soldiers) were causing delay. For such a situation, see Herpyllis novel (ed. Kussl, p.105) l.7-8 τῶν δὲ κυβερνητῶν στασιαζόντων ‘the steers-

men were at variance', cf. Xen. Eph. 1,12,3. (Another possible substrate might be ἐφίσταμαι 'to stand upon', cf. CGL VI, 586; LSJ, s.v. B(II): 'ὁ ἐφεστηκώς "the officer in command".' In that case the various ships' captains were responsible for the delay.)

This *insistere* ~ ἐπιβαίνειν is probably the starting-point of *RB*'s excursus (2-12) with its Greek flavour (cf. ed. m. (1984), p.118), cf. Introd. VII.2.2.1; VIII.2.

8, RA 3 *devenit* <…> *civitatem Tharsiam* (RA) ~ (10-11) *veniens* <…> *Tarsum evasit ratem* (RB).

At this point in the narrative we clearly sense **R(Gr)** intervening in the original story. *RA* relates without motivation Apollonius' landing (with all its consequences). In my view, the actual motivation should be sought in *fatum* and the play of wind and waves, cf. 6, RA 20/RB 21 (comm.).

RB on the other hand, in a long excursus (2-10), puts his landing in a logical perspective. Not only can this excursus be traced back almost line by line to a possible Greek substrate, it also reveals a fairly detailed knowledge of Tarsus and its location. The question therefore is where *RB* got his information from and whether perhaps he inserted an original fragment of **R(Gr)**, cf. Introd. VIII.2. (Garbugino's rejection, pp.111-3 of an original Greek text for this passus is – *sit venia verbo* – pseudo-scientific. In the end he must admit (p.34) that 'tutto il brano tràdito da RB si possa con buona sicurezza ricondurre alla trama originaria del romanzo'.)

Let us start with *RA*'s reading and the point where *RB* links up with it.

devenit <…> **civitatem Tharsiam** (RA) ~ (10) *veniens* <…> *Tarsum* (RB): For the acc. without preposition (which Klebs, p.44 n.3 would add), see ThLL V.1 849,30, where the most famous reference is Verg., *Aen.* 1,369 *devenere locos, ubi nunc ingentia cernes | moenia*, cf. id., *Aen.* 6,638. In Late Latin this usage is very common (cf. Bonnet 535; Löfstedt, *Syntact.* I,187; Bieler [on Patr., *Epist.* I,22], p.146). The verb *devenire* (RA) here often has the meaning 'to find oneself' 'to end up'. This *de-* runs parallel with κατά- b.v. κατάγω, cf. LSJ, s.v. κατάγω (4): 'to bring down from the high seas to land', pass. 'to come to land', antonym ἀνάγεσθαι. *Devenire* (RA) therefore takes preference over *venire* (RB). Actual references to Tarsus in our ***HA*** are sparse (c.8, c.10, c.28, c.29, c.37, c.48, c.50) and almost casual. Originally the role of Tarsus in **HA(Gr)** will have been more prominent. **HA(Gr)** must have dealt with the relation between Tyre and the transit port Tarsus, and with the transportation of corn between Tyre and Tarsus in particular (cf. W.M. Ramsey, *The Cities of St. Paul*, London [s.a.], p.242 shows a coin

minted under Emperor Caracalla, AD 211-217, with the image of a ship transporting, according to the legend, Ταρσου Σειτος 'Corn of Tarsus'). The fact that a small group of citizens from the Tyre homeland was working here in Tarsus (cf. comm. 8, RA 4-5) will have played a significant part too. The role of Ταρσός (or Ταρσοί) is very limited in the Greek novelists: only Xen. Eph. mentions Ταρσὸς τῆς Κιλικίας in the most general sense (2,13,5.6; 2,14,1; 3,4,1; 4,1,1), without topographical details, cf. S. Saïd, 'The City in the Greek Novel' (in J. Tatum, *The Search for the Ancient Novel*, Baltimore ~ London 1994, pp.216-36), p.226.

Tharsiam (RA) ~ *Tarsum* (RB): For the aspirated form, cf. Introd. VIII.1.9. **HA(Gr)** was probably consistent in its spelling, but this is more difficult in the case of **R(Gr)**, while consistency in spelling is probably asking too much of *RA/RB*. Because the scribes themselves vary continuously, this edition does not pursue uniformity. Hence, depending on what the codd. offer, we find: 8, RB 10 (*litus*) *Tarsiae* **(b)** alongside 37, RB 2 *Tharso* **(β)**, and also 28, RA 2 *applicuit Tharsos* and 10, RA 3 *Cives Tharsis*: see the commentary.

We will now look at *RB*'s excursus from a linguistic point of view. The material offered here builds on Introd. VII.2.2.1. A new line numbering is used corresponding to the text.

(2-4) *iuvenis ille Tyrius Apollonius*, cf. 7, RA 14-15.

iam ut (RB), cf. ThLL VII 111,52-64; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *iam*: 'Pereg. p.40,9 tandis que'. Underlying this combination is probably a Greek substrate, e.g. ὅτε ἤδη, ἐπεὶ ἤδη (cf. LSJ, s.v. ἤδη [II]) or ὅτε δή (cf. LSJ, s.v. ὅτε [III]).

medium (RB): For *medius* (actually illogical in relation to *umbilicus*) in the sense of 'innermost' 'the heart of', cf. LSJ, s.v. medius (4).

umbilicum pelagi (RB) 'umbilical cord': the phrase *umbilicus pelagi* is very rare in Latin-literature, cf. ed. m. [1984], n.644. Particular reference is made there to Paul. Diac., *Hist. Lang.* 1,6 *profundissima aquarum illa vorago est, quam usitato nomine maris umbilicum vocamus*. The *HA* prefers to use the term *pelagus* instead of *mare*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. It is natural to think of derivation from Hom., *Od.* 1,50 ὅθι τ' ὀμφαλός ἐστι θαλάσσης 'where the *umbilicus* of the sea is', cf. Hennig, R. 'Homers ὀμφαλὸς θαλάσσης', *Klio* 15, 1945, pp.368-75; U. Hölscher, *Die Odyssee. Epos zwischen Märchen und Roman*, München 1989², pp.222-34. (Klebs, p.44 passes over the phrase.) For the role of Homer in the Greek Novel generally, cf. Billault (1991), pp.112-6.

respiciens ad eum (RB): Both here and in the parallel places (9, RB 1; 14, RB 3; 14, RA 17.20.24 etc.) *respicere* does not have its classical sense of '*to look back* or *behind*, but rather 'to look at': 'the helmsman looked at him' (Archibald). Various explanations are possible. In Late Latin prepositions in compound verbs sometimes lose their sharply defined meaning. This also applies to the *HA*, cf. Ind. verb., ss.vv. *redono, refundo, remitto*. A less likely provenance, but one that cannot be ruled out by any means in this context, is from the Greek, cf. CGL VII 2033. As well as the usual Latin interpretation '*retro aspicit*', this place lists various verbs as possible Greek equivalents: ἀντιβλέπω εἰς/πρός 'to look at', ἀφορῶ, ἐπιβλέπω, all with a similar construction and meaning. Derivation from ἀναβλέψας εἰς/πρός 'to look up', 'to turn up [one's eyes]' would be possible for all the stages of *HA*, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀναβλέπω besides *Less.* and Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. See also 14, RB 3 (comm.).

(4-6) queror ('I complain') – **quaeror** ('I am being searched') (RB): A favourite pun among Latin grammarians, cf. B. Löfstedt, *Studien über die Sprache der Langobardischen Gesetze*, Stockholm 1961, p.104, with further literature. For a characterization of *RB*, cf. Introd. VII.2 and n.66.

(6-7) interiorem <…> **partem pelagi b**; Very common in Latin (cf. ThLL VII 2209,23-9), but possibly a direct translation of (?) τὸ ἐνδότερον μέρος τοῦ πελάγους (cf. Thuc. 8,46 τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης μέρος) and see 6, RB 10-11 *interiorem petiit cubiculum* (Xen. Eph. 5,1,10 τὸ ἐνδότερον δωμάτιον); for *interior* 'the deepest', cf. Ex. 3:1 *cumque minasset* (sc. Moses) *gregem ad interiorem deserti* (LXX ὑπὸ τὴν ἔρημον) and ἐνδότερος 'inner', LSJ, s.v. ἐνδοτέρω (II). So the sense runs parallel with the well-known words of Matt. 8:12 (cf. 22:13; 25:30) τὸ ἐξώτερον σκότος '*tenebrae exteriores*' 'the utmost darkness', cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. σκότος. The further development of the text is interesting, cf. app. crit.

longa manus regis (RB): There is only one other occurrence of this expression in Latin literature (Ov., *Her.* 16,166), unlike the Greek proverbial phrase μακραὶ τυράννων χεῖρες (as Klebs p.45 concedes), cf. Hdt. 8,140 β βασιλέος <…> χεὶρ ὑπερμήκης 'the arm of the King is very long' and μακρόχειρ 'long-armed', the epithet of Artaxerxes I, cf. LSJ, s.v. (Garbugino, p.34 with n.34, following ThLL $^{\mathrm{II}\,2}$ 1636,31-6, compares the *longa manus regis* with the *longa manus Fortunae* [Sen., epist. 82,5]. But this comparison is unfortunate: the *HA* refers to the far-reaching power of a real king, i.e. Antiochus.)

quod <…> **perficiet** (RB): For the formulation, cf. Ps. 134:6 *et omnia quaecumque voluit, Dominus fecit*; Eccl. 8:3 *quia omne quod voluerit, faciet*.

(8-10) armamenta ~ aqua dulcis ~ Subiacet: Three successive expressions for which a Greek equivalent is easy to find: *armamenta* ~ τὰ ὅπλα, cf. CGL 25,24; LSJ, s.v. ὅπλον (I): 'a ship's tackle' (*Od.*, 2,423.430 etc.); *aqua dulcis* ~ ὕδωρ γλυκύ/γλυκερόν; *subiacet* (seen from the high sea) ~ ὑπόκειται, cf. LSJ, (I,2). The taking on of fresh water is very common motif (since Hom., *Od.* 12,305 στήσαμεν <...> εὐεργέα νῆα | ἄγχ' ὕδατος γλυκεροῖο καὶ ἐξαπέβησαν ἑταῖροι/νηός) in the Greek Novel, cf. Charit. 1,11,8 Ὑδρευσάμενοι δὲ καὶ λαβόντες ἀπὸ τῶν παρουσῶν ὁλκάδων ἐπισιτισμὸν ἔπλεον εὐθὺ Μιλήτου 'They took on water, got provisions from the merchantmen who were in the area, and sailed straight for Miletus'; Xen. Eph. 1,11,6 δεῖν γὰρ ἔφασκον οἱ ναυταὶ καὶ ὑδρεύσασθαι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀναπαύσασθαι 'For the sailors said that they had to take on water and rest in preparation for the long voyage ahead.'

litus Tarsiae subiacet: This sentence could derive directly from the Greek: ἡ ἀκτὴ τῆς Ταρσίας (sc. πόλεως) ὑπόκειται: for Ταρσία, cf. Steph. Byz., s.v. Tarsia/Tarsóς; for the ellipsis *civitatis*/πόλεως, cf. note Tit. 3 Tyriae. See for a further discussion of Tarsus Introd. VIII.RA.2.

(10) eventus (RB) 'disembarkation': The last and most evident Graecism of this *passus*; Klebs (pp.44,45 n.3, p.96) believes it is an interpolation, incomprehensible to various scribes and turned into '*Tarsum petamus, Tarso est nobis eventus*' ('success'), followed by the gloss *ibi et tranquillus portus* (Klebs, p.96; cf. *erat enim ventus* RE). But the sentence becomes clear if a Greek original is assumed: καὶ ἔσται ἡμῖν ἔκβασις/ἀπόβασις 'there we shall have an opportunity/possibility of going ashore', cf. LSJ, ss.vv. (ed. m. [1984], n.647). This interpretation agrees entirely with the Glossaria (where *eventus* corresponds to ἀπόβασις, ἔκβασις), with the language of the Greek Novel (cf. *Less.*, s.v. ἐκβαίνω) and with Hom. (*Od.* 5,410; 12,305). (The interpretation *eventus* = *bonus eventus* 'success' proposed by Garbugino [p.112 with n.113] should be rejected. See the references for 'disembarkation', esp. from Thucyclides, listed in ed. m. [1984], n.647).

evasit ratem (RB): For the construction, cf. 1, RA 16/RB 15 *evasit cubiculum* (comm.).
The content of this *passus* betrays a detailed knowledge of Tarsus as a port with opportunities for victualling (l.9 *aqua dulcis*) and making repairs (l.9 *armamenta*). For the consequences this may have for the constitution of *RB*'s text and the textual genesis of *HA*, see Introd. VIII.2.

8, RA 4-5 Et deambulans iuxta litus visus est a quodam Hellenico, cive suo, qui supervenerat ipsa hora. 'And walking on the beach he was seen by a certain Hellenicus, a fellow citizen of his, who had arrived at that very moment.'

8, RB 11-12 Et dum deambulabat ad litus maris, visus est a quodam Helanico nomine, suo cive, qui ibidem supervenerat.

For clarity's sake we should emphasize that the epitomator **R(Gr)** has garbled the now following encounters with Hellenicus and Stranguillio, cf. Introd. V.1; VIII.1. Logically speaking (since a statue is not erected for an outlaw) we should now first have the encounter with Stranguillio, who mentions the famine (c.9). This is followed by Apollonius' response, generous gift of grain and the erection of a statue, which the citizens give to him in gratitude (c.10). The euphoria comes to an end when Hellenicus startles Apollonius with the report that he has been outlawed (c.8), whereupon Apollonius immediately leaves (c.11). Both encounters take place in the 'Ρῆγμα (cf. Introd. VIII.1.2). With regard both to Apollonius (after landing; from the city) and to the two men (Stranguillio from the city; Hellenicus from the harbour area), the encounters are easily integrated into the original story, since the inhabitants of Tarsus liked to promenade alongside the Cydnus, greeting each other noisily and descending on the banks of the river καθάπερ τῶν ὀρνίθων οἱ ὑγροί 'like so many water-fowl' (Philostr., *Vita Apoll.* I,7), cf. Introd. VIII.1.3. The large time gap between the two meetings (cf. 11, RA 1 *Interpositis mensibus*) is completely lost as a result of the faulty connection.

As regards the content of c.8, the behaviour of the poor wretch Hellenicus as contrasted with the haughty attitude of Apollonius, who refuses to return his greeting, is easily explained if we take into account the social situation in Tarsus. A wealthy, privileged elite lorded it there over the lowest social classes, cf. Dio Chrys., *Or.* 34.21 ἔστι πλῆθος οὐκ ὀλίγον ὥσπερ ἔξωθεν τῆς πολιτείας 'there is a group of no small size which is, as it were, outside the constitution.' (For this situation, see also 32, RA 2-4 [comm.].) **HA(Gr)** deliberately chose to draw this harsh contrast.

deambulans iuxta litus (RA) ~ *dum deambulabat ad litus maris* (RB): An unmotivated situation as favoured by popular stories (cf. Liber de Miraculis B. Andreae, ed. Bonnet, p.841,32 *cumque cum Lysbio et aliis deambularet, cognovit eum Sostratus*). This phrase with slight variations occurs repeatedly in the *HA*, cf. 9, RA 1; 24, RA 3; 39, RA 12/RB 14; 51, RA 11/RB 10. It is probably based on a Greek substrate: περιπατῶν παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν (cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. περιπατέω), in which *deambulare* and

περιπατεῖν serve as substitutes for the obsolescent, unadorned *ire* and εἶμι ('to go') respectively (in some forms identical in pronunciation to εἰμί ['to be']). The change *iuxta* (RA) ~ *ad* (RB) may result from a similar παρά (cf. Bauer, s.v. παρά, III a [=*iuxta*]/b [=ad]).

a quodam Hellenico (**A**: *-vico* **P**) (RA) ~ *a quodam Helánico* (**b**: *Ela-* **βMπ**) *nómine* (*t.*) (RB): This figure (and his name) occur sparingly in the *HA*: in chapters 8 and 51, cf. Ind. nom. His name varies within *RA* and *RB* and within their various codd., albeit consistently. Thus we find *Hellenicus* **A** alongside *Hellevicus* **P**, which probably originated in a clerical error, cf. 7, RA 5 *valvea* P (i.q. balnea). In *RB* we consistently find *Helanicus* **b** alongside *Elanicus* **βMπ**. (8, RA 13 *Ellanicus* **Va**[c] is a related form.) Compare text and app. crit. to 8, RA 4 ~ RB 12, ff.; 51, RA 24.27 ~ RB 19.20 *Ellanicus* **βπ**. Within the main recensions *Hellenicus* (RA) is the most original form, deriving directly from Gr. Ἑλληνικός, cf. LSJ, s.v. (1): 'Hellenic'. Alongide Ἕλλην, -ηνος, the Greek Novel only has Ἑλληνικός. Such nondescript names are a regular feature of the Greek Novel, cf. the piscatorial names Αἰγιαλεύς in Xen. Eph. 5,1,2 ff.; Τυρρηνός in Heliod. 5,18,5 ff. Nevertheless, the name Hellenicus is highly significant within the situation in Tarsus, cf. ed. m. (2004), n.79. The variant *Hellevicus* **P** (cf. 51, RA 24.27) became important in later Bohemian and Russian versions with names like *Klavik* and *Eklavik*, cf. Singer (1895), p.140. This form also occurs incidentally in other Latin codd., e.g. RC 17 (ed. m. [1984], p.21).

a quodam Helanico (**b**: *Elanico* **βMπ**): The form *Helanicus* (RB) is based on Ἑλλάνιος (original Doric form for Ἑλλήνιος). The form Ἑλλάνιος occurs as a proper name in Arist., *Equites* 1253: *Hellanicus* is the name of a Greek historian from the 5th c. BC (ed. F. Jacoby, *FGrH* I, p.104), also known in the West (Cic., *De orat.* 2,12,53; A. Gell., *Noct. Att.* 15,23, cf. *Oxf. Class. Dict.*, s.v.). We can also think of words like Ἑλλαδικός 'Hellenic', Ἑλλαδικαί 'chief judges at the Olympic games', also known in the Latin-speaking world, cf. OLD, s.v. *Helladicus*; Georges, *Wörterb.*, s.v. (Cassiod., *hist. trip.* 1,4). But a direct form like *Ἑλανικός is not attested in the lexicons. The proper name Ἑλλάνικος occurs seldom, cf. Fraser ~ Matthews (1987-) II, p.141 (in the form of Ἑλλάνος); III[A], p.140. One begins to suspect that the form *Helanicus* is meant as a deliberate variant of the seemingly nondescript name 'the Greek'. Of course we need to compare *RB*'s procedure here with his treatment of names elsewhere in the *HA*, cf. Introd. VII.2.2.2.

nomine (RB): Probably added by *RB* for the cursus. The Greek Novel usually adds an adjunct like ὀνόματι/τοὔνομα 'by name', but sometimes omits it too (Xen. Eph. 4,6,4 κατέστησαν φρουρὸν ἕνα τῶν λῃστῶν, Ἀμφίνομον 'They

put one of the robbers, Amphinomus, on guard'; cf. Heliod. 2,9,4; 2,27,1; 6,2,3). So it is theoretically possible that *nomine* has dropped out in **AP**, especially via the abbreviation *no͠e* (Riese in fact reads *a quodam nomine Hellenico*). It seems better to respect the reading of the manuscripts.

cive suo (RA) ~ *suo cive* (RB): A very vague designation, probably a translation of πολίτης, also used for subjects vis-à-vis a king, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. πολίτης. This information should be regarded as authentic: especially trading centres were meeting points for people, united in corporations, who had their civil rights elsewhere, cf. M.F. Baslez, *L'Étranger dans la Grèce antique*, Paris 1984, *passim*. In particular the Phoenicians, including the Tyrians, played an important role in this trade, cf. M.F. Baslez 'Le rôle et la place des Phéniciens dans la vie économique des ports de l'Egée', *Studia Phoenicia* 5 (1987), pp.267-85. The reference to *cive suo* emphasizes the cosmopolitical character of Tarsus.

ipsa hora (RA) ~ *ibidem* (RB): In *RA ipse* has the function of *idem*: the phrase therefore means '*eodem tempore*' 'at the same time', cf. Väänänen, *Introd.* § 272. Perhaps we can compare ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ 'at the same moment', cf. Rydén (1970), p.82: Ὥρα (b) 'Augenblick'. *RB* finds the *place* of meeting more to the point here and substitutes *ibidem* 'at the same place'. The two notions seem rather far apart at first sight, but various Greek adverbs have such alternate meanings, e.g. ἐνταῦθα, LSJ, s.v. (I): 'here', 'there': (II): 'at the very time'; ἐνθάδε LSJ, s.v. (I,2): 'here', 'there': (II,2): of time: 'here' 'now''. Experience probably made it easy for *RB* to make this change.

8, RA 5-6	Et accedens ad eum Hellenicus ait: "Ave, rex Apolloni!" 'And approaching him Hellenicus said: "Greetings, King Apollonius!"'
8, RB 13-14	Et accedens ad eum Helanicus ait: "Ave, domine Apolloni!"

accedens <...> ait (RA/RB): The combination προσελθὼν εἶπεν is much favoured in Greek, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.* s.v. προσέρχομαι.

rex (RA) ~ *domine* (RB): We cannot get around the term *rex* in the Latin (cf. tit. [comm.]; Klebs, p.222 *aliter*). It probably entered via **R(Gr)**, cf. Introd. V.2.1. The **HA(Gr)** reading cannot be determined. *RB*'s substitution is striking. Was the term *rex* here too pronounced for *RB*? At the end of the *HA* Hellenicus addresses Apollonius as *rex* in both versions, cf. 51, RA 26 *Domine rex* / RB 20 *Domine mi rex*.

8, RA 6-7/RB 13-14 At ille salutatus fecit, quod potentes facere consuerunt: sprevit hominem plebeium (RA: hominem RB). 'But he after being saluted did what the powerful are accustomed to do: he scorned the lowborn man (RA: the man RB).'

sprevit (RA/RB): Politeness, both in the Greek and in the Roman world, requires that a greeting be returned: χαῖρε 'Greetings' should be answered by καὶ σὺ χαῖρε, cf. Heliod. 5,18,8 "'Αλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς χαίροις" ἀπεκρίνατο· '"Good day to you too!" he replied.' A failure to greet is regarded as αὐθάδεια 'stubbornness'. The contempt of the rich, who do not even deign to look at the petitioner, is a commonplace among both the Greek and the Romans, cf. Husson (1970), p.55.

plebeium (RA) ~ *hominem* (RB): *RA* may derive directly from Gr. λαϊκός, cf. LSJ, s.v.: 'of' or 'from the people': this term (λαός) would fit very well opposite Apollonius' *nobilitas*. In the Greek Novel there is a yawning gap between the world of the authorities and the common people, cf. Billault (1991), pp.139-42 'Entre les Grands et les humbles: un vide relatif'. For the social situation in Tarsus, cf. Introd. VIII.RA.3.

8, RA 7-8 Tunc senex indignatus iterato salutavit eum [Hellenicus] et ait: 'Then the old man being angry greeted him again and said:'
8, RB 15 Indignatus senex ait iterato:

indignatus (RA/RB): Such incidents are of course frequent: cf. Xen., *Memor*. 3,13,1 προσειπών τινα χαίρειν οὐκ ἀντιπροσερρήθη 'After having said: Good day! to someone, he was not saluted in return'; Theophr. 15,3 καὶ προσαγορευθεὶς μὴ ἀντιπροσειπεῖν; for the opposite behaviour, cf. Achill. Tat. 8,17,5 ἐπεμελεῖτο φθάνειν προσαγορεύων τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας 'He was the first to say hello when meeting people in the street', cf. Heliod. 2,35,2; 3,17,1; 5,18,7.

iterato salutavit (RA) ~ *ait iterato* (RB): *iterato* (RA/RB) (cf. 13, RA 21 ~ RB *deinde*) is a postclassical form of classical *iterum* (cf. Klebs, p.239; ThLL VII $^{II.I}$ 551,1-34). The *RA* combination (= *resalutavit*) is better suited to the context than *ait iterato* (RB), which is rather to be considered an erroneous interpretation.

[*Hellenicus*] (RA) ~ (RB /): Since O. Rossbach (1891), p.316; (1893), p.1232) rightly regarded as a gloss in *RA*: as such it has not been incorporated in the text.

8, RA 8-9 “Ave, inquam, Apolloni, resaluta et noli despicere paupertatem nostram, honestis moribus decorata. ‘“Greetings, I say, Apollonius. Return my greeting, and do not despise our poverty, distinguished by honest manners.’

8, RB 15-16 “Ave,” inquit, “Apolloni, resaluta et noli despicere paupertatem, honestatis moribus decoratam.

inquam (RA) ~ *inquit* (RB): The *RA* reading is much better: it could possibly go back to Greek ‘χαῖρε, εἶπον, ’Απολλώνιε: ἀντιπροσαγόρευε/ἀντασπάσαι (= *resaluta*), cf. LSJ, ss.vv. ἀντιπροσἀγορεύω ‘return salute’/ἀντασπάζομαι ‘return greeting’. *RB* has pleonastically added *inquit* to *ait* (RB 15), a colloquial usage very common in Late Latin. But the *inquam* (RA) required by the context has been lost in *RB*.

nostram (RA) ~ (RB /): The so-called majestic plural (cf. Blaise, *Manual* § 171) is remarkable and was perhaps chosen deliberately: *RB* apparently thought it exaggerated. He avoids the term systematically, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. pluralis.

honestis (RA) ~ *honestatis* (RB): For the emphasis on *honestas morum*, cf. Bremmer (2000), p.17. *RB*, like Christian Latin, prefers more sonorous forms, cf. Mohrmann, *Études sur le latin des Chrétiens*, I, p.190: *Ave gratificata* (= *gratia plena*) as a translation of κεχαριττωμένη.

decorata (RA) ~ *decoratam* (RB): *decorata* has been retained as an apposition in nomin., cf. Ind. gr., s.v. nominativus. The underlying idea is common.

8, RA 9-11 Si enim scis, cavendum tibi est: si autem nescis, admonendus es. ‘If you know, you must beware; if you don’t know, you must be warned.’

scis – nescis (RA) ~ (RB /): *RB* regarded the deliberately vague wordplay as superfluous.

8, RA 10-11/RB 17 Audi (RA: Et audi RB), forsitan quod nescis, quia proscriptus es.” ‘Listen to what perhaps you do not know: you have been outlawed.”’

Audi (RA/RB): ‘Hear’, cf. ἄκουε ‘to hearken’ ‘to give ear’ especially in proclamations, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀκούω (I,3): ‘calls for attention’, also in ordinary prose (cf. Plato, *Politeia* I 338[c], ibid., X 595 [c]; *Apol.* 20 D; *Protag.* 353[c]).

forsitan <…> **nescis** (RA/RB): As particularly in Christian and Late Latin (cf. ThLL VI.1 1139,28-82; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *forsitan*), *forsitan* governs the indic. in the *HA* (cf. Ind. verb., s.v.); only in 41, RB 18-19 do we find the classical construction *forsitan* + subjunct.: *forsitan repraesentem*, typical of *RB* (cf. Introd. II).

quia A, RB: probably stands for the so-called ὅτι *recitativum* = ':' , cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ὅτι (p.1168) 2.

proscriptus es (RA/RB): In the same way Greek uses προγράφω 'to outlaw', cf. LSJ, s.v. (3): Polyb. 32,6,1 οἱ προγεγραμμένοι; Plut., *Brut.* 27 οἱ προγραφέντες ἐπὶ θανάτῳ.

8, RA 11-12	Cui Apollonius ait: "Et <quis> patriae meae principem potuit proscribere?" 'Apollonius said to him: "And who has ventured to proscribe the Prince of my country?"'
8, RB 17-18	Apollonius ait: "Patriae principem quis proscripsit?"

Et quis (RA): Greek likes to use καὶ τίς 'And who' at the beginning of an indignant, rhetorical question, cf. LSJ, s.v. καί (A, II,2 'in questions to introduce an objection or express surprise': καὶ τίς).

potuit (RA) ~ (RB /): δύναμαι, etc. is also often used in the sense of (LSJ, s.v. I,2): 'moral possibility "*to be able*", "*dare*" "*bear*" to do a thing'. On the other hand *RA* likes to use auxiliaries, without any real meaning, cf. Löfstedt, *Per.* 207; Mohrmann, *Cyprian.* II, p.48. *RB*, tempted to abbreviate, probably thought that both *Et* (*quis*) and *potuit* could be eliminated without detriment, cf. 8, RA 14.

8, RA 12-13/ RB 13-14	Hellenicus ait (RA: Helanicus ait RB): "Rex Antiochus." Ait Apollonius: "Qua ex causa?" 'Hellenicus said: "King Antiochus." Apollonius said: "For what reason?"'

Qua ex causa (**A**, RB) ~ *Qua de causa* **P**: Cicero already used the two phrases promiscuously, e.g. Cic., *De off.* 1,41,147 *qua de causa*; *De rep.* 2,7,13 *qua ex causa*: in the long run *de* gains the upper hand, cf. Cavallin, *Vita S. Caesarii Arelatensis*, p.57; Linderbauer, p.113.

8, RA 13-14 Hellenicus ait: "Quia filiam eius in matrimonium petisti." (**A**: Quia quod pater est, tu esse voluisti, hellevicus (*sic*) ait: quia filiam eius in matrimonium petivisti **P**) 'Hellenicus said: "Because you have asked his daughter in marriage."'

8, RB 19-20 Helanicus ait: "Quia, quod pater est, <tu> esse voluisti."

Quia filiam eius in matrimonium petisti A: This answer in **A** is true to reality, since the simple Hellenicus cannot know the secret of the incest. 7, RA 17 merely accuses Apollonius of despising Antiochus' reign, evidently through a proposal of marriage. Hence the preference of most editors and critics, cf. Meyer (1872), p.10; Schröder (1873), p.LXXII; Riese (1893), p.XIX, s.v. *Addenda*; Klebs, p.24 n.1; Kortekaas (1984), ad loc. *RB* has a more subtle form: 'Because what the father is (i.e. the husband), you have wanted to be' (for this subtlety, cf. 18, RA 14 *in multa infirmitate*; RB 14 *simulata infirmitate* [comm.]). Some have preferred this reading, cf. Schmeling (1988), ad loc. Codex **P** combines both readings (cf. 14, RA 2) and in doing so gives a splendid example of how a marginal gloss (RB) has entered the text (RA), simultaneously with a faulty omission, i.e. *Hellenicus ait* **A**.

<**tu**>: Inserted in the text of *RB* from **P**, cf. Hunt (1994), p.316.

8, RA 14/RB 20-21 Apollonius ait: "Et quantum (RA: quanti RB) me proscripsit?" 'Apollonius asked: "For what price has he proscribed me?"'

quantum (RA) ~ *quanti* (RB): For the *acc. pretii quantum,* cf. Löfstedt, *Spätl. Studien* p.79; LHS II, p.733 'vulgär lateinische Akk. pretii'. It is found elsewhere in *HA* too, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. accusativus. In this place *RB* corrects to the classical rule, *gen. pretii*. Greek also uses the genitive of price, cf. LSJ, s.v. πόσος (4): Arist., *Acharn.* 812 πόσου πρίωμαί σου τὰ χοιρίδια; 'At what price can I buy from you the pigs?' In my view, however, there is no need to assume that *RB* is 'correcting' here from the Greek.

8, RA 14-16 Hellenicus respondit: "Vt, quicumque te vivum exhibuerit, centum auri talenta accipiat: qui vero caput tuum absciderit, accipiet ducenta. 'Hellenicus answered: "Whoever brings you in

alive will receive one hundred talents of gold; but whoever cuts off your head will receive two hundred.'

8, RB 21-22 Senex ait: "Vt, quicumque ei te vivum (vium **b**) exhibuerit, accipiet L auri talenta: si caput tuum obtulerit, centum.

centum <…> **ducenta** (RA) ~ *L* <…> *centum* (RB): For the halving of the prices, cf. 7, RA 18-19/RB 17-18.

vium b: Though this spelling squares with the linguistic development towards the Romance languages, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 90 [rivus > rius > cf. rio]), this development does not apply to *vius*.

accipiat (**A**: *reci-* **P**) ~ *accipiet* (βπ: *-at* **M**): For the change in *RA*, cf. 6, RA 15 *accepisti* **A**; *recepisti* **P**. Perhaps the form *accipiet* **βMπ** (*accipiat* **M**) can be explained from *ut* + indic. (Löfstedt, *Per.*, 254-55) or from *ut recitativum*.

absciderit (RA) ~ *obtulerit* (RB): A typical difference, cf. Introd. III.2.

8, RA 16-17/RB 22-23 Ideoque (RA: Itaque RB) moneo te: fugae praesidium manda." 'I give you warning: entrust your safety to flight."'

fugae praesidium manda (RA/RB): This expression has puzzled both the scribes (cf. ed. m. [1984]) and many critics. Its connection with Apul. *Met.* 1,15 (quotation app. fontium) was established by Thielmann (1881), p.54 'vertraue dein Heil dem Flucht' (cf. Landgraff [1888], 21: Klebs, p.290; Heraeus, *Sokrates*, N.F., 3 Jahrg. [1915] p.299); Garbugino, p.120, W.H. Keulen, *Apvleius Madavrensis Metamorphoses*, Groningen 2003, p.273 sees *fugae praesidium* as an explicative genitive. This syntactic distinction makes little difference for the translation: "and now seek your security in flight!" Whether the expression was borrowed from Apuleius in particular (cf. ed. m. [2004], n.27 on the survival of Apuleius' writings in Rome) is rather dubious, since especially Caesar uses the expression with a few variations: *de bell. gall.* 2,24,2 *calones* <…> *praecipites fugae sese mandabant*; 2,11,5 *omnes in fuga sibi praesidium ponerent*; 5,18,5 *ut hostes* <…> *se fugae mandarent*. A Greek parallel is readily found. Thus e.g. Mich. Psell., *Hist. synt.* (ed. W.J. Aerts, Berolini et Novi Eboraci 1990) 38, p.24,31 ὁ Μακρῖνος <…> φυγῇ τὴν σωτηρίαν πιστεύει 'Macrinos sought refuge in flight.'

8, RA 17-18 Haec cum dixisset Hellenicus, discessit. ‘When Hellenicus had said these things, he went away.’

8, RB 23 Dixit et sine móra discéssit (*pl.*).

An exemplary abridgement.

8, RA 18-20 Tunc iussit Apollonius revocari ad se senem et ait ad eum: “Rem fecisti optimam, ut me instrueres. Pro qua re reputa te mihi caput a cervicibus amputasse et gaudium regi pertulisse.” ‘Then Apollonius had the old man called back, and said to him: “You have done very well in alerting me. In return, imagine that you have cut my head off my shoulders and brought joy to the king.”’

8, RB 23-24 Tunc iussit Apollonius rogari ad se proferri senem.

revocari ad se senem (RA) ~ *rogari ad se proferri senem* (**b**: rogari senem ad se proferri **βπ**): The text of *RA* is straightforward. The text of *RB* has been retained because of the large degree of unanimity, despite being virtually untranslatable as it stands: ‘Then Apollonius commanded that it be asked that the old man be brought to him.’ Probably the text is mutilated and *proferri* should be regarded either as an interpolation from RB 25 *pro(tinus <…> ad)ferri* or as a gloss on *rogari* = *revocari*, cf. 18, RB 8 *iussit ad se iuvenem rogari* (**b**, **β** *a. corr.*; vocari $\boldsymbol{\beta^1\pi}$). For radical corrections to the text, see Schmeling (1988, p.48,23-24), partly following Riese (1893).

ait ad eum (RA) ~ (RB /): Cf. 5, RA 1 *ait ad eum* ~ RB 2 *ait* (comm.).

Rem fecisti optimam <…> **pertulisse** (RA) ~ (RB /): A colloquial expression, cf. 16, RA 16/RB 14 *foedam rem facis*; Petr. 76 *Hoc loco Fortunata rem piam fecit*, suggestive of the similar Greek phrase καλῶς/κάλλιστα ἐποίησας, cf. LSJ, s.v. καλῶς (5): ‘rightly’ ‘deservedly’; (6): ‘well done’. What follows seems an allusion to Plut., *Themist.* 29,3, where the Persian king also grants the reward to Themistocles, who turns himself in; moreover, the reward is given in talents *talenta*/τάλαντα (cf. 7, RA 18-19): ἀσπασάμενος καὶ προσειπὼν φιλοφρόνως ὁ βασιλεὺς ἤδη μὲν διακόσια τάλαντα ὀφείλειν ἔφησε αὐτῷ· κομίσαντι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀπολήψεσθαι δικαίως τὸ ἐπικηρυχθὲν τῷ ἀγαγόντι (cf. ibid., 26,1 διακοσίων ἐπικεκηρυγμένων αὐτῷ ταλάντων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως). ‘The King (sc. Artaxerxes) welcomed

him and spoke kindly to him and said he already owed him two hundred talents, because since he had delivered himself up, it was only just that he himself should receive the reward proclaimed for his captor.' This place (in my view a parallel place) merits further discussion for several reasons. As in the *HA*, we have a warrant for the tracking down of a highly placed person, with the same reward (200 talents) and a similar unexpected twist with regard to the finder's fee. Here the whole sum is awarded to Themistocles. The *HA* complicates the matter further, cf. 8, RA 23-24 (comm.). This reference is all the more important because Themistocles as governor of Magnesia ad Maeandrum was honoured in an annually recurring feast in Lampsacus, cf. R. Flacelière, Plutarque, *Vie de Themistocle*, Paris 1972, p.96. (For the role of Lampsacus in the *HA*, cf. 33, RA 17/RB 15.) *RB* omits this statement, presumably because he thought it a pointless duplication of RB 26-27 *et puta te mihi caput a cervicibus amputasse et portasse gaudium regi*.

Pro qua re reputa AP: Perhaps we might follow Schmeling (1988), ad loc. in finding a haplography here, but the form *reputa* (from Gr. (?) ἀναλογίζομαι) is completely acceptable, cf. OLD, s.v. (2): 'to bear in mind', 'to consider'.

a cervicibus AP: The plural is usual in Latin poetry; it becomes so in prose after Hortensius (cf. Quintilianus 8,3,35; see also Fordyce on Cat. 63,83).

8, RA 20-21	Et iussit ei proferri centum talenta auri et ait: 'And he ordered to bring out for him one hundred talents of gold and he said:'
8, RB 25	Cui protinus iussit centum talenta auri adferri et dari. Cui ait:

proferri (RA) ~ *adferri et dari* (RB): Greek likes to use προκομίζω (= *proferre*), cf. προσκομίζω (= *adferre* 'to bring forward' 'to produce'), cf. Charit. 1,14,5 Τάλαντον οὖν ἀργυρίου προκομίσας ἠνάγκαζε λαβεῖν 'So he ordered to bring forward a talent of silver and he pressed him to accept.' It is natural to assume that a slave carried Apollonius' money, especially since the amount of money here is so incredibly large (cf. Molinié, Chariton, ad loc.). *RB* is painfully accurate.

centum (RA/RB): The two redactions differ in their interpretation: for *RA* this is only the fee for information leading to detention, cf. 7, RA 17-18. For *RB* it is the total sum of money offered, cf. 7, RB 16-18.

8, RA 21 “Accipe, exempli pauperrime, quia mereris. ‘Accept this, pattern-poor man, for you deserve it.’

8, RB 25-26 “Gratissime, exempli pauperrime, accipe, quia mereris:

exempli pauperrime (RA/RB): For this gen. of quality ‘exemplary’, cf. CIL VIII, Suppl.I, 15695 *exempli femina*; Ps. Quint. decl. 6,10 (p.120,16) *illa exempli mulier*; ibid., 6,21 (p.130,9) *iudicium* <...> *exempli*; see also Heraeus, *GGA* (1915), p.478; G. Söderström, *Epigraphica latina Africana*, Uppsala 1924, p.100; H. Kornhardt, *Exemplum. Eine bedeutungsgeschichtliche Studie*, Göttingen, 1936, p.24; Löfstedt, *Synt.* I^2, pp.281-2. See in a slightly fuller form 37, RB 7 *Crudelis exempli, pessima mulier*. There is no need to change on the basis of *RB* (π), e.g. <*Gratissimi*>. It is uncertain how far Gr. ὑπόδειγμα ‘example’, ‘instance’ played a role, cf. LSJ, s.v. (III) ‘specimen’; *Hellenica* XIII, pp.226-7 ‘modèle’.

In particular Greek funerary inscriptions often contain the phrase (ξήσαντα) πρὸς ὑπόδειγμα ἀρετῆς ‘(having lived) as a model of virtue’, cf. B.H. McLean, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy from the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Alexander the Great down to the reign of Constantine (323 B.C. - A.D. 337)*, University of Michigan Press 2005[5], § 11 Funerary Inscriptions, p.261 (the word ὑπόδειγμα is absent in the Greek Novel).

Gratissime βM: The codd. are uncertain: *(ait) gratissime (Exempli)* **b**: *(ait) Gratissimi (exempli)* **π**; the **βM** reading has been retained, since it requires least intervention (= *carissime*); the **π** reading is a *coniectura palmaris*, and editors and critics (also conjecturing) have proposed to introduce it as such into the text of *RA* too (Riese [1893], ad loc.; Klebs, p.32 n.4; ThLL V,2 1334; Schmeling [1988], p.6,8; p.8,24).

8, RA 22-23 Et puta te, sicut paulo ante dixi, caput a cervicibus amputasse et gaudium regi pertulisse. ‘And imagine, as I said to you a few minutes ago, that you have personally cut off my head from my shoulders and brought joy to the king.’

8, RB 26-27 et puta te mihi caput a cervicibus amputasse et portasse gaudium regi.

puta (RA/RB): Cf. 8, RA 20 *reputa* (comm.).

sicut paulo ante dixi (RA) ~ (RB /): Though this sentence shows every sign of being a gloss, its retention is defensible: (1) Some time has

probably elapsed between the order to pay and the payment itself; (2) 51, RA 33 *quod superius diximus* also refers to something said 2 lines earlier; (3) such an apparently pointless repetition is quite possible in Greek too, e.g. ὅπερ εἶπον; ὃ νῦν δὴ ἔλεγον; ὡς ἔφην, cf. Headlam (on Herondas 5,53), p.251. Editors and critics agree with *RB*'s omission, cf. Klebs, p.32: 'müßige Wiederholung <…> wirklichen Interpolation.' Garbugino, p.115 even finds two correcting scribes in this passus.

8, RA 23-24 Et ecce, habes centum talenta auri et puras manus a sanguine innocentis." 'And see, there you have one hundred talents of gold and your hands unstained by the blood of an innocent man."'

8, RB 27-28 Ecce, habes praemium centum talenta et manus puras a sanguine innocentis."

Et ecce (RA) ~ *Ecce* (RB), cf. 34, RA 12/RB 11 *ecce habes*: This may derive directly from Gr. (καὶ) ἰδέ/ἰδοῦ, much favoured by the Greek novelists too, cf. *Less.*, s.v. ἰδού.

habes (RA/RB): A fine zeugma: *habes* (literal and figurative): *habes* probably has the value of an imperative, cf. 14, RA 21 (comm.)

centum talenta (RA/RB): Many see this place as contaminated and have proposed a minimal emendation, cf. Peters, l.l. p.94: 'Und er ließ (zwei)-hundert Talente Gold herzubringen'; Konstan, p.56: 'slight inconsistency, since Antiochus had promised two hundred talents for Apollonius' head'; Schmeling, p.6,7,10 '*ducenta correxi*'. But we should note that the reading *centum* is firmly anchored in *RA*, cf. 8, RA 20-21. In my view, the transmitted text can probably be retained. The finder's fee (100 talents for bringing Apollonius in, with 100 talents extra for bringing him in dead) is split up: as μηνυτής 'informer' Hellenicus gets only the first part, though in a stictly legal sense he cannot lay claim to it, since he does not turn Apollonius in. Naturally he does not get the second half, which is earmarked for the murder of Apollonius. In exchange his hands remain clean. This rather cryptical interpretation must be laid at the door of **R(Gr)**. It is likely that **HA(Gr)** expanded on this narrative element. *RB* has tried to smooth away the problem of RA *centum talenta* by halving the sum to (8, RB 21) *L auri talenta*. Hence he could retain *RA*'s difficult reading here (8, RB 27), without become entangled in complicated interpretations.

puras manus (RA/RB), cf. 32, RA 42 *purus sum a sanguine Tharsiae*: This image is of course common in both Latin and Greek, cf. OLD, s.v. *purus* (4), including *purus a(b)*: Sen., *Suas.* 6,2 *puras a civili sanguine manus*; Epist. 24,7 *gladio quem ab omni caede pium servaverat*; for Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. καθαρός (II.b): 'free, clear': Aesch., *Eum.* 313 καθαρὰς χεῖρας; Hdt. 1,35 καθαρὸς χεῖρας; Plat. *Leg.* 864[e] καθαρὸς τὰς χεῖρας φόνου; Acts 20:26 καθαρός εἰμι ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος πάντων (Vulg. *mundus sum a sanguine omnium*).

8, RA 24-25/RB 29 Cui Hellenicus ait: "Absit, domine, ut (ego *add.* RB) huius rei causa praemium accipiam. 'And Hellenicus replied to him: "Far be it from me, lord, to accept a reward for this affair.'

Absit, ut (RA/RB): This expression occurs incidentally in pagan authors (Klebs, p.239 refers to Apul., *Met.* 2,3 [= Garbugino, p.100 n.34]), but is very common in Christian writers, cf. ThLL I 211,17: 'saepissime apud ECCL'; cf. Blaise, s.v. *absit* and *absum* (ed. m. [1984], p.102). For the Greek equivalent μὴ γένοιτο, mostly used by itself, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. γίνομαι (I,3, p.315, with the example Achill. Tat. 5,18,4).

ego (RB): A grammatically correct addition.

8, RA 25-26 Apud bonos enim homines amicitiam praemio non comparatur." 'In fact among good men friendship is not acquired in return for a reward."'

8, RB 30-31 Apud bonos enim homines amicitia pretium non comparatur, séd innocéntia (*t.*)."

amicitiam (RA) ~ *amicitia* (RB): *RA* keeps the object in acc., cf. 7, RA 21 *Quaeritur Apollonium*. *RB* normalizes.

praemium (RA) 'reward' ~ *pretium* (RB) 'price': *RB*'s particularization is typical. The acc. *pretium* (RB) has been retained as an *acc. pretii*, cf. 8, RA 14 *quantum*.

comparatur (RA/RB): *Comparare* i.q. *emere* occurs throughout Latinity, cf. ThLL III 2011,61-2012,51. (Garbugino, p.101 n.41 is far too restrictive.) Classical Latin prefers *emo*, cf. 33, RA 14 *emerim* ~ RB 12 *comparaverim*. For *pretio comparare*, cf. Val. Cem., *Hom.* 20,5 *personas aut scelere coniunctas*

aut pretio comparatas; Passio Apostolorum Petri et Pauli (ed. Bonnet-Lipsius p.227,18) c.6: *Simon* <...> *ad nos* (sc. Petrum et Paulum) *venit et baptizatus voluit virtutem divinam pretio conparare*. For the phenomenon itself, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 147; Introd. II.1.

séd innocéntia (*t.*) (RB): An addition probably inspired by *RB*'s reading, cf. Sall., *Bell. Jugurth.* 10,4: *non exercitus neque thesauri praesidia regni sunt, verum amici, quos neque armis cogere neque auro parare queas: officio et fide pariuntur*. Though this statement in Sall. is paralleled in Greek (Xen., *Cyr.* 8,7,13; id., *Mem.* 3,11,11), there seems no reason to assume that *RB* is relying directly on a Greek source here.

8, RA 26/RB 31 Et valedicens (RA: valedicens ei RB) discessit. 'He said goodbye and went away.'

ei (RB): Perhaps supplied for the effect of *éi discéssit* (*pl.*).

CHAPTER 9

9, RA 1-2 Post haec Apollonius dum deambularet in eodem loco supra litore, occurrit ei alius homo, nomine Stranguillio. 'After this, as Apollonius was walking in the same place on the beach, he met another man, called Stranguillio.'

9, RB 1-2 Et respiciens Apollonius vidit contra se venientem notum sibi hominem maesto vultu dolentem, nomine Stranguilionem.

Post haec <…> **alius** (= *alter*) (RA): Incorrect statements, introduced by *RA* after the example of **R(Gr)**, as the Apollonius ~ Stranguillio meeting must have taken place first in **HA(Gr)**, cf. 8, RA 4-5 (comm.). Making his usual changes, *RB* follows the garbled text slavishly.

dum deambularet <…> **occurrit** (RA) ~ *respiciens vidit* <…> *venientem* (RB): For *dum* + subjunct. see 1, RA 4 *dum pervenisset* (comm.); for *dum deambularet* (RA), cf. 8, *RA 4*. The meeting in *RA* is unmotivated and described in stereotypical terms. *RB* tries to give a firmer basis to the encounter and sanitize the grammar.

in eodem loco (RA) ~ (RB /): Cf. 9, RA 3 *in his locis* ~ RB 3 *his locis*: classical Latin would omit *in*. *RA* is inconsistent, cf. 49, RA 11 *loco suo* ~ RB /; 50, RA 1 *in loco suo* ~ RB /. *RB* often drops the preposition elsewhere too.

supra litore (**A**: *litus* **P**) (RA) ~ (RB /): I.e. the 'Ῥῆγμα 'surf', cf. Introd. VIII.1.2. De combination *supra* + abl. is Late Latin and very rare (Chiron, inscriptions, hagiography), cf. LHS II, 251[2] (not mentioned in Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v.; OLD, s.v.). **P** normalizes, cf. Blaise, s.v. (2).

occurrit (RA) ~ *respiciens* <…> *vidit* <…> *venientem* <…> *dolentem* (RB): *RA* offers a very common phrase, cf. OLD, s.v. (1): 'to run or hurry to meet' Caes., *Bell. Civ.* 3,79,7 *Domitius* <…> *ad Aeginium Caesari venienti occurrit*. Possible Greek substrates are (?) ἀπαντάω (cf. LSJ, s.v. (a)); (?) προσέρχομαι (cf. LSJ, s.v. (1)). Both verbs are very common in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, ss.vv. *RB* probably thought the image of a walking king too prosaic. Leaving out, to him, minor details (*post haec*; *in eodem loco supra litore*), he comes up with what he considers a more logical formulation:

'Apollonius looked round and saw coming towards him a man he knew, called Stranguillio, lamenting and looking sad.' (Archibald) For *Et respiciens*, cf. 8, RB 3 (comm.). *RB* elegantly rephrases the term *occurrit* (RA) as *contra se (venientem)*, cf. OLD, s.v. (14): 'in the direction of'; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. (2): 'vers'. The ungrammatical *alius* (RA) is dropped. Alliteration, end rhyme and rhythmic cursus reveal *RB*'s expertise.

alius homo (RA) ~ *notum sibi hominem, maesto vúltu doléntem* (*pl.*) (RB): For *alius* = *alter*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. alter. For the situation, cf. 8, RA 4/RB 12. *RB*'s two adjuncts have been added to clarify the situation, cf. RA 3 *mi carissime Stranguillio* and (RA 10) the famine in Tarsus. The phrase *maestu vultu dolentem* is much favoured in Latin (cf. ThLL VIII 47,80 ff.) and reflects *RB*'s erudition, cf. Introd. VII.2.1. The readings in *RB*: *mixto* (i.q. mesto, maesto) *vultu dolentem* **b**; *iuxta* (meaning unclear [?] 'downwards', cf. Blaise, s.v. [2]) *vultum deferentem* **βπ**; *iustum vultum deferentem* **M** are illustrative of the textual transmission (*aliter* Klebs, p.263 n.1).

Stranguillio (RA) ~ *Stranguillionem* (RB): The manuscript tradition hesitates between *Stranguil(l)io* and *-ius* (cf. RA 5, app. crit.), probably mainly because of the pronunciation. In codd. it is usually abbreviated to the first syllable. The name is difficult to fit into the *HA* in its present epitome form. It presupposes a larger whole, cf. Introd. V.1. Most translators and interpreters do not discuss its deeper meaning and merely transliterate. The Latin readership will have directly associated the term with *strangulo* (I) 'to strangle' 'to throttle'. This activity does not occur in the present *HA*. I believe the name should be combined with Tharsia's appeal for sanctuary at the statue of Apollonius (c.29). Did the stepfather threaten his stepdaughter in this way? In this hypothesis Stranguil(l)io could correspond to Gr. στραγγαλάω/στραγγαλίζω 'to strangle', cf. LSJ, s.v.; Lampe, s.v. στραγγαλόω. A problem here is the correspondence of (Lat.) *-gui(l)-* with (Gr.) -γαλ-, but the form *Stranguil(l)io* may be a Latin adaptation: Roman readers were completely familiar with forms like *Aquil(l)ius, Duil(l)ius* and their doublet forms *Aqui(l)io/Duil(l)io*, cf. Georges, *Wörterb.*, ss.vv. For the double -ll-, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.* § 111. The two other etymologies proposed face similar difficulties. Riese ([1893], Ind. s.v. Stranguillio) finds a conection with Στρογγύλος, Στρογγυλίων 'the big fatty', (cf. LSJ, s.v. [3]: 'of persons, *round, compactly formed*'). This nickname occurs frequently, , esp. in Asia Minor, cf. L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure Gréco-Romaine*, Paris 1963, p.265 nn.1-2. This would agree well with the theory that the *HA* originally derives from Asia Minor, cf. ed. m. [2004], Prol., c.VIII. However we are not told in the *HA* that *Stranguil(l)io* is corpulent. The vowel change (Lat.) *-a-* < (Gr.) -o- also makes the explanation less acceptable. The interpretation of Chiarini

(1983), n.36 based on στραγγαλάω 'to start difficulties' is also problematic. First, this verb is very rare (LSJ, s.v. can refer only to Plut., *Mor.* 2,618). Second, the *HA* makes no mention of devious, false practices on the part of *Stranguillio*. On the contrary, he plays second fiddle to his dominant wife *Dionysia*. For the many and interesting later corruptions of the name *Stranguillio*, cf. Singer (1895), p.45; Klebs, p.428 n.1; Lewis (1915), *Index*, p.272.

9, RA 2-3	Cui ait Apollonius: "Ave, mi carissime Stranguillio." 'Apollonius said to him: "Greetings, my dearest Stranguillio."'
9, RB 2-3	Accessit ad eum protinus et ait: "Ave, Stranguilio."

ait (RA) ~ *Accessit* ‹...› *protinus* (RB): As usual, *RB* is painfully accurate.

mi carissime A: *mi* **P** ~ (RB /): *mi* **AP** is probably a voc., cf. Terent., *Adelph.* 268 *o mi Aeschine, o mi germane*; Cic., *Q. fr.* 2,5,4 *mi carissime et suavissime frater*; it could correspond to ὦ φίλτατε, a favourite address (especially in love relations) in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. φίλος (β): 'superl. *carissimo, vocativo*'. The possibility *mi* **A** = *mihi* cannot be ruled out, cf. 9, RB 13 *Stranguillio karissime mihi* **βπ**; Cic., *de Orat.* 2,4,15 *homines mihi carissimi et amicissimi*.

9, RA 3-4	Et ille dixit: "Ave, domine Apolloni. Quid itaque in his locis turbata mente versaris?" 'He replied: "Greetings, lord Apollonius. Why ever are you lingering here in agitation?"'
9, RB 3-4	Stranguilio ait: "Ave, domine Apolloni. Quid itaque his locis turbata mente versaris?"

itaque (RA/RB): This may be the same as *ita*; *-que* is actually redundant (cf. *ita* **π**). Perhaps οὖν is the Greek substrate here, cf. 27, RA 10 *Deprecor itaque medice* ~ (RB /); LSJ, s.v. οὖν (III): τί οὖν δή Sophocl., *Aj.* 873; Plat., *Phd.* 7[a].

in his locis (RA): *his locis* (RB): Cf. above 9, RA 1 *in eodem loco* ~ (RB /) (comm.).

turbata mente AP/βMπ = classical *turbatē*, e.g. Caes., *bell. civ.* 1,5,1 'in confusion'. Though *turbatamente* clearly anticipates the Romance adverb,

the original meaning does resonate here, especially if it is split up into two words, as here, cf. Bieler (op Patrick, *Epist.* 2,12), p.202. For other examples in *HA*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. mens.

9, RA 4-6 Apollonius ait: "Proscriptum vides." Stranguillius ait: "Et quis te proscripsit?" Apollonius ait: "Rex Antiochus." Stranguillius ait: "Quae est causa?" 'Apollonius said: "You are looking at a man, who hasd been proscribed.". Stranguillio asked: "And who has proscribed you?" 'Apollonius replied: "King Antiochus.". Stranguillio asked: "What is the reason?"'

9, RB 4-7 Apollonius ait: "Proscriptum vides." Stranguilio ait: "Quis te proscripsit?" Apollonius ait: "Rex Antiochus." Stranguilio ait: "Qua ex causa?"

For the λέξις εἰρομένη, cf. 2, RA/RB 3 (comm.)

proscriptum (RA/RB): Cf. 8, RA 11/RB 17.

vides (RA/RB): Cf. 2, RA 6 *violatam vides*.

Et quis (RA) ~ *Quis* (RB): Cf. 2, RA/RB 9 *Et ubi est pater?*

Quae est causa (RA) ~ *Qua ex causa* (RB): RA is based on *Que est* **P** and *Que, ex* **A** (cf. ed. m. [1984]). See also 8, RA 13/RB 19.

9, RA 6-8 Apollonius ait: "Quia filiam eius in matrimonium petivi. Sed si fieri potest, in civitate vestra vólo latére (*pl.*)." 'Apollonius said: "Because I wanted to marry his daughter. So, if possible, I should like to hide in your city."'

9, RB 6-8 Apollonius ait: "Quia filiam eius (immo, ut verius dixerim, coniugem) in matrimonio petii. Itaque si fieri potest, in patria vestra vólo latére (*pl.*)."

filiam (RA) ~ *filiam (immo <...> coniugem)* (RB) ('his daughter, or rather to put it more accurately, his wife'): *RB*'s more refined phrasing tallies with 8, RB 19-20 *quod pater est, <tu> esse voluisti*.

ut verius (**βMπ**: *verum* **b**) **dixerim** (RB): The **b** reading deserves consideration. In the first place because of the statement itself. One could say that it is authentic because it provides the true motive for Antiochus' pursuit, cf. M. Janka, 'Die Fassungen RA und RB in der Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri im Vergleich', *RhM* 140,2 (1997), pp.168-87, esp. p.175. But the reader wonders where *RB* gets this confident assertion from. After all, it was important for Antiochus to hush up the whole affair. Has *RB* overplayed his hand here (cf. ed. m. [2004], p.28)? Secondly, as regards formulation, Late Latin (since Quintill., Plin. Iun.) and Christian Latin like to use the perf. subjunct. to tone down an affirmation, where Cicero for instance would have used a pres. subjunct., cf. Blaise, *Manuel*, § 233: Cypr., *Epist.* 39,5 *quadam dixerim resurrectione*; Salv., *Gub.* 5,58 *ut ita dixerim*; for the classical usage, cf. OLD, s.v. *dico*: Cic., *Inv.* 2,168 *quae ut sic dicam, ad corpus pertinent civitatis*; id., *Verr.* 2,5,69 *reliquum iudicium de iudicibus et, vere ut dicam, de te futurum est*.

in matrimonium petivi (RA) ~ *in matrimonio petii* (RB): Cf. 1, RA 5 *in matrimonium petebant* ~ RB 5 *in matrimonio postulabant* (comm.).

Sed (RA) ~ *Itaque* (RB): Perhaps *Sed* overlies ἀλλά, cf. LSJ, s.v. (II.1): 'frequent in transitions'. The small correction typifies *RB* feeling for language.

civitas (RA) ~ *patria* (RB): The two nouns are synonymous, cf. 4, RB 2 *patriae suae princeps* (see comm.); 1, RA/RB 1 (comm.).

vestra (RA/RB): Though said to a single person, cf. Verg., *Aen.* 1,140 *tenet ille immania saxa,* | *vestras, Eure, domos*, where *vestras* also refers to the other winds, cf. OLD, s.v. *vester* (2.c.): 'some vaguely defined associated group is included.' It is questionable whether this usage goes back to **R(Gr)**, cf. LSJ, s.v. ὑμέτερος (II): 'poet. (never in Att.) sts. for σός.' It is not recorded for the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. ὑμέτερος. For *vester* in relation to royalty, cf. 19, RA 6; Ind. gr., s.v. pluralis (maiestatis).

latere (RA/RB): Perhaps a direct translation of βούλομαι λαθεῖν, cf. Mark 7:24 *et non potuit latere* (Gr. καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνάσθη λαθεῖν), cf. Luke 8:47; as such used frequently in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. λανθάνω 'nascondersi, sfuggire'.

9, RA 8-12

Stranguillius ait: "Domine Apolloni, civitas nostra paupera est et nobilitatem tuam ferre non potest. Praeterea duram famem saevam-

que sterelitatem patimur annonae, nec est ulla spes civibus nostris salutem, sed crudelissima mors potius ante oculos nostros versatur." 'Stranguillio said: "Lord king, our city is poor and cannot support a man of your standing. Besides, we are suffering a severe famine and desperate lack of grain, and there is no hope of survival for our people; instead we face the prospect of a most agoniszing death."'

9, RB 8-12 Stranguillio ait: "Domine Apolloni, civitas nostra pauper est et nobilitatem tuam non potest sustinere. Praeter<ea> diram famem saevamque patitur sterelitatem annonae nec est iam civibus spes úlla salútis (*pl.*), sed crudelissima mors ante oculos nostros est."

Stranguillius AP ~ *Stranguillio* (RB): Cf. 9, RA/RB 2 (comm.).

paupera A, **βM** ~ *pauper* **P**, **bπ**: This divergence illustrates the difficulty of constructing a text. Alongside *pauper* (3rd decl.) we soon see the emergence of the metathetical form **pauperus* (Petron. 46,1 *pauperorum*). In particular the form *paupera* occurs frequently, e.g. in the Church Fathers. The grammarians wage a hopeless battle against it (*App. Probi* 13 *pauper mulier, non paupera mulier*, cf. Blaise, s.v. *paupera*: 'beggar-woman'). The spellings *paupera* **A** ~ *pauper* **b** thus meet our expectations exactly, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 234 (*aliter* Klebs, p.229). In practice Tarsus was regarded as very prosperous, cf. Xen., *Anab.* 1.2.22-3; Dio Chrys., *Or.* 33,17. In a larger context see McLean, § 14.07 The Colonies, Roman Cities, and Free Cities. In effect Tarsus belonged to the last category with all the privileges this involved. For narrative purposes the author of **HA(Gr)** has assumed the exact opposite.

nobilitatem tuam (RA/RB): Probably in the transition from literal meaning to the term of address 'Your Honour' 'Your Worship', cf. Aug., *Epist.* 133,1 *tua nobilitas*. The same applies to other places in the *HA*: 39, RA 21; 41, RA/RB 16. The usage accords with Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. εὐγένεια (5): Pap. Gen. 1,50,14 (IV A.D.) ἡ εὐγένεια σου. See also the terms of address *felicitas vestra = vos* (50, RA 31), *pietas tua = tu* (34, RA/RB 14; 38, RA 6) and *pietas vestra = vos* (47, RA/RB 2; 50, RB 25). This usage can probably be ascribed to **R(Gr)**.

ferre non potest (RA) ~ *non potest sustinere* (RB): *RA* is vague in its choice of verb: *ferre* can mean both 'to carry' and 'to bear', like φέρειν.

Translators tend towards a figurative use, but differ in their interpretations (Peters 'beherbergen'; Waiblinger 'aufnehmen'; Wolff 'recevoir'; Archibald/Sandy 'to support'). Perhaps *RA* is a direct translation of (?) φέρειν in the sense of 'to endure, suffer' (German 'ertragen'), cf. LSJ, s.v. φέρω (III). It is probably wise not to attempt to determine the meaning more precisely. *RB*'s *sustinere* 'to support' not only specifies the meaning, but also eliminates a verb that was falling into disuse owing to its shortness and irregular conjugation, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 143. The substitution *ferre* ~ *sustinere* is wholly in keeping with *RB*'s revisional activity. In authors of repute (e.g. Cicero, Quintilianus) these verbs are found as synonyms alongside each other; in commentaries (Donatus, Servius) the two verbs are used in opposition to each other; in revisions (Vetus Latina to Vulgate) *ferre* is often replaced by *sustinere*; within codd. the two terms are interchangeable, cf. ThLL VI.1 s.v. fero, esp. cols.535-40. The *RA* ~ *RB* change is therefore very common, cf. 22, RA/RB 8.

duram famem (RA) ~ *diram famem* (RB): The *RA* reading is supported by Hor., *Sat.* 1,2,6 *duramque famem propellere possit*. *RB* normalizes by changing to *dira (fames)*, cf. ThLL VI,1 212,17 with examples from Verg., *Aen.* 3,256; Ov., *Met.* 8,845; 11,371; Ruf., Cypr. (Klebs, p.287 *aliter*).

patimur (RA) ~ *patitur* (sc. civitas nostra) (RB): *RA*'s choice of word is somewhat questionable: after all, hunger is the common fate of poor wretches like Hellanicus!

sterilitatem annonae (RA/RB): *Annona* does not mean 'grain price' here, but concretely 'grain', cf. ThLL II 112,25 ff.; Blaise, s.v. (2): Greg. of Tours, *Mart.* 47; Hist. Franc. 4,34; Oros., *Hist.* 7,42,12. *Sterilitas annonae* is therefore 'bad harvest' 'Misernte'. Klebs, p.203 points to CIL XI 377 *in sterilitate annonae* (a late inscription from Arezzo). Perhaps we can compare ἀννώνη, cf. LSJ (+ Suppl.), s.v. (III A.D.). The actual situation is radically altered, cf. Introd. VI.4.2.12.

spes <…> **salutem A**: *spes* <…> *salutis* **P**, **b** ~ *salus* **βπ**: Despite the many proposals to correct (cf. Klebs p.28), *salutem* has been retained here as a noun in acc. depending on a verb like sperare, implicit in *spes*. In various forms this construction can especially be found in Late Latin, cf. LHS II, p.34[3]; V. Bulhart, 'Lexikalisches zum Spätlatein', *WSt* 67, 1954. As examples we can adduce: *auditor dicta, contemptor meritum, doctor veritatem, praecursor adventum, corda probator*. Critics doubt whether this construction also occurs in Greek, cf. Schwyzer, *Griech. Gr.* I, p.452,8. The combination *spes salutis* is very common, cf. Ov., *Trist.* 1,2,33 *nec spes est ulla salutis*;

Lucan., *Phars.* 2,113 *spes una salutis*. In Greek ἐλπὶς σωτηρίας is also very common, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐλπίς: e.g. Plut., *Thes.* 17 πρότερον μὲν οὖν οὐδεμία σωτηρίας ἐλπὶς ὑπέκειτο 'before there was no hope for rescue at all.' For a later example in hagiography, cf. H. Usener, *Legenden der Pelagia*, Bonn 1879, p.611 οὐκ ἔστιν μοι ἔξ ἐργων σωρηρίας ἔλπις 'there is for me no hope for salvation on ground of my works'. The Greek Novel forms no exception, cf. Charit. 5,2,9 μία τοίνυν σωτηρίας ἐλπὶς διακλέψαι τὴν γυναῖκα 'My only hope of security lies in smuggling her into the city', cf. also Achill. Tat. 5,9,2: Long. 1,30.

potius (RA) ~ (RB /): From Gr. (?) μᾶλλον; strictly speaking it is superfluous.

ante oculos nostros versatur (RA) ~ *ante oculos nostros est* (RB): A very common metaphor, with minor variations, both in Latin and in Greek, cf. OLD, s.v. *oculos* (3.b) 'before one's eyes' 'facing one': Cic., *Leg.* 1,48 *id quod ante oculos ex iis quae dicta sunt*; Sen., *Epist.* 12,6; Cic., *Rab. Post.* 14,39; Liv. 28,19,14; Cic., *Rosc. Am.* 35,98. For Greek, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ὀφθαλμός: πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχειν 'vor Augen haben'; πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τινος εἶναι 'jemandem vor Augen stehen'. But the Greek Novel does not furnish a parallel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. ὀφθαλμός.

9, RA 12-15 Apollonius autem ad Stranguillionem ait: "Age ergo deo gratias, quod me profugum finibus vestris applicuit. Dabo itaque civitati vestrae centum milia frumenti modiorum, si fugam meam celaveritis." 'But Apollonius said to Stranguillio: "Well, give thanks to God, that He has brought me to your land as a fugitive. I will give your city a hundred thousand measures of grain, if you will conceal my flight."'

9, RB 12-15 Cui Apollonius ait: "Stranguilio carissime, age ergo deo gratias, quod me profugum finibus vestris applicuit. Dabo civitati vestrae centum milia modiórum fruménti (*pl.*), si fugam meam celaveritis."

Apollonius <...> ad Stranguillionem ait (RA) ~ *Cui Apollonius ait* (RB): Cf. 4, *RA* 6/RB 5 (comm.).

Stranguilio carissime (RB): Clearly prompted by the wish to start Apollonius' answer with a formal address.

Age deo gratias, quod (**A**, RB: *quia* **P**): Like other phrases with *deus*, this expression is crucial to the debate over the *HA*, cf. Introd. II.3. In view of the language used both in *RA* and *RB*, the expression should first of all be interpreted here and elsewhere in the *HA* in a Christian sense (cf. 17, *RA* 22 *agens deo gratias, qui ei non denegavit regem consolationem* ~ RB /; 32, RA/RB 7 *deo gratias egit, quod non fecit* [RA: *fecisset* RB] *scelus*), even though the situation here does not describe anything specifically Christian. Compare for this phrase Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *gratia* (6). It probably comes from **R(Gr)**, cf. the established acclamatory formula: ὁ θεὸς καλῶς σε ἤνεγκεν 'God has conveyed you well' (C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*, JRSM 5, London 1989, p.120). From there the phrase can probably be traced back to **HA(Gr)**. In terms of form and content the sentence could be directly 'translated back' to e.g. εὐχαρίστει τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι <…>, in which εὐχαριστέω and θεός may have been used by both pagans and Christians. For the translation, see e.g. 1 Cor. 1:4 *Gratias ago Deo meo* <…> *quod* ~ Εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ <…> ὅτι. For the broader background, including that of possible pagan usage, cf. LSJ, s.v. εὐχαριστέω (2): '"to be thankful", "return thanks" esp. to the gods'; Bauer, *Wörterb.* s.v. εὐχαριστέω. We can no longer determine how this interaction of θεός/θεοί and fate (cf. 6, *RA* 20/RB 21 [comm.]) was ultimately realized in **HA(Gr)**. It is less relevant to the debate that εὐχαριστέω does not occur in the Greek Novel (cf. *Less.*). (Klebs, p.190 regards the phrase *Age deo gratias*, both here and elsewhere in the *HA*, as an interpolation.)

profugum (RA/RB): The parallel with φυγάς 'fugitive' 'exile' suggests itself, cf. LSJ, s.v. (perhaps with πρόφυξ, cf. LSJ, s.v.).

finibus applicuit A, RB ~ *in finibus applicuit* **P**: In the sense of 'to cause to land', *applico* can govern both the dat. and a preposition connected with acc., cf. ThLL II 297,8 ff.: with dat., e.g. Vrg., *Aen.* 1,616 *quae vis (te) immanibus applicat oris?*; Ov., *Epist.* 7,117 *adplicor ignotis*; *Iustin.* 11,10,12 *exercitu insulae applicito*; with prep. e.g.: Ov., *Met.* 3,579 *Chiae telluris ad oras applicor*; id., *Epist.* 15,128 *in terras tuas*. From Gr. (?) προσπελάζω, cf. LSJ, s.v. 'to cause to approach': Hom., *Od.* 9,285 νέα μέν μοι κατέαξε <…> ἄκρῃ προσπελάσας 'he broke my ship, having driven her against the headland.'

Dabo: Normally a board of public grain buyers (the so called σιτῶναι) was responsible for the purchase and supply of grain at a reasonable price to any city of importance (and also to Tarsus), cf. McLean (2005[4]), § 13.08 Other Magisterial Boards, p.314 n.52.

itaque (RA) 'in this situation' ~ RB /: 'normally first in its clause in Ciceronian Latin, but consistently postponed in Apollonius' (Konstan,

p.57). Perhaps we can compare οὖν, cf. LSJ, s.v. (II): 'to continue a narrative "so, then"', left out by *RB* because there is no logical link.

centum milia frumenti modiorum (RA) ~ *centum milia modiórum fruménti* (*pl.*) (RB), cf. 6, RB 10: A *modius* 'bushel' is a Roman measure for solid matter (beans, esp. grain), containing 16 *sextarii* (= 10.5 litres) or 1/6 of a Greek μέδιμνος. Usually, as here, the *numeralia* are rounded off in thousands. 100,000 bushels is a very considerable amount in terms of both produce and transport, cf. Hor., *Sat.* 1,1,45 *milia frumenti tua triverit area centum*. Ziegler (1984), n.17 even calls the figure 'unrealistic'. Within in a novel, however, it seems completely acceptable; sums of money are also raised to absurd heights, cf. 41, RA/RB 20. For further data, cf. L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, Princeton University Press 1971, ch. nine 'Sailing Ships', nn.23,25. It is hard to give a Greek equivalent for the Roman terminology, since Greek also uses the term μόδιος, cf. LSJ, s.v. μόδιος.

fugam (RA/RB): The parallel with φυγή 'banishment' 'exile' suggests itself, cf. LSJ, s.v. φυγή (II).

9, RA 15-18	Stranguilio ut audivit, prostravit se pedibus Apollonii dicens: "Domine rex Apolloni, si civitati esurienti subveneris, non solum fugam tuam celabunt, sed etiam, si necesse fuerit, pro salute tua dimicabunt." 'When Stranguilio heard this, he threw himself at Apollonius' feet, saying: "My Lord King Apollonius, if you help the starving city, not only will the people conceal your flight, but if necessary they will also fight for your safety."'
9, RB 15-18	Stranguilio ut audivit, prostravit se pedibus eius et ait: "Domine Apolloni, si esurienti civitati subveneris, non solum fugam tuam celabit, sed, si necesse fuerit, pro salute tua dimicabunt."

prostravit se pedibus (RA/RB): This expression originally goes back to the Oriental custom of προσκύνησις, cf. LSJ, s.v. προσκυνέω (2): 'esp. of the Oriental fashionng of *prostrating oneself before* kings and superiors'. It plays an important role in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. προσκυνέω and προσπίπτω (c) (with the options γόνασι 'to prostrate to one's knees' and πόσι 'to prostrate to one's feet'). This gesture, kissing the ground in front

of someone, or his feet or hands, was regarded as humiliating and servile by free Greeks, cf. Hdt. 1,134; Aelian., *Var. hist.* 1,21; Bremmer (2001), p.84. It was adopted in Rome at an early stage, cf. Cic., *Phil.* 2,18,45 *filius se ad pedes meos prosternens te mihi commendabat*. The gesture is particularly found in Late Latin and translation literature, cf. Blaise, s.v. *prosternere*. We find it at crucial points in the *HA* too. A number of synonymous expressions also occur (34, RA/RB 4 *procidit ad pedes eius*; 45, RB 16 *mittens se* <...> *ad pedes Apollonii*). Precisely this gesture seems to give the *HA* a rather Oriental aspect. This could support the hypothesis that the **HA(Gr)** originally derives from Tarsus, cf. Introd. n.80 (1). A closer consideration of προσκύνησις ~ Greek Novel is provided by K. Scott 'Ruler Cult and Related Problems in the Greek Romances', *CPh* 33 (1938), pp.380-9. Given the various possibilities of construing *prosternere* in this sense in Latin (*prosternere* + dat.; + acc., esp. with *ad*; + *ante*; + *in terram*), it is impossible to determine what was originally offered in **R(Gr)**, let alone **HA(Gr)**.

et dicens A ~ *dicens* **P** ~ *et ait* (RB): Here we encounter a thorny problem in the textual constitution of the *HA*: the hanging participle used as a finite verb: *et dicens* = *et dixit*. This usage is occasionally found in classical authors (Verg., *Aen.* 9,403 *suspiciens altam Lunam, et sic voce precatur*, cf. ibid. 6,547; 10,877), but is 'typical of low latin' as Bieler, comm. on Patrick, *Epist.* 1,20 p.144 puts it. The phenomenon has received a great deal of attention (Löfstedt, *Per.*, p.249; Blatt, *Acta Andreae*, p.177, s.v. Partizipia (V); Cavallin, *Vita S. Caesarii Arelatensis*, p.78; S. Eklund, *The periphrastic, completive and finite use of the present participle in Latin*, Uppsala 1970). It also occurs in the *HA*, sometimes in both constitutive codd. of *RA*, cf. 44, RA 4 (AP), sometimes, as here, with differences between the codd. It is frequent in **P**. The phenomenon is also found in *RB*. Compare Ind. gr., s.v. participium pendens. Sometimes it is very difficult to make a choice. In the present place it would for instance be possible to retain *et dicens* **A**. Since the aim is to present an attractive text, *dicens* P has been preferred. In Greek, especially in the transition to Byzantine Greek, the phenomenon has been widely studied, cf. Ghedini, *La lingua dei Vangeli apogrifi greci*, p.473; Moulton, *Einleitung in die Sprache des Neuen Testaments*, pp.352-6; Radermacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik*, 1925², p.205; Jannaris, §§ 2144.2145; Wolf, *Malalas* II, 77; H. Frisk, 'Participium und verbum finitum im Spätgriechischen', *Glotta* 17 (1929), pp.56-66. But examples in the Greek novel are very rare. For Xen. Eph., compare (ed. Dalmeyda) 2,6,1 εἰπὼν cod. F: εἶπε edd., alongside 3,2,14; 3,4,1 (very frequent ellipsis of εἰμί 'to be'). So the problem of the hanging participle lies not so much in **R(Gr)** as in the textual development of **RA/RB**. From this point of view I have not attempted complete consistency in the other places in the *HA*.

Domine rex Apolloni (RA) ~ *Domine Apolloni* (RB): For *Domine rex* possibly κύριε βασιλεῦ (see LSJ, s.v. κύριος (B.b): 'as a form of respectful address, used for rulers in general'), cf. 8, RA 5 (comm.) (*aliter* Klebs, p.222 [rex]).

non solum <...> **sed etiam** (RA) ~ *non solum* <...> *sed* (RB): *RA* probably goes back to οὐ μόνον <...> ἀλλὰ καί.

celabunt (RA) ~ *celabit* (RB): The difference follows from the fact that *RA* refers to the individual citizens, *RB* to the collective.

pro salute tua dimicabunt (RA/RB): The first inclination is to interpret this as 'fighting for your well-being' from (?) ὑπὲρ τῆς σοῦ σωτηρίας, cf. LSJ, s.v. σωτηρία: OGI 678,1 (Egypt, 2nd c. AD) ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Αὐτοκράτορος = Lat. *pro salute Imperatoris* (cf. 14, RA 1 [comm.]). But σωτηρία 'well-being' may also mean more specifically 'safe return' (cf. LSJ, s.v. (3): Thuc. 7,70 ἡ ἐς τὴν πατρίδα σωτηρία). This interpretation makes the problem of **HA(Gr)** more concrete: Stranguilio holds out the prospect of help, though in the end nothing comes of it, cf. 11, RA 2 *premente fortuna*.

CHAPTER 10

10, RA 1 Cumque haec dixisset, perrexerunt in civitatem. 'When he had said this, they proceeded into the city.'

Rather than an addition by *RA*, this entire sentence has been omitted by *RB* in his pursuit of *abbrevatio*. *RB* bridges with *itaque* (RB 1).

perrexerunt (RA): sc. Apollonius and Stranguillio, cf. Va^{c} *perrexit*. Though Stranguillio is not explicitly mentioned again until the next chapter, he plays a decisive role in the rest of this chapter. This *perrexerunt* (sc. pedibus) is probably an exact description of the actual situation, cf. Introd. VIII.1.3 and 8.

10, RA 1-3 Et ascendens Apollonius tribunal in foro cunctis civibus et maioribus eiusdem civitatis dixit: 'And Apollonius mounted the platform in the forum and addressed all the citizens and leaders of the city:'

10, RB 1-2 Ascendens itaque Apollonius tribunal in foro cunctis civibus praesentibus dixit:

tribunal (RA/RB): A raised semicircular or square platform, on which the seats of magistrates were placed. It was also used as a speaker's platform. The expression is very frequent in Latin literature, cf. Cic., *Vatin.* 14,34 *in tribunal ascendere*; Liv. 3,47,4 *in tribunal ascendit*. For *HA*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. tribunal. But it is too bald to state (cf. Riese [1893] Praef. XVIII) that this is a Roman institution. The expression may come directly from Greek ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀναβαίνω (6) 'to mount the tribune' 'to rise to speak'; ibid., s.v. βῆμα; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. βῆμα (2); L. Robert, *Le martyre de Pionios, prêtre de Smyrne*, Washington 1944, p.107 ff. It is also found in the Greek Novel: Charit. 3,4,4 ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ βῆμα οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἀναβῆναι 'He (sc. Chaireas) refused to go up unto the platform' (in the theatre in Syracuse, cf. LSJ, s.v. βῆμα (4)). See also the comment on 50, RA 4 *sedens pro tribunali*. Like every self-respecting city, Tarsus possessed a βῆμα, cf. Plut., *Vita Anton.* 26,4 τέλος αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ βήματος καθεζόμενος ἀπελείφθη μόνος 'Finally Antonius himself seated on the rostrum was left alone (all people streaming out of the acropolis to see

Cleopatra)', cf. Introd. VIII.1.5; Dio Chrys., *Or.* 33 (addressed to the *Tarsenses*): ῥητορικὴν ἔν τε ἀγοραῖς καὶ περὶ τὸ βῆμα δυναστεύουσαν 'rhetoric, a power that holds sway both in the forum and on the rostrum'.

in foro (RA/RB): *Fora* play an important part in the *HA*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. forum. In particular the forum of Tarsus is relevant to the storyline (10, RA 2.15/RB 1.13 erection of a statue in the forum; 29, RA 24/RB 25 right of asylum connected with the statue; 50, RA 4 final judgement on the guilty is passed in the forum). Less important are the fora in Mytilene (33, RA 2 slave market; 45, RA 7; 46, RA 9.10/RB 1.9) and Pentapolis (19, RA/RB 1; 20, RA 13/RB 10). The term *forum* in the *HA* corresponds less with ἀκρόπολις 'citadel, castle', which many Greek cities had, than with ἀκρόπολις in the sense of '*upper* or *higher* place' and esp. with ἀγορά in the sense of 'place of the assembly' like *RA/RB* in our place) or as 'market place' (cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀγορά II). Tarsus never had a real ἀκρόπολις, but excavations have shown that it did have an acropolis in the second sense, though one of limited size and elevation. The present place offers helpful evidence for the hypothesis that **HA(Gr)** probably derives from Tarsus, cf. Introd. VIII.1.5.

cunctis (**A**: *civitatis* **P**) **civibus et maioribus** (RA) ~ *cunctis civibus praesentibus* (RB): The term *maiores* (RA) has caused many problems. The phrase has been interpreted according to the position which scholars have argued. For Klebs, p.272 it was merely an interpolation, as in the parallel places (39, RA 22; 45, RB 24 *convocatis maioribus civitatis*; 48, RA 16 *maior sacerdotum* [RB *mater*]), since the ordinary meaning of *maiores* is 'ancestors'. Supporters of a Latin original point to *maior* (noun) 'lord', cf. Svennung, *Orosiana* (1922), p.120 n.1, in particular to the development in the Romance languages, 'maggiore', 'maire' 'mayor', cf. ThLL VIII 132,27. But we can turn to Greek here too, cf. LSJ, s.v. μέγας (C): 'as title μείζονες: (*pl.* III A.D.)'. This title μείζων/μειζότερος is mainly found in Asia Minor, cf. H. Grégoire, *Recueil des Inscriptions Chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure*, fasc. I, Paris 1922, no.46, p.16. Together with the other indications this supports the hypothetical provenance of **R(Gr)** and possibly of **HA(Gr)** in Asia Minor, cf. Introd. VI.2. Another possible translation would be πρεσβύτερος, cf. LSJ, s.v. πρέσβυς 'old' (III,2); Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. πρεσβύτερος (2). For the unhierarchical order *civibus – maioribus* cf. Acts 6:12 συνεκίνησάν τε τὸν λαὸν καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους 'They stirred up the people and the eldership.' Indeed, the *RA* formulation *cives* ~ *maiores* may go directly back to the polity of Tarsus, where οἱ γέροντες functioned alongside δῆμος and βουλή, cf. Introd. VIII.1.6. So *RB*'s paraphrase *praesentibus* may have eliminated a (recognized?) Graecism as well as the repetitive *eiusdem civitatis* (see also comm. on 45, RB 24; 48, RA/RB 16).

10, RA 3-4	"Cives Tharsis, quos annonae penuria turbat et opprimit, ego Tyrius Apollonius relevabo. '"Citizens of Tarsus, whom the lack of grain is distressing and oppressing, I, Apollonius of Tyre, will bring you relief.'
10, RB 2-3	"Cives Tarsiae (**b**; Tarsi **β**: Th- **π**), quos annonae caritas (**b**: inopia **βMπ**) opprimit, ego Apollonius Tyrius relevabo.

Cives Tharsis AP ~ *Cives Tarsiae* **b** (*Tarsi* **β**: *Tharsi* **π**): An important formulation for the debate on the *HA*. This term of address (voc. plur.) is repeated further on with the same variation (RA 9/RB 6). The form *Tharsis* **AP** can be rightly regarded as a *firmum argumentum Graecae originis*, as Riese (1872, Praef. XI; 1893, ad loc.) puts it. The form Ταρσεῖς is also found in the Greek Novel, cf. Xen. Eph. 3,4,2 ἄνδρας, ὅσοι Ταρσέων εὐδοκιμώτατοι 'men, who formed together the local aristocracy of the citizens of Tarsus.' The form Ταρσέων also occurs on coins, cf. D. Magie (1950), p.1147. This direct adoption by *RA* of the Greek form (two nouns, of which the last functions as adj. to the first) ignores an option like *Tarsenses*, used e.g. by Cicero (*Fam.* 12,13,4; *ad Att.* 5,21,7) and certainly a rendering which was still in use in the time of *RA*, cf. Blatt, op. cit. p.96,1 *Mirmidonenses*. But the Latin translation, like the postulated Greek equivalent, links up directly with usage in the Old and New Testament (and sometimes in classical Greek authors, cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 2,1,15 Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι), cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ἀνήρ (3): 'besonders bei Anreden'; Blass-Debrunner § 242, e.g. Acts 1:11 ἄνδρες Γαλιλαῖοι ~ Vulg. *Viri Galilaei*; ibid. 2:14 Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται ~ Vulg. *Viri Israelitae*; ibid. 15:7 ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί ~ Vulg. *Viri fratres, saepius*. For *RA*'s method of transliteration, cf. Introd., n.65. In my view, the form *Tharsis* **AP** can even be assigned to **HA(Gr)** under the form Θαρσεῖς, cf. Introd. VIII.1.9. *RB* did not accept this Graecism either (cf. *maioribus*): for his solution *Tarsiae* (sc. civitatis), cf. tit. *Tyriae*. The other codd. **βπ** take this process of normalization a step further. (Klebs, p.256 also accepts *Tharsis* as a Graecism: 'Als ein Gräzismus erscheint in der Deklination nur *cives Tharsis*', but then dismisses it on the same page as a clerical error: 'lediglich durch versehen aus *Tharsi*'; Garbugino, p.111: 'La lezione *Tharsis* <...> può essere presumibilmente connessa alla diffusione delle forme della declinazione greca nella lingua latina'.)

(annonae) penuria (RA) ~ *caritas* **b**: *inopia* **βMπ**: The combination *penuria annonae* is clearly Latin idiom, cf. ThLL X 1,1, s.v. *paenuria* 74, 40-57; LSJ, s.v. *penuria* (1): 'scarcity', 'dearth': Lucr. 5,107 *penuria cibi*; Cic., *De inv.* 2,115; Verg., *Aen.* 7,113; Hor., *Sat.* 1,1,98; Gell. 11,1,2. It is precarious

to indicate a Greek substrate. The Glossaria (cf. CGL VII 66) offer 4 possibilities: ἀπορία 'lack'; ἔνδεια 'want-need'; λεῖψις 'want'; σπάνις 'scarcity, dearth'. The most likely of these in the Greek Novel are 1, 2 and 4, cf. *Less*. *RB* switches to *caritas* **b**, cf. ThLL III, 460, 20-36; OLD, s.v.: 'dearness, high price': Cic., *Verr.* 3,216 *cum alter annus in vilitate, alter in summa caritate fuerit*; id. *Pro dom.* 11; Liv. 2,12,1; CIL 11.5635. For the high prices which the citizens had to pay, cf. below *RA* 9-10. The other codd. **βMπ** substitute the ordinary word *inopia* from the same semantic field, cf. OLD, s.v. *inopia* (5): 'scarcity'. (Within *RB* Schmeling, *Notes*, pp.387-8 [op ed. 50,23] prefers *inopia* **βMπ** to *caritas* **b**.)

turbat et opprimit (RA) ~ *opprimit* (RB): For *RA*, cf. 5, RA 5 *Iuvenis conturbatum habebat animum* (comm.); the *RB* reading is probably just a simplification.

relevabo (RA/RB): Both recensions can retain this verb: for *RA* 'I will relieve the famine', cf. e.g. Ov., *Met.* 11,129 *copia nulla famem relevat*; for *RB* 'I will reduce the grain price', cf. e.g. Tac., *Ann.* 2,59 *levavitque apertis horreis pretia frugum*.

10, RA 4-7/RB 3-5 Credo enim vos (RA, **b**: *vos omnes* **βMπ**) huius beneficii memores fugam meam celaturos. Scitote enim me legibus Antiochi regis esse fugatum; sed vestra felicitate faciente (RA, **b**: *favente* **βπ**) hucusque (RA: huc RB) ad vos (RA: *om.* RB) sum delatus. 'For I believe that in your gratitude for this favour you will conceal my banishment. For you must know that by the decrees of King Antiochus I am outlawed. But thanks to your good Fortune I have been brought here to you.'

vos (RA, **b**) ~ *vos omnes* **βMπ**: Schmeling, *Notes*, p.388 (on ed. 50,24 *vos omnes* **βMπ**) also prefers *vos* **b**.

fugam (RA/RB): For *fuga/fugatum*, φυγή 'banishment', cf. 9, RA/RB 17.

Scitote (RA/RB): For the full imperative, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. imperativus II. These forms become very rare in Late Latin (Hofmann-Schmalz, *Synt.* II p.576 with literature). Perhaps γνῶτε plays a role, cf. LSJ (+ Suppl.), s.v. γιγνώσκω 'to come to know' 'to perceive'.

vestra felicitate (*felicitas* **A**) **faciente** (RA/RB): Every reader will have understood this expression: *felicitas* is often connected with notions like city, region, country, cf. Liv. 23,2,1 *Capuam <…> luxuriantem longa felicitate atque indulgentia fortunae*, see ThLL VI,1 427,21 *felicitas urbis*. Perhaps the expression was used here as an official, honorific address, as elsewhere in the *HA* (46, RA 18-19; 50, RA 31: *RB* changes to *pietas vestra* both times). The present place is also described as a term of address in ThLL VI,1 431,49-58. The change from *faciente* **b** to *favente* **βπ** does occur occasionally (cf. Heraeus, GGA [1915], p.482), but *faciente* is to be preferred (cf. ThLL VI,1 123,52-64). The Scholiastes use the expression to paraphrase the abl. of instr. or cause, cf. Heraeus, *Kleine Schriften*, p.120 n.1; F. Horn, *Zur Geschichte der absoluten Partizipial – Konstruktionen im Lateinischen*, Lund 1918, p.37. But the phrase only really comes alive if we substitute τύχη for *felicitas* and specifically τύχη τῆς πολέως, cf. LSJ (+ Suppl.), s.v. τύχη (IV): 'τύχη or ἀγαθὴ τύχη of a person or city'; they refer to a statue of Τυχή in Antioch (cf. Wilcken, *Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, Berlin 1912, p.157 n.1). For Τυχή in Tarsus in particular, cf. ed. m. (2004) n.80 (second point). The term *felicitas* **A** is interesting in itself: linguistically there may be a confusion of nom. abs./abl. abs., cf. Löfstedt, *Late Latin*, p.133; morphologically it could be explained as anticipating Ital. felicitá, the *-s* being ignored in pronunciation, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 235 (tempestá from *tempestas*). Neither explanation can be accepted for the translation milieu of *RA*.

hucusque ad vos (RA) ~ *huc* (RB): The emphatic form in *RA* (going back to [?] ἕως ὑμῶν, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἕως [II.b]) is drastically reduced by *RB*.

10, RA 7-9 Dabo itaque vobis centum milia frumenti modiorum eo pretio, quo sum in patriam meam eo<s> mercatus, id est octo aereis singulos modios." 'So I will supply you with one hundred thousand measures of grain at the same price that I paid for it in my own land, that is to say, eight bronze coins a bushel."'

10, RB 5-7 Dabo itaque vobis centum milia modiórum fruménti (*pl.*) eo pretio, quo sum in patria mea mercatus: singulos modios aeris octo."

Dabo itaque (RA/RB): Apollonius thus follows in the footsteps both of the ancient Greeks (cf. Headlam, in the edition by A.D. Knox, *Herondas, The Mimes and Fragments*, Cambridge 1922, p.75) and of the Roman emperors, in particular Caracalla, Introd. VI.4.2.2. The change from *itaque* RA, **b** to *inquit* **β** may be quite deliberate, cf. 9, RA/RB 14 (comm.).

centum milia frumenti modiorum (RA: *modiórum fruménti* RB): Cf. 9, RA/RB 14.

eo pretio, quo sum <…> **mercatus** (RA/RB): Rightly emphasized by the *HA*, since the *mercator* (Gr. ἔμπορος 'corndealer'/καπηλεύς) had a reputation for trying to make exorbitant profits, cf. H. Knorringa, *Emporos. Data on Trade and Traders in Greek Literature from Homer to Aristotle*, Amsterdam 1926, pp.16,23. For this τόπος, see also below 10, RA/RB 10 (comm.).

in patriam meam eo A: *in mea* <…> *provincia* **P** ~ *in patria mea* (RB): The **A** reading is probably a corruption of *in patria mea eos* (sc. modios); *patriam* **A** ~ *provincia* **P**: in Late Latin these words have a similar meaning, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *provincia* (2).

id est (RA) ~ (RB /): For *RA*, cf. τουτέστι = τοῦτ' ἔστι 'that is to say', cf. LSJ, s.v. This explanatory formula is favoured in secular Greek and the NT, cf. H. Almquist, *Plutarch und das Neue Testament*, Uppsala 1946, p.88. *RB* omits it, probably as redundant and too popular, cf. Löfstedt, *Per.*, p.91 ff.; Schrijnen-Mohrmann I, p.157 ff.

octo aereis (RA) ~ *aeris octo* (RB) '(each bushel) for eight pieces of bronze': The coin name *aereus* must have sounded strange to Romans. They were used to reckoning in bronze *asses*. Besides the *HA*, ThLL I 1061,30 cites only Vitr. 3,1,7 *aereos signatos*, where the author is clearly thinking of the Greek δραχμή, subdivided into 6 χαλκοῖ. Roman readers will not have taken exception to the foreign word, since the entire HA takes place in a Greek setting. Yet the word only takes on real significance when seen as part of the Greek system of coins, in which χαλκοῖ 'bronze coins' circulated alongside χρυσοῖ 'gold coins' (see note *RA* 9-11). For this interpretation, cf. Introd. IV.2. Eight χαλκοῖ formed one ὀβολός on the Athenian scale, cf. LSJ, s.v. ὀβολός where the value is estimated at 'rather more than three halfpence', i.e. very cheap. In practice the citizens of Tarsus could probably buy two bushels of grain for one coin as described in Introd. VI.4.2.2. The estimated value of the bronze 'coin of Caracalla' was 16 χαλκοῖ (information kindly provided by Prof. Ziegler). We cannot determine how the precise formulation read in **HA(Gr)** and **R(Gr)**. *RB*'s change to *aeris* eliminates the 'Graecism' while almost preserving the word form in *RA*, cf. Introd. I. This change is probably based on what Hor., *Sat.* 1,6,75 says about the school children of Venusia: *ibant* (sc. discipuli) *octonos* (sc. nummos) *referentes Idibus aeris* 'Each month, on the Ides, they brought their school-fee: eight pieces of bronze' (i.e. eight asses, cf. ThLL I 1075,14). The remark by Klebs, p.192 'Das Wort *aereus* für sich allein ist natürlich niemals die Bezeichnung einer bestimmten Münze

gewesen' is typical of his argumentation = Garbugino, p.50. Both Klebs and Garbugino neglect the fundamental distinction here between *aereus* (adj.) [cf. ThLL I 1060,42-51] and *aereus* (subst.) [cf. ibid., 1061,30-31]. As regards subst. the *HA* is unique. (The quotation there of Vitr. 3,1,7 refers to the Greek ὀβολός.)

10, RA 9-11	Cives vero Tharsis, qui singulos modios singulos aureos mercabantur, exhilarati facti adclamationibus gratias agebant, certatim accipiéntes fruméntum (*pl.*). 'The citizens of Tarsus, who were obliged to pay one gold piece a measure, were delighted: they thanked him with cheers and eagerly received the grain.'
10, RB 7-9	Hoc audito cives Tarsiae, qui singulos modios singulos aureos (**b**: singulis aureis **βM**; singulis argenteis **π**) mercabantur, exhilarati faustis adclamationibus gratias agentes certatim fruménta portábant (*pl.*).

Cives <…> **Tharsis** (RA) ~ *cives Tarsiae* (RB): Cf. above 9, RA 3/RB 2 (comm.).

vero (RA) ~ *Hoc audito* (RB): Cf. 6, RA 8 *vero hoc audito* (comm.).

singulos modios singulos aureos (RA/**b**): A fine example of repeated identical endings, so-called homoioteleuton. For the acc. of price in *singulos aureos*, cf. 8, RA 14 *quantum me proscripsit?* (comm.); LHS II, p.73[4]: 'sichere Belege seit dem 6. Jh.' Riese (1893), ad loc. uses quotation marks, perhaps thinking of a specific quotation, e.g. Mart, 12,76,1 *amphora vigesis, modius datur aere quaterno*. I have not been able to find an appropriate quotation (cf. Klebs, p.192 n.2). Perhaps *RA* relies directly on his Greek *Vorlage* here, in which he is supported by **b**, cf. LHS II, p.74. (The normalizations **βM** over against **π** are illustrative.) Perhaps we can compare Lys. 22,12 [σῖτον] κατὰ μέδιμνον συνωνούμενοι.

aureos (RA, **b**: *aureis* **βM**): Romans will have had no problem with the term *aureus* (sc. nummus) introduced here, cf. ThLL II 1490,30-59. Again, though, the meaning of *aureus* can only be truly appreciated if we substitute χρυσοῦς, a real coin, with a fluctuating market value, depending on the gold standard in a certain period or country, cf. LSJ, s.v. χρύσεος: 'χρυσοῦς (sc. στατήρ) "gold coin"'. In the Greek Novel the χρυσοῦς occurs only in Achill. Tat. (cf. Less., s.v. χρυσοῦς, 16 x) in fairly

standard numbers of 4, 10, 50 and 100 χρυσοῖ. The value of this coin corresponds quite closely to that of the *aureus* in de *HA*:

1 *aureus*:	10, RA 9/RB 8 *singulos aureos* as a (high) price of bread;
	33, RA 27/RB 25 *singulos aureos populo patefit* as *pretium lupanaris*;
	35, RA 5 *dantes singulos aureos* (RB 4-5 *dantes pecuniam*).
2 *aurei*:	39, RA 27/RB 26 *dabo tibi duos aureos* for a small service, i.e. to call Apollonius;
	cf. 39, RA/RB 29 *de duobus aureis quattuor habere crura* (= σκέλη = two arms, two feet).
4 χρυσοῖ:	Achill. Tat. 4,15,5, cf. 4,16,1: for a small service;
	Achill. Tat. 4,16,2, cf. 4,16,5: for the same small service paid afterwards.
10 *aurei*:	39, RA 7/RB 9 *dona decem aureos pueris*: for the celebrations of the παῖδες (= sailors), cf. 39, RA/RB 19.
10 χρυσοῖ:	Achill. Tat. 6,2,5: as δῶρον 'gift', perhaps as ἐφόδιον 'travelling-money'.
40 *aurei*:	34, RA 11/RB 10 *XL aureos <…> dedit in manu virginis*: as *pretium virginitatis*. The weight of these 40 *aurei* is just under 500 grams, cf. 34, RA/RB 22-24.
50 χρυσοῖ:	Achill. Tat. 4,6,2: as μισθὸς <…> διακονίας 'reward for service' in a love affair.
100 *aurei*:	44, RA 1 *Ecce habes alios centum aureos*: reward for Tharsia if she leaves, cf. the reward promised earlier 41 RA/RB 20.
100 χρυσοῖ:	Achill. Tat. 6,1,4: important service of love, for someone's disappearance;
	Achill. Tat. 7,3,5,6-8; 7,7,5 ἑκατὸν δ' ὁ μισθὸς ἦν τοῦ φόνου χρυσοῖ 'His price for murder was a hundred pieces of gold.'
200 *aurei*:	41, RA/RB 20 *accipe aureos ducentos*, cf. RA/RB 22; 41, RA 26/RB 25: Apollonius for his daughter, if she disappears.
400 *aurei*:	41, RA/RB 27 *ego tibi quadringentos aureos dabo*: Athenagoras' offer to Tharsia to go down to the hold of Apollonius' ship.

This survey shows that the *HA* and Achill. Tatius agree quite closely where ordinary amounts of money are concerned. Achill. Tat., usually dated to late 2nd c. AD, thus provides a reliable *indicium temporis*. Only towards the end, in Apollonius' encounter with his daughter Tharsia, do numbers skyrocket into the fabulous. This conclusion had long been drawn, without reference to χρυσοῖ, cf. R. Duncan-Jones, 'The Use of Prices in the Latin Novel', in: *The Economy of the Roman Empire: Quantitative Studies*, Cambridge 1982, pp.251-6. For details, see comm. on 34, RA 11/RB 10 (*aurei* = χρυσοῖ in a sliding gold scale); 39, RA 7/RB

9 (*pueri* = παῖδες = 'crew'); 39, RA/RB 29 (*crura* = τὰ σκέλη 'arms and legs'); for the reckoning in *sestertia*, cf. 25, RA 29/RB 23 (comm.).

exhilarati facti (RA) ~ *exhilarati (faustis)* (RB): Late Latin likes full descriptions with sometimes superfluous auxiliaries such as *facti*, *effecti*, e.g. Greg. Tur., *Hist.* (ed. Bonnet), p.126,10 *cum adulta facta esset*, cf. Schmalz-Hofmann, p.790; Löfstedt, *Per.* p.163; C. Zander, *Phaedrus solutus vel Phaedri fabulae novae XXX*, Lund 1921, p.LXXXI; S. Cavallin, *Literarhistorische und textkritische Studien zur Vita S. Caesarii Arelatensis*, Lund 1934, p.72. ThLL V.2 1436,24-5 regards *exhilaratum facere* as identical to *hilarem facere*. An interesting question is whether *facti* goes back to a (περιχαρεῖς) γενόμενοι, cf. Herod. 3,35 περιχαρέα γενόμενον 'became exceedingly glad'; Charit. 6,5,1 Καλλιρρόη περιχαρὴς ἐγένετο 'Callirhoe became happy', cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. περιχαρής. *RB*, retaining almost the word form, has changed this seemingly superfluous *facti* to *faustis*, ostensibly a *palmaris coniectura*.

adclamationibus (RA) ~ *faustis adclamationibus* (**βM**: *faucium adclamationibus* **b** 'cheers at the top of their voices'; *factis acclamati* **π**): *RA* is probably a direct translation of ἐπιβοήσεις/ἐκβοήσεις 'acclamations', cf. Robert, *Pionios*, p.72. As the *HA* itself testifies, the citizens called out in gratitude (RA 50, 9-10): "*Te regem, te patrem patriae et diximus et in perpetuum dicimus.*" They probably shouted: Πατὴρ (or voc. πάτερ) πατρίδος αἰώνιος (cf. *RA* 50, 9-10 comm.). This acclamation in the form of Π(ατὴρ) Π(ατρίδος) is also found on the coins of Tarsus, minted in gratitude for Caracalla's gifts of corn to the citizens of Tarsus (cf. Ziegler, *Münzen Kilikiens*, p.59). It also occurs on the obverse of the coin depicted in ed. m. (2004), 68, cf. Introd. IV.4.2.2. The epitomator has split up this event with the citizens into two episodes (c.10, c.50), cf. Introd. V. For these acclamations, see also Merkelbach, 'Novel and Aretalogy', in: Tatum, loc. cit., p.289: 'especially characteristic of the Roman imperial period with alternating choruses'. For the Greek Novel, cf. Heliod. 10,17,3. For the later development in the Byzantine world, cf. P. Maas, 'Metrische Akklamationen', *BZ* 21 (1912), p.33; *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir W.M. Ramsay*, Manchester 1923, p.154 (pl. from Ephesus, 5th c. AD); Roueché, *Aphrodisias*, p.134. *RB*, probably without further knowledge of the original or the *Vorlage*, has added his own interpretation of *acclamationes* on the basis of his reading, cf. Vulg. 1 Macc. 5:64 *fausta acclamantes* (LXX εὐφημοῦντες) (reference Thielmann, p.54).

frumentum (RA) ~ *frumenta* (RB): The plur. is defensible for various reasons, e.g. collective force, cf. Löfstedt, *Synt.* I p.48. Perhaps Greek may have played an indirect role with πυροί 'bread' (cf. Headlam, on Herondas II,80), ἄλφιτα 'barley-groats' (cf. LSJ, s.v.), σιτία, cf. below *utilitati* (RA) ~ *utilitatibus* (RB).

10, RA 11-13 Apollonius autem, ne deposita regia dignitate mercatoris videretur adsumere nomen mágis quam donatóris (*v.*), pretium (**A**: magnum pretium **P**), quod acceperat, utilitati eiusdem civitatis redonavit. 'But in order not to abandon his royal dignity and acquire the name of merchant rather than benefactor, Apollonius gave back the price which he had received for the benefit of the city.'

10, RB 9-11 Tunc Apollonius, ne deposita regia dignitate mercatoris magis quam donatoris nomen vidérétur assúmere (*t.*), pretium, quod accepit, eiusdem civitatis utilitátibus redonávit (*v.*).

mercatoris <…> **nomen magis quam donatoris** (RA) ~ *mercatoris magis quam donatoris nomen* (RB): Both in the Roman and in the Greek world the *mercator*/κάπηλος, ἔμπορος had a bad reputation, on account of his usually exorbitant profits. For Latin, cf. ThLL VIII 788,56 ff. A well-known statement in Greek comes from Herod. 3,89 λέγουσι Πέρσαι ὡς Δαρεῖος μὲν ἦν κάπηλος, Καμβύσης δὲ δεσπότης, Κῦρος δὲ πατήρ. The same goes for the Greek Novel, cf. Charit. 1,12,1 Ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἐκ φιλανθρωπίας ἔπραττε, ἀλλ' ἐκ φιλοκερδίας, ὡς ἔμπορος μᾶλλον ἢ λῃστής 'He did this out of rapacity, not humanity, as businessman rather than as brigand.' For other parallels, see Dio Chrys., *Orat.* 4 (p.71,28): ἢ οὐ πολλοὺς τῶν καλουμένων βασιλέων ἰδεῖν ἔστιν καπήλους; 'many so-called kings, cannot they be considered dealers?'; Synes., *De Regno*, Migne 66, 1103[A] Βασιλεὺς δ' ἐρασιχρήματος αἰσχίων καπήλου 'A king loving money is more contemptible even than a merchant'.

utilitati (RA) ~ *utilitatibus* (RB): *RA* may stem directly from Gr. (?) χρεία/ὠφέλεια 'need', 'want', cf. LSJ, ss.vv.; *utilitates* seems a stylistic adjustment 'the various needs', cf. OLD, s.v. *utilitas* (b): Plin., *Nat.* 22,1 *tot* <…> *genera herbarum utilitatibus hominum* <…> *genita*; Plin., *Ep. Trai.* 10,8(24),5; Sen., *Dial.* 11,7,3.

redonavit (RA/RB): Cf. 46, RA 27: In translation literature this verb is quite often used for χαρίζομαι, cf. Vet. Lat. (cod. a) *Luc.* 7,43 *cui amplius redonavit* (Gr. τὸ πλεῖον ἐχαρίσατο). In fact Apollonius' behaviour here produces exactly the expected result for a *benefactor*, 'εὐεργέτης': through his beneficence he could even have acquired the title of τροφεύς, cf. LSJ, s.v. (4) with IG *Rom.* 4,1680 (Pergamum).

10, RA 13-16 Cives vero his tantis beneficiis cumulati optant statuam statuere ex aere. Et eam conlocaverunt in biga, in foro stantem, in dextra manu fruges tenentem, sinistro pede modium calcantem, et in base haec scripserunt: 'But the citizens, loaded with so many kindnesses, decided to erect a bronze statue to him. And they placed this statue upon a two-horse chariot, so that he was standing in the forum, holding in his right hand ears of grain and with his left foot trampling down a bushel. On the base they put the following inscription:'

10, RB 12-14 Cives vero ob tanta eius beneficia ex aere bigam ei in foro statuerunt, in qua stans dextera manu fruges tenens, sinistro pede modium calcans, et in base scripserunt.

This passus forms the beginning of the striking parallel between the 'coin of Caracalla' and the *HA*.

his ‹…› beneficiis cumulati (RA) ~ *ob beneficia* (RB): *Cumulatus* can be constructed in two ways in the *HA*: it may govern the abl., as here, but also the gen. (17, RA 1-2/RB 1): *cumulatus* with gen. is extremely rare: Caecil. ap. Non., p.128,15 *ineptitudinis cumulatus*; Plaut., *Aul.* 5,16 *scelerum cumulatissime*. Perhaps the construction with gen. has been influenced by μεστός, cf. LSJ, s.v. μεστός (II). Probably for stylistic purposes, *RB* introduces the term *beneficia*, a standing expression in Latin honorific decrees, cf. 38, RA 11 (emphasized and preferred by Klebs, p.199 n.3; p.202). On the other hand terms like εὐεργεσία 'beneficence', εὐεργετέω, εὐεργέτης 'benefactor' also suggest themselves.

optant statuam statuere (RA) ~ *(bigam) statuerunt* (RB): Klebs, p.278 emphasizes the etymological figure, beloved by the Romans (Plaut., *Asin.* 712; id., *Bacch.* 640; Titin., fr. 122, etc.), cf. Ind. gr., s.v. figura etymologica. At the same time an underlying Greek text is not far away: (?) ψηφίζονται ἀνδριάντα ἱστάναι (στῆσαι) χάλκεον, cf. LSJ, s.v. ψηφίζω/ψηφίζομαι (II.3): c. inf. 'to vote'; ibid., s.v. ἵστημι (A): 'esp. raise buildings, statues' (Roueché, *Aphrodisias*, Ind. verb., p.351). This is the usual procedure, also when a local βουλή is involved, cf. McLean (2005[4]), § 9.02 Honorific Decrees, pp.229-32 n.14. *RB*'s abridgement ignores these essential factors. Incidentally, this *statua Imperatoris* plays an important role in the original **HA(Gr)** on account of the right of asylum (eliminated by **R(Gr)**); the chief heroine Tarsia is advised to seek refuge there

when in trouble, cf. 29, RA 24-26/RB 25-28 (comm.). Unfortunately neither excavations nor other reports have provided any information about such a statue, cf. S.R.F. Price, *Rituals and Power, The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge U.P., 1984, p.274.

conlocaverunt in biga (sc. eam statuam) (RA) ~ *bigam statuerunt, in qua* (RB): These words (cf. ThLL 1982, 80-81) are hard to interpret against the background of the Caracalla coin. The depiction there is of the *biga* (δίφρος 'chariot'/perhaps ἀπήνη, cf. LSJ, ss.vv. [2]), in which Triptolemos is conveyed. This chariot, drawn by two winged serpents (faint traces of wings on the bodies of the serpents can still be seen on the Caracalla coin) formed an essential element of the image of the sowing Triptolemos. It is questionable whether *RA* recognized this original meaning. *RA* repeatedly uses *collocare* in the sense of *locare, ponere* (*RB* always avoids it in this meaning), cf. Ind. verb., s.v. colloco (I). In using this verb *RA* represents standard practice: statues could be placed on a chariot drawn by four or two horses, as probably here, cf. *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (ed. H. Volkmann, Berlin 1957) 4,24 (p.42): *Statuae meae pedestres et equestres et in quadrigeis argenteae* (sic) *steterunt*, which agrees with Monumentum Ancyranum: Ἀνδριάντες πεζοὶ καὶ ἔφιπποί μου καὶ ἐφ' ἅρμασιν εἱστήκεισαν ἐν τῇ πόλει 'Statues of my person, on feet, on horseback, and they placed them upon chariots in the City.' It is highly doubtful to what extent *RA* here faithfully reflects **R(Gr)** and **HA(Gr)**. Apparently *RB*, too, despite his elegant emendation, failed to recognize the correct meaning of *biga*. For further information, see J. Zelazowski 'Epigrafia e letteratura. La *biga onoraria* come elemento della realtà municipale nel romanzo Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri' in: G. Angeli Bertinelli – A. Donati, *Varia epigrafica*, Atti del Colloquio Internazionale di Epigrafia, Bertinoro, 8-10 giugno 2000, pp.495-512, esp. p.502. (Garbugino, pp.62-63 relates this *honor bigae* too specifically to the Roman world. Mon. Ancyr. quoted above shows that the gesture was probably just as common in the East.)

in foro stantem (RA) ~ *stans* (**bβM** = stat: *stans videbatur* **π**): Romans will have taken *RA*'s formulation to mean 'standing in the forum'. The participle *stantem* corresponds to *eam*, i.e. the statue, cf. *tenentem* <...> *calcantem* slightly further on (comm.). Strict logic would require the construction to read *statuam eius* <...> *stantis*. However, such a construction is very common in Greek, but less so in Latin, cf. Gow, *Theocr.* X,33 (comm.). As for content: the location of a statue was very important; as honorific decrees put it: *Simulacra celebri loco dicari* ~ στῆσαι τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ 'to place the statue in the most visible place', cf. P. Veyne, 'Les honneurs posthumes de Flavia Domitilla', *Latomus* XXI, (1962), pp.49-98. A succinct formulation is found in Pall., *Hist. Laus.* (ed. Bartelink), c.54, l.49

τοὺς ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς ἀνδριάντας χαλκοῦς 'the bronze statues in the public place'. So in this case on the Acropolis (whatever this represents, cf. 10, RA 1 [comm.]), visible to everyone (cf. 29, RA 23 *ascende in forum*: RB 26, mistaking, *perveni ad forum*). *RB* on the other hand takes Apollonius as subject, with *stans* = *stat*, cf. 9, RA 16 (comm.). The manner of correction in **π** argues for the authenticity of **bβM**. In terms of content this *stare* (*RA* i.q. 'to be located', probably also *RB*) does not correspond to the situation regarding Triptolemos. The latter could be represented both sitting and standing. The 'Caracalla coin' has clearly opted for 'standing', partly in connection with the act of sowing and the broad gesture this requires, cf. T. Hayashi, *Bedeutung und Wandel des Triptolemosbildes vom 6.-4. Jh. v. Chr.*, Würzburg 1992, esp. pp.57-9 and n.302. **HA(Gr)** probably had a form of ἑστώς, -ῶτος 'standing upright'. Given the uncertain transmission of the text and a possibly different interpretation compared with **HA(Gr)**, I have preferred in the text the reading **AP**: *Et eam* (**P**: -s **A**) *collocaverunt in vica* (**A**, i.q. in biga; *om.* **P**) *in foro stantem* (**P**: -e **A**) to Riese's transposition *collocaverunt in foro, in biga stantem*, though it is endorsed by many editors (Tsitsikli [1981], Schmeling [1988], cf. ed. m. (1984): 'eleganter sane').

fruges tenentem (RA: tenens RB) (RA/RB): In the first place Romans probably associated *fruges* with corn/ears of corn (i.q. spicae). But Caracalla's coin clearly alludes to grains of corn, in view of the gesture of sowing. The motif of corn grains is also found elsewhere in depictions of Triptolemos, cf. G. Schwarz, *Triptolemos, Ikonografie einer Arar- und Mysteriengottheit*, Horn-Graz 1987 (Katal. Nr. N.1.3.11-14.16). It is uncertain when this difference between ears and grains of corn crept in. The phrase *statua tenens* is not uncommon in Latin, cf. 47, RA 9-11 *statuam* <...> *stantem et calcantem* <...> *tenentem* / RB 10 *stantem et calcantem*; Petron. 71 *ad dexteram meam ponas statuam Fortunatae meae columbam tenentem*; Quint., *Instruct.* 7,9,8 *testamento quidam iussit poni statuam auream hastam tenentem*, cf. Varro (apud Lact., *Instit. div.* 1,6,12) *simulacrum eius inventum esse dicitur tenens in manu librum*. *RB* normalizes following on from *stans*.

sinistro pede modium calcantem (RA: calcans RB) (RA/RB): This small detail does not occur on the Caracalla coin either. But it seems likely to have been added by **HA(Gr)**, since it fits very well with the general drift of *HA*. In fact honorific statues for givers of grain often depict the *modius*, cf. K. Regling, *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde*, Berlin 1930, s.v. annona. Moreover the combination *fruges-modius* is not exceptional. Thus ThLL, s.v. *calco*: *Iul. Honor., Cosmographia* (ed. Riese, *Geographi Latini minores*, Heilbronn 1878 [repr. Hildesheim 1964]), rec. B 46 (p.51) *templum Neptuni inter Pentapolim et Tripolim, ubi est statua Libyae* <...> *tenens frugem et calcans modium et manu sinistra ebur elefantinum*.

et in base haec (RA: *om.* RB) **scripserunt** (RA/RB): *base*: The most common term for the plinth of a statue, in Greek too, cf. LSJ, s.v. βάσις (III): 'base' 'pedestal'. Classical Latin would prefer *basi*, Late Latin freely uses *base*. Even the term *scripserunt*, where we would expect *inscripserunt*, betrays a Greek substrate; it probably overlies γράφω, sc. ἐγγράφω, cf. LSJ, s.v. γράφω 'to write': (II.2) 'to inscribe'.

Summing up, we must conclude that a link between the Caracalla coin and the *HA* is indisputable. But the similarity already underwent modification during the earliest stage **HA(Gr)**, cf. above *modius*. The correct details must have soon be lost, perhaps as early as the **R(Gr)** phase, cf. *biga*. Possibly the word order was also disrupted at this time, cf. above *in biga, in foro*. *RB*'s emendations are to be attributed to linguistic insight rather than to real background knowledge. It seems precarious to intervene in the textual constitution, the more so because we cannot precisely date the corrective stage *RB*.

Here begins the first of the three inscriptions in the *HA* (see also Tharsia's epitaph 32, RA 54-57/RB 27-29 [= 38, RA 9-12/RB 8-10]) and the honorific decree of Mytilene's inhabitants 47, RA 12-16/RB 12-15). These have been extensively analyzed by Klebs, pp.196-205 as one of the main arguments for **Hi** (his postulated Latin original from the 3rd century, cf. Introd. I). This argumentation is upheld by his supporters, even in the most recent publications. Though naturally it cannot be proved with certainty, there are enough reasons to suggest that the inscriptions, too, are based on a Greek formulation, adapted by *RA* (and *RB*) via Latin inscriptions, of which they sometimes hardly understood the purport, cf. 10, RA 18. The inscriptions in the *HA* have parallels within the Greek Novel too, cf. e.g. Xen. Eph. 1,12,2; 3,2,13; 5,11,6. (Garbugino, pp.56-9 wants to prove at all costs the originality of the Latin inscriptions in relation to a Greek model. He states that the Latin inscriptions put the beneficiary in the *dat.* [as in the case of the *HA*], where Greek inscriptions prefer *acc.*, depending on a tacit τιμάω τινα etc. 'to honour'. This claim is subject to severe restrictions in its generality. First, the *acc.* is by no means prevalent in Greek, cf. R. Cagnat, *Cours d'Épigraphique latine*, Paris 1914 (repr. 2002), p.259 (note). Second, even if the Greek did have an *acc.*, the translator/adaptator is perfectly free to depart from it. Such a criterion, as introduced by Garbugino, is therefore worthless.)

10, RA 17-19 Tarsia civitas Apollonio Tyrio (Tyro **AP**) donum dedit eo quod sterelitatem suam et famem sedaverit. 'The city of Tarsus gave this gift to Apollonius of Tyre because he provided against the scarcity of their corn and against famine.'

10, RB 15-17 Tarsia civitas Apollonio Tyrio donum dedit eo quod libertate sua famem sedaverit.

Tarsia civitas (RA/RB): The austere form (subject, beneficiary, reason for gift) is characteristic of both Latin and Greek inscriptions.

Tyro AP ~ *Tyrio* (RB): The spelling *Tyro* is very frequent in the manuscripts (and translations) of the *HA*: did it gradually come to be regarded as acceptable (*Tyro* = sc. ex Tyro?)?

donum dedit (RA/RB): Wrongly based on the Latin abbreviation: d.d. (properly: dedit, dedicavit), cf. ThLL V.1 1.3.d. *pro nota verborum*. For a similar error, see 32, RA 54 D.M, which our authors are also ignorant of. This kind of error obviously undermines the reliability of the inscriptions in the *HA* as authentic Latin material. The error may have crept in owing to improper Latinization of **HGr**.

eo quod (RA/RB), cf. 49, RA 13: Literally 'therefore (abl. of *id*), because'. Classical Latin would have confined itself to *quod* (see Klebs, p.267). Late Latin prefers the full form, on account of the many meanings of *quod*, cf. John 2:24 *Ipse autem Jesus non credebat semetipsum eis eo quod ipse nosset omnes*, even against the Greek: διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν γινώσκειν πάντας (see Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *quod*; id., *Manuel*, § 275; Zander, loc. cit., p.LXXI; Svennung, *Unters.*, p.504). Klebs, p.267 would delete *eo* everywhere in the *HA* (10, RA 18/RB 16; 35, RA 11; 49, RA 13).

sterilitatem suam et famem sedaverit (RA) ~ *liberalitate* (*-em* **β**; *libertate* **bMπ**) *sua famem sedaverit* (RB): *RB*'s change may have to do with the fact that *RA* is somewhat fuzzy in his choice of words and does not offer any motive. *Sterilitas* 'lack of grain' is a general term: it may refer to a 'technical' defect – Mißernte, crop failure – it may also result from mismanagement. For this neutral term, see e.g. Plin., *Nat.* 36,10 *Sicyonem fames invasit ac sterilitas*. This problem also emerges in translations (Sandy, loc. cit., p.749: 'for bringing an end to blight and famine'). Typically, the *HA* is silent on the cause (from [?] Gr. σπανίς 'scarcity'). The introduction of the *liberalitas* motif brushes aside this lack of clarity. The motif of 'generosity', 'liberality' (cf. 16, RA 5) occurs frequently in inscriptions. Klebs, p.203 quotes a number of examples from Latin. For an extensive discus-

sion of the notion, cf. H. Kloft, *Liberalitas principis. Herkunft und Bedeutung*, Köln, Böhlau Verlag 1970. The reading *libertate* **bMπ** goes back to a frequent scribal error, so much so that *libertas* is found as a synonym of *liberalitas*, cf. W.A. Baehrens, *Glotta* IV (1913), p.95.

sedaverit A (cf. ed. m. (1984); app. crit.): *sedavit* **P** ~ *sedaverit* **bπ** (cf. app. crit.): For the subjunct. **A**, **bπ**, cf. 35, RA 11-12. A certain Latin colouring cannot be denied to *famem sedare*, cf. ThLL VI.1 230,47. Klebs, p.202, refers to Apul., *Met.* 7,16 *ut edacium iumentorum famem corporum humanorum largitione sedaret*; Vita Pii 8 *tritici penuriam sedavit*; CIL IX 1589 *ob insignia beneficia quibus longa populi taedia sedavit*. Greek likes to use a form of ἵστημι in this connection, cf. LSJ, s.v. (III) 'to bring to a standstill', e.g. Herond., *Mimiamb.* 2,16 κἤστησα τὴν κακὴν λιμόν 'I have brought to an end the horrible famine'; Arist., *hist. anim.* 8,26,6 ἱστάναι τὴν νῆστιν 'to end the famine'. The Glossaria suggest καταστέλλω 'to repress' 'to restrain', cf. CGL VII,250; LSJ, s.v. II,2. For a similar conclusion, see 47, RA 19 (comm.), where the ending also has a Latin colouration.

Of course such motivations also occur widely in Greek. Indeed, critics talk about models of euergetism (e.g. *philotimia* model, superiority model, civil service model [*cf.* 47, RA 12-16]), cf. McLean, § 9 Honorific Decrees, n.2; G. Rogers 'The Gift and Society in Roman Asia: Orthodoxies and Heresies' in: *Scripta Classica Israelica* 12 (1993), pp.188-99. In conclusion we can say that this inscription provides no evidence for the existence of **Hi**. The same argumentation applies to the two other inscriptions

CHAPTER 11

11, RA 1-3 Interpositis mensibus sive diebus paucis hortante Stranguilione et Dionysiade, coniuge eius, et premente fortuna ad Pentapolitanas Cyrenaeorum terras adfirmabatur navigare ut ibi latere posset. 'After (some) months and a few days, at the encouragement of Stranguillio and Dionysias his wife and propelled by Fortune, Apollonius was urged to sail to the Pentapolitan lands of the Cyrenaeans in order to hide there.'

11, RB 1-2 Interpositis deinde mensibus paucis hortante Stranguilione et Dionysiade, coniuge eius, ad Pentapolim Cyrenam navigáre propósuit (*t.*), ut illic lateret, eo quod ibi benignius agi adfirmaretur.

Interpositis mensibus sive diebus paucis (RA) ~ *Interpositis deinde mensibus paucis* (RB): For the actual course of the various events, see Introd. V.1. The disruption of order must be blamed on the epitomator **R(Gr)**. This explanation solves all the problems about the erection of a statue for an outlaw (first noted by Rohde[3], p.451, cf. Klebs, p.308). The linguistic explication of *RA* supports this interpretation. For *interponere* in this context, cf. OLD, s.v. (5.b.) 'to elapse in the meantime': Cic., *Brut.* 86 *paucis interpositis diebus*; Caes., *Gall.* 6,38,5; Cels. 5,28,17. Examples for Late Latin are: Greg. Tur., *Lib. de Miraculis B. Andreae* (ed. Bonnet), p.827,27 *interpositis paucis diebus*; ibid. p.845,28 *paucis vero diebus interpositis*. Note that an additional indefinite time adjunct can be omitted, in particular *aliquot*, cf. *HA* 24, RA 1 *Interpositis autem diebus atque mensibus* (where *RB* normalizes: *Interpositis autem diebus aliquot atque mensibus*); 50, RA 30-31 *horarum <…> spatia* / RB 25 *horarum spatium*, cf. Löfstedt, *Vermischte Studien* 1936, p.74 (with the striking example: Amm. 26,10,5 [sc. ex custodia] *post dies productus*). This phenomenon runs parallel with our modern languages: 'After years he returned'; 'after days he said'. In Greek we can point to the ellipsis of τις: e.g. Charit. 8,1,9 χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος (= Xen. Eph. 5,9,1) 'in the course of time'; Xen. Eph. 5,2,6 ἡμέρας διαγαγεῖν 'to spend some days'. This is particularly the case with διαγίγνομαι, cf. LSJ, s.v. (II) 'to intervene' 'to elapse': Lys. 1,15 χρόνου μεταξὺ διαγενομένου 'after some time'; Isa. 11:9 χρόνων διαγενομένων 'after years' (in both

cases without τις). For the Greek Novel, cf. Xen. Eph. 2,3,1 ἡμερῶν δὲ διαγενομένων ὀλίγων, cf. Long. 2,2,4; id. 3,2,5. This establishes the first part of *RA*'s reading. For the second part we need to realize that *sive* can have the meaning *et* in Late Latin. This phenomenon occurs only here in the *HA*. But that does not mean that it has been interpolated here (as Klebs, p.267 suggests). On the contrary, it is a postclassical usage, attested in Late Latin authors, including some of repute, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *sive* (2) (examples from Cassian., Greg. Tur., Dracont.). Naturally this interpretation puts paid to all athetizations and interpolation theories proposed in the past (Thielmann, p.55 and Garin, p.211 n.6 argue for [mensibus sive]. Klebs, p.267; Schmeling (1988), ad loc. support [sive diebus]). Following Riese (1893), ad loc. we should retain the reading in its full form. Nothing stands in the way of assuming that **R(Gr)** perhaps read Διαγενομένων μηνῶν καὶ ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων. *RB* probably also took exception to the formulation of *RA*, cf. 24, RB 1 (quoted above). His solution to change *diebus* to *deinde* while keeping partly the form of the letters is certainly skilful, cf. Introd. I. But this probably took place without any knowledge of a Greek original in whatever form, cf. Introd. VII.2.1.

hortante Stranguillione et Dionysiade (**P**, RB): The role of Stranguilio and his wife starts to emerge more clearly here, cf. 9, RA/RB 2. (The name Stranguillio is also explained there.) Apparently they acted as ξεινοδόκοι 'hosts' to Apollonius (cf. LSJ, s.v. ξενοδόκος); in the end they commit ξενοκτονία 'murder of strangers'. For the situation, cf. 32, RA 32 *meo* (i.q. Stranguillionis) *suasu egressus est civitatem* (RB /). The name *Dionysia<s>* corresponds to Gr. Διονυσιάς, -άδος, cf. Fraser ~ Matthews (1987-), III[3]. Voor female names ending in -άς, cf. P. Chantraine, *La formation des noms en Grec ancien*, Paris 1933, pp.349 ff., esp. pp.353-56. The name is connected with Διόνυσος, the Greek name for Bacchus; she was probably *vinosa*/κλεψιποτοῦσα 'trick-drinking', cf. S.A. Stephans, *Ancient Greek Novels*, fragments (1995), p.214. Not much has been left of this unmannerliness and overweening character (cf. *HA*, chs.31-32) in the epitome. As for *hortante* in particular: active forms are found both in Old Latin (cf. ThLL VI.3 307,21-23) and in classical Latinity (cf. OLD, s.v. hortor [c]). CGL VI 528 suggests a translation from προτρέπω 'to urge on' 'to impel', which would fit very well here. The construction is remarkable; instead of the expected plur. the verbal component of the abl. abs. is in singular. The couple is apparently seen as such a close-knit unit that a kind of *constructio ad sensum* can be applied, cf. Horn (1918), pp.61-73 'Incongruenzphänomene beim Partizipium'. We cannot determine the form of the abl. abs. in **R(Gr)** and **HA(Gr)**. The omission *coniuge eius* in **A** could be authentic within the same epitome (Klebs, p.22 *aliter*).

premente fortuna (RA) ~ (RB /): Τύχη plays a huge role in the Greek Novel (cf. *Less.*, s.v. τύχη: direct references: Charit. 15x; Achill. Tat. 22x; Long. 2x; Hel. 1x). Possible Greek phrases here are ἐκ Τύχης, κατὰ Τύχην but also e.g. τῆς Τύχης ἐπειγούσης 'since Fortune was pressing' (cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐπείγω (IV,2): 'to be pressing' 'urgent'). It is typical that *RB* replaces this significant term with *fortuna* in the material sense of 'condition of life', cf. RB 3 *eo quod ibi benignius agi adfirmaretur*, cf. 20, RA 16 (= 22, RA 5) *patrimonio deceptum* which *RB* replaces 2x with *a fortuna deceptum* (20, RB 13 = 22, RB 5) 'robbed of his property', cf. 20, RA 16 (comm.).

Pentapolitanas Cyrenaeorum terras (RA) ~ *Pentapolim Cyrenam* **b** (ex *-nem*), **β**: *RA* offers a sonorous circumlocution, cf. Plin., *Nat.* 5,31 *Pentapolitana regio*. The Pentapolis connects five cities (hence the name Πεντάπολις): Berenike, Arsinoe, Ptolemais, Cyrene and Apollonia. Perhaps the last name provided some kind of link with the **HA(Gr)**. A more pertinent feature in connection with Apollonius' flight to Cyrene is the fertility of Cyrene, Κυρήνη, cf. Pauly-Wissowa XIX, s.v. Pentapolis (3), p.509,26; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. Κυρήνη; L. Malten, *Kyrene, Sagengeschichtliche und historische Untersuchungen*, Berlin 1911; R.G. Goodchild, *Kyrene und Apollonia,* Zürich 1971. Cyrene does not occur in the Greek Novel as we have it. However, Libya, in which this region lies, is mentioned in Charit. 3,3,8 and Heliod. 2,28,2. See also 12, RB 4 (comm.). The form *Cyrenaeorum* probably goes back to Κυρηναῖος. An excellent article is D. Roques '*La Cyrenaïque et l'Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*' in: E. Catani e S.M. Marengo (edd.), *La Cirenaica in età antica. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi,* Macerata 18-20 Maggio 1995, Roma 1998, pp.485-517, esp. pp.503-21. See notes on: 13, RA/RB 1-2; 13, RA/RB 3; 13, RA 6/RB 5; 14, RA 10; 19, RA/RB 1; 23, RA 2/RB 1; 24, RA 3-5/RB 2-4.

adfirmabatur (RA) ~ *navigáre propósuit* (*pl.*) (RB): Perhaps *RA* overlies a Greek equivalent like βεβαιόω 'to confirm' or διορκίζω 'to adjure', cf. CGL VI, p.40; LSJ, ss.vv.; ThLL I 1226,1. *RB*'s change adds a princely touch to Apollonius' conduct (cf. 6, RB 11 comment.), eliminates the astrological motivation and uses the well-known fact of Cyrene's fertility. For *proposuit,* favoured by jurists, cf. Klebs, p.275.

eo quod ibi benignius agi adfirmaretur (RB): For *eo quod,* cf. 10, RA 18/RB 16, where Klebs, p.267 regards the same expression as an interpolation! For *benigne*, cf. 51, RB 24 (*benigne* does not occur in *RA*). Finally, *adfirmaretur* harks back directly to *RA* 3 *adfirmabatur*.

11, RA 4-5 Deducitur itaque Apollonius cum ingenti honore ad navem et valedicens hominibus ascendit ratem. 'So he was escorted with great honour to his ship, said farewell to the people and went on board.'

11, RB 3-5 Cum ingenti igitur honore a civibus deductus ad mare, valedicens omnibus conscendit ratem.

Deducitur (RA) ~ *deductus* (RB): The Greek Novel likes to use ἐκπέμπω, παραπέμπω, προπέμπω for an official farewell escort (cf. Less., s.v.): Xen. Eph. 5,15,1 ἐπανήγοντο παραπέμποντος αὐτοὺς παντὸς τοῦ 'Ροδίων πλήθους 'They went aboard ship <…> and set sail; the whole population of Rhodes saw them off.'

ad navem <…> **ascendit ratem** (RA) ~ *ad mare* <…> *conscendit ratem* (RB): A striking variatio.

hominibus (RA) ~ *omnibus* (RB): There is a great deal of variation in the codd. owing to abbreviation and pronunciation. For *HA*, cf. 40, RA 33 *omnibus*: RB 27 *hominibus*.

11, RA 5 Qui dúm navigáret (*pl.*), intra duas horas diei mutata est pelagi fides. 'And when he was sailing, the sea, which had seemed trustworthy, changed within two hours.'

11, RB 5-6 Qui dum per aliquot dies totidemque noctibus ventis prósperis návigat (*t.*), subito mutata est pelagi fides, in quo pacto litus Tarsium reliquit.

dum navigaret (RA) ~ *dum* <…> *navigat* (RB): A classical emendation, cf. 39, RA/RB 1.

per aliquot dies totidemque noctibus (**b**, RBern: *noctes* **βMπ**) (RB): For *per* + abl., cf. 13, RB 3 (**b**, **Va**); 45, RA 4 (**A Va**[c]). Thus construed here for the purpose of variatio, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *per* (3).

ventis prosperis (RB), cf. 39, RA 1 *qui dum prosperis ventis* ((RA: *Tyro reversurus* add. RB) *navigat, subito mutata est pelagi fides*: Probably an authentic element in c.39, transposed to here by *RB*, for the sake of contrast. The Greek Novel likes to connect terms like οὔριος 'with a fair wind' with πλοῦς 'a prosperous voyage', ἄνεμος, πνεῦμα, πνοιαί 'wind' (cf. *Less.*, s.v. οὔριος; in doing so it links up with the Greek tragedians, cf. LSJ, s.v. οὔριος). Thus

Riese, Index, s.v. *venti prosperi* refers to Xen. Eph. 1,11,3, ἦν ὁ πλοῦς αὐτοῖς οὔριος 'The sailing was easy'; ibid. 1,12,3 καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐφέροντο οὐρίῳ πνεύματι 'At first they were carried along by a favourable wind.'

intra duas horas (RA) ~ *subito* (RB): In Homer's description of a storm (*Od.* 12,403-419) the storm suddenly whips up: 407-408 αἶψα γὰρ ἦλθε/κεκληγὼς Ζέφυρος 'suddenly Zephyrus approached rustling', cf. R. Kussl, *Papyrusfragmente griechischer Romane*, Tübingen 1991, p.137. This became a real τόπος, based on reality: Verg., *Aen.* 1,88 *eripiunt subito nubes caelumque diemque*; Sen., *Contr.* 7,1,4 *subitis tempestatibus*; Curt. 4,3,16 *subito spissae nubes*.

mutata est (RA/RB): In this kind of context Greek likes to use μεταβάλλω, μεταβολή 'change'.

pelagi fides (RA) ~ *pelagi fides, in quo pacto litus Tarsium reliquit* (RB): This image is very popular in both Latin and Greek, cf. Verg., *Aen.* 3,69 *ubi prima fides pelago*; Petron., *Sat.* 15,8 *maris fidem* (sc. malam); Rut. Namat., *de reditu suo* 1,205 *explorata fides pelagi ter quinque diebus*, cf. ThLL VI.I 682,22-5. For Greek, cf. Charit. 8,2,11 οὐκέτι οὐδὲ τῇ θαλάσσῃ προσήκει πίστευειν 'we cannot even rely on the sea anymore'; Achill. Tat. 5,15,4 ἄδηλοι τῆς θαλάσσης αἱ τύχαι ἄπιστοι τῶν ἀνέμων αἱ μεταβολαί 'The moods of the sea are fickle; the changes of the winds cannot be trusted.' *RB*'s additional sentence is difficult: probably 'trust in the sea, on the strength of which he had left the coast of Tarsus' (*reliquit* stands for *reliquerat*). Heraeus' conjecture: (pelagi fides) *in quo pacato* 'trust in the sea, which had calmed' is clever but should probably be rejected.

11, RA 7-22/RB 7-17

The now following lines of poetry pose many problems to readers and commentators. The verses propel the *HA* into the area of works written in *prosimetrum* (a mixture of prose and poetry). Recent years in particular have seen much debate on this genre and its provenance (Menippean satire?): D. Bartŏnkova, 'Letteratura Prosimetrica e Narrativa Antica' in: *La letteratura di Consumo nel mondo Greco-Latino*. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Cassino, 14-17 Settembre 1994 (eds. O. Pecere, A. Stramaglia) Cassino, Università degli Studi di Cassino 1996. This commentary does not intend to enter into the debate because it believes that these verses, too, go back to the original authors of *RA* and *RB*. They thus join a long epic tradition – developing in a continual process of *imitatio* and *aemulatio* – of depicting storms at sea and shipwrecks in the most dramatic possible form. The tradition is found in both Greek and Latin literature. To mention just a few outstanding examples: Homer (*Od.* 5,291 ff.; 9,67 ff.; 12,403 ff.: 13,301 ff.),

alongside names like, Archilochus, the Greek Tragedians, the New Comedy, Lucian, etc. Latin boasts a group of names perhaps even more interesting and impressive: Verg., *Aen.* 1,81-141; Ov., *Met.* 11,490 ff.; Seneca, *Agam.* 485 ff.; Luc., *Phars.* 5,560 ff.; Iuvenalis, *Sat.* 1,9,39; Sil. Ital., *Pun.* 17,237-282; Val. Flacc., *Arg.* 1,608; 8,321; Stat., *Theb.* 5,361; Petron., *Sat.* 114 (cf. A. Ernout, *Le Satiricon*, Paris 1922, p.127). Borrowings from precisely these poets, like Virgil (zie *RA* 9.16.22), Ovid (RA 10.21.22) and Sil. Ital. (RA 13.20), make it clear where *RA* and *RB* stand in this tradition.

The Greek Novel is also fond of sea storm descriptions, but its medium is prose (cf. Charit. 3,3,10; Xen. Eph. 2,11,10; 3,2,12; 3,12,2; Achill. Tat. 3,1-3, cf. J. Rougé, 'Romans grecs et navigation: le voyage de Leucippé et Clitophon de Beyrouth en Egypte', *Archaeonautica* II (1978), pp.265-80); Long. 1,20; Heliod. 1,22,4; 5,22; 5,27). The scene of calamity is usually the Ionian Sea (Achill. Tat. 2,11,3; 2,15; Long. 2,1,2; Heliod, 2,30; 5,17). It seems that direct influence from Greek epic sea storm descriptions cannot be demonstrated for either *RA* or RB (see RB 15 comm.). We can, however, discern the influence of the omnipresent Homer behind the sea storm and the stay in Cyrene (cf. 8, RB 3; 12, RA 4/RB 4-5).

The passage itself can be regarded as a cento ('a garment of several bits or pieces sewed together'), and more specifically as a *Vergiliocento* (Hier., *Epist.* 103,7) if we consider the Virgilian references. At first sight the verses themselves make a very authentic impression. General opinion in fact sees them as ancient heritage corrupted only by tradition. Klebs himself, in his discussions on the language and style of the *HA* (pp.228-80), largely constructed his thesis of a 3rd-c. Latin original on the originality of these verses (p.284 'unheilbar zerrüttet'). Later followers reinforced this position, e.g. W. Teuffel, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, ed. W. Kroll – F. Skutsch, III, Leipzig-Berlin 1913[6] (bearbeitet von W. Teuffel), § 489, pp.518-20. Following this path, editors and critics have vied to indicate where the structure of the verses can be improved or supplemented. They have not been afraid to propose often radical conjectures either. I believe, however, that this approach is misguided and that both *RA* and *RB* should be seen to belong to the tradition of epic storm descriptions described above, as late representatives of it. Kussl, in connection with the ἔκφρασις in the Greek Herpyllis novel (pp.136-140), refers emphatically (n.140) to Sen., *Suas.* 3,2 *describe nunc tempestatem* as a theme in the Roman rhetorical schools. In my view, the descriptions of *RA* and *RB* form *specimina* of this teaching.

I have followed Riese (1893) in the arrangement of the verses: RB 7-9 is based on parts of lines, not pure hexameters. For this technique, see also 18, RA/RB 1-3. Where possible the discussion takes together the corresponding verses of *RA* ~ *RB*. 'Sins' against classical prosody are indicated above the words in question. Final conclusions are drawn at the end, after 11, RB 17.

11, RA 7-8

Certă non certis cecidere
Concita tempestas rutilans inluminat orbem.
'Certainty was felled by things uncertain.
A storm arose, illuminated the sky with a red glow.'

11, RB 7-9

'Nam paucis horis perierunt carbasa ventis' concitatis; totus <se> effuderat polus et a<b>repto p<eni>t<us> sereno lumine caeli spirante dira procella

Certa AVa^{c}P: In descriptions of sea storms Latin literature likes to use *certus/incertus* in the sense of 'unusual': e.g. *(in)certum aequor*: Luc., *Phars.* 5,570 *puppim dubius ferit undique pontus;* ibid., 5,602 *dubium pendet, vento cui concidat, aequor*: Petron., *Sat.* 114 *nec certos fluctus ventus impulerat*; Tacit., *Ann.* 2,23 *incerti fluctus*; *(in)certa unda*: Ov., *Trist.* 1,2,26 *nescit, cui domino pareat, unda maris*; Sen., *Agam.* 139 *incerta dubitat unda, cui cedat malo*; *(in)certus ventus*: Bell. Afric. 2 *vento certo*; Liv. 26,39,19 *incertos ventos*. This use of *certus* agrees with the *HA*: 7, RA/RB *certa navigationis die*; 25, RA 8 *certum iter* 'steady course'. Since Riese (1893), ad loc. many scholars have tampered with the metre of the verse: Certă Riese (1893); certa**.** Konstan (1983), cf. ibid. p.60; certa<que> Tsitsikli (1981), Schmeling (1984). Given the general metrical approach of *RA* and *RB*, I do not believe that any correction should be made. *RA* will have been pleased to introduce the triple alliteration, cf. Verg., *Aen.* 3,203 *incertos caeca caligine soles*; ibid. 9,96 *certusque incerta pericula lustrat | Aeneas*, cf. *RA* 22 *cornu cantabat*.

cecidere AVa^{c}P: This form archaicizes: in the 5th/6th century it is virtually obsolete, cf. H. Hagendahl, *Die Perfekt-formen auf -ere und -erunt. Ein Beitrag zur Technik der spätlateinischen Kunstprosa*, Uppsala-Leipzig, 1923, p.4. Here, too, editors since Riese (1893) have proposed to normalize. Schmeling (1984) even indicates a metrical scheme. But the striking hemistich (ἡμιστίχιον) is supported by classical authors, cf. Verg., *Aen.* I 538 (in a similar context) *Huc cursus fuit*.

Concita tempestas rutilans (RA): Following Riese, we need to change the reading *concitatur* **AVa^{c}P** in view of the combination *tempestas rutilans*. This is a free quotation after Vulg., Matt. 15:2-3 *(Facto vespere dicitis: Serenum erit, rubicundum est enim caelum. Et mane: Hodie) tempestas, rutilat (enim triste caelum)*. This biblical origin (cf. Ps. Hier., *expos. in Matth.*, PG 30, p.554^{B}: *tempestas rutilans)* is reinforced by the second part of the line.

inluminat orbem (**P**: *urbem* **AVa**^{c}) (RA): Though the meaning is clear, even ThLL VII,1 391,25 must confess regarding this verb: 'raro ante Ecclesiasticos'. The change *orbem* ~ *urbem* is typical of the Italian tradition, cf. 11, RA 9 *Eulus* **AP** (i.q. Aeolus): see Väänänen, *Introd.* § 54.

Nam paucis horis <…> **ventis** (RB): Though it cannot be proved with any certainty, *RB* has particularized *RA*'s obscure line *certa non certis cecidere* by means of phenomena occurring in all storm descriptions since Homer, such as swiftness (*paucis horis*), tearing of sails (*perierunt carbasa*), darkness (*abrepto penitus sereno lumine caeli*), violent winds (*spirante dira procella*). These additions were probably based on his wider reading, cf. Ov., *Epist.* 7,171 *cum dabit aura viam, praebebis carbasa ventis*; Luc. 3,595 *venturis componere carbasa ventis*. In particular the combination *carbasa ventis* (*vento*) is found frequently in Latin literature, cf. ThLL III 429,1-48. The reading *concitatis* (RB) harks back to *concita* (RA). *RB*'s use of fragments of verse here is characteristic of *RA* too (cf. 18, RA 1-4). It is probably a traditional procedure. A. Scobie, *Aspects of the Ancient Romance and its Heritage*, Meisenheim a/Glan 1969, p.32 n.15, refers to Livy, Sallust, Apuleius (*Metam.*).

11, RA 9-11

Aeolus imbrifero <flatu> turbata procellis
corripit arma. Nothus clipe<um> caligine ratis scindit. Omnis latus pelagi revolumine murmurat.
Auster …

'Aeolus with rainy blast attacks the rigging entangled by gales. The South Wind tears the total tackle of the ship to rags in deep darkness. The entire side of the ship groans under the onrushing waves. The South Wind …'

11, RB 9-10

spirante dira procella
corripitur. Notus clypeum <…>

Aeolus (RA): A standard figure in storm descriptions, as ruler of the winds (cf. Verg., *Aen.* 1,52), like Neptune (RA 21/RB 15) and Triton (RA 22/RB 16). The spelling *Eulus* (= Aeolus) **AP** is very common in codd. (Notae Tironum 110,85). The absence of Aeolus in *RB*'s description is striking. Was he removed on purpose? Likewise August., *De civ. Dei* 5,26 deliberately leaves out the mythological explanation of Aeolus' name and activities.

imbrifero <**flatu**> (RA): This spelling and addition (for *inbrifero* **A**, *imbris eoo* **P**, *imbris ero* **Va**^{c}), are quite certain, cf. 25, RA 7 *flante vento* (ThLL VII 426, 64-5 has doubts).

turbata procellis / corripit arma (RA): For *turbata procellis* (in the same position), cf. Verg., *Georg.* 3,259 *turbata procellis / nocte natat* (sc. Leander) *caeca serus freta* (sc. Hellesponti). This is a famous passage of course. The reading *arma* **AVa**^{c} 'rigging' is retained for various reasons: the agreement of **A** and **Va**^{c}; the situation in the ship's disaster, where both the *arma* and the *clipeum* are destroyed; the correspondence with *RB*, where *navis* also functions as subj., and the parallel with Ov., *Met.* 11,512 *(unda) ibat in arma*. Though the v.l. *arva* **P** 'the fields of Neptune' (= *mare*), preferred by e.g. Schmeling (1988), is attractive (cf. Verg., *Aen.* 8,695 *arva nova Neptunia caede rubescunt*; see ThLL IV 1039,48 s.v. *corripio*), it does not seem to fit the situation very well.

corripit arma (RA) ~ *corripitur* (RB): *RB*'s change starts from almost the same word picture, cf. Introd. I. The notional subj. of *corripitur* **b** is probably *navis*, cf. 39, RB 2.

Nothus clipe<um> <…> **scindit** (RA) ~ *Notus clypeum* <…> (RB): Together with 41, RA 3 *conscius*, this is probably the most crucial place in the *HA*. The text passed down in the mss. reads: *Nothus clípeo* (**A**: *clipeo* **P**, *clyppeo* **Va**^{c}) *caligine ratis scindit. Omnis* (*om̃s* = *omnis* **A**: *omnes* **Va**^{c}**P**) *latus pelagi revolumine murmurat* (**A**: *murmur erat* **P**). Critics have tried to clean up the text by means of radical emendations. Riese (1893) for instance writes: *Notus picea caligine tectus | Scinditque omne latus pelagique volumina versat*, based partly on Ov., *Met.* 1,264 *Notus* <…> *picea tectus caligine*, partly on Verg., *Aen.* 5,408 *immensa volumina versat*. Schmeling (1988) goes even further. The stumbling block for all conjectures is that *clipeus/clipeum* occurs both in *RA* and *RB* and that its interpretation is very uncertain. Perhaps *clipeum* can be retained as a translation error from τὸ ὅπλον 'a ship's tackle, tackling', cf. ἐξοπλίξω 'to arm completely', also said of a ship (LSJ, s.v. I.2). The so-called Herpyllis fragment (ed. Zimmermann, p.71 no. 8,15) has ἡ μὲν οὖ με[γ]άλη ναῦς βραδύτερόν τι ἐ[ξ]ωπλίζετο 'in any case the great ship was rigged up a little more slowly.' This is paralleled by Latin *armare*, cf. Ov., *Met.* 11,456 *armarique suis* <…> *armamentis*. Acceptance of this translation error means that the description of *RA* (and consequently of *RB*) goes back to a Greek *Grundlage*. The objection that *arma* and ὅπλα are synonymous in this interpretation is not insurmountable: Aeolus tangles with the rigging, at the same time the South Wind totally ruins the rigging and tackle. For the procedure followed here, see Introd. IV.1. *RB* has not understood this context at all. He has immediately moved on to what he did seem to understand, the storm (RA 17 = RB 10), repeating himself as he does (RB 7-9), cf. ed. m. (2004) n.84.

Omnis latus pelagi revolumine murmurat (**AVa**^{c}: *murmur erat* **P**) (RA): We should probably adhere to the tradition here as well. For the situation,

compare Ov., *Met.*, 11,507 *saepe dat ingentem fluctu latus icta fragorem* (sc. navis) 'Again and again the ship gives out a huge groan, struck in its side'. For *latus* masc. (or noun of the 2nd decl.), cf. A. Erikson, *Sprachliche Bemerkungen zu Epiphanius' Interpretatio Evangeliorum*, Lund 1939, p.6; ThLL VII $^{II\,2}$ 1024,62-9. For the decline of the neuter in the *HA*, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. genus substantivorum. *Omnis*, esp. given the system of abbreviation, could easily be changed to *omne* (or oẽ instead of om̃s or os̃). But it is better to retain the transmitted text, since attestation of *revolumen* is also very late, cf. R.E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Wordlist from British and Irish Sources*, London 1965, s.v. (col.860), though the term is clear, cf. Verg., *Aen.* 10,660 *revoluta per aequora*; Ov., *Met.* 11,496 *undarum incursu*.

Auster Va^{c}P 'the South Wind': It is unfortunate that the first part of **A** stops after *murmurat*: this means that *Auster* is only recorded in the mss. by **Va^{c}P**. It may be that part of another verse has been lost (thus Riese, 1896): it may also be that *Auster* should be seen as a gloss to get the four winds grouped together, a procedure favoured since Hom., *Od.* 5,295: σὺν δ' εὗρός τε νότος τε πέσον | ζέφυρός τε δυσαῆς καὶ βορέης 'They all coincided, Eurus, Nothus, Zephyrus hard blowing, and Boreas.' For Latin, cf. Verg., *Aen.* 1,85; Ov., *Met.* 1,61; ibid., *Trist.* 1,2,27; Sen., *Agam.* 496; Luc., *Phars.* 5,559; Val. Fl., *Arg.* 1,611. On the other hand *Auster* could also be a gloss on *Notus*, cf. Sen., *Natur. quaest.* 5,16,6 *Notus latine Auster*; Suet, *De vir. illustr.*, Reifferscheid p.228: *Tertius ventorum Auster <…>, qui est Notus*; Acts 27:12 ὑποπνεύσαντος δὲ νότου (Vulg. *flante Austro*). So although reading and interpretation are uncertain, the text has been retained as such, because a marginal gloss in this place would be very interesting as regards textual tradition, cf. B. Bischoff, 'Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese', *Sacris Erudiri* VI,1 (1954) p.229.

11, RA 13-16

Volvitur hinc Borreas nec iam mare sufficit Euro
et freta disturbata sibi involv<un>t harena<s>
… et <tot>um revoca<nt> a cardine pontum.
Omnia miscentur. Pulsat mare sidera, caelum.

'From one side blows the North Wind, sea is not enough for the East Wind and the waves disturbed plough up the grains of the sea and churn up the whole sea from the bottom. Everything is mixed together. The sea strikes stars, sky.'

Volvitur hinc Borreas (RA), cf. *RA* 20: Derived from Sil. Ital., *Pun.* 12,617. *RA* is not afraid of repetitio at such short distance.

freta disturbata sibi (RA): This line poses metrical difficulties. Theoretically the final syllable of *sibi* can be long or short, cf. F. Ritschl, *Opuscula Philologica* 2, Lipsiae 1888, p.632 ff. On account of its place in the verse the final syllable here must be long. In view of the next word *ínvolv<un>t* this means that an hiatus must be assumed after *sibi*. Progressive editors (Riese, Schmeling) do not accept this and athetize or conjecture: *Libys* (Riese); *Libyssa* (Tsitsikli). For the Λίψ (= *Africus*), cf. Gow IX,11 (comm.). Here the transmitted text has been retained, because Late and Christian Latin can use the reflexive pronoun pleonastically, anticipating Romance constructions like 'disturbarsi'. For this phenomenon, see Blaise, *Manuel* § 170 *sedere sibi*: s'asseoir; Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 282; E. Dahlén, *Études syntaxiques sur les pronoms réfléchis pléonastiques en latin*, Göteborg, 1964; Adams (1976), p.29. In my view, the occurrence of an hiatus in this kind of poetry is no objection.

involv<un>t harena<s> (RA): This adapted text goes back to *involvunt harenas* **Rα(F)**. The transmitted text *involvit harena* (**P**: *are-* **Va**^{c}) **Va**^{c}**P** could perhaps be left standing with *harenă* as subject (thus Riese (1893), Schmeling). In a highly doubtful context I have opted for a reading that makes immediate sense. Naturally the phenomenon is found in all descriptions: Verg., *Aen.* 3,196 *continuo venti volvunt mare*; Ov., *Met.* 11,490 *omnique e parte feroces bella gerunt venti fretaque indignantia miscent*, cf. ThLL VII $^{II\,2}$, s.v. involvo 262,44-60.

<**tot**>**um revoca**<**nt**>, cf. *totum revocant* Rα(F): *cum revocata* **Va**^{c}**P**. This is also a stock image in storm descriptions, cf. Ov., *Met.* 11,497 *fluctibus erigitur caelumque aequare videtur | pontus et inductas adspergine tangere nubes | et modo, cum fulvas ex imo vertit harenas | concolor est illis*; ibid., 517 *inque fretum credas totum descendere caelum, inque plagas caeli tumefactum adscendere pontum*, cf. Verg., *Aen.* 1,84; 1,125; 2,419 etc.

a cardine (RA): 'from the bottom': Normally *cardo* is used to indicate the highest point of a door's pivot (cf. ThLL III 444,48-69; Blaise, s.v. *cardo* (1)); here it represents the lowest point, cf. Vulg. Job 36:30 *cardines maris operiet*. Disturbance of the seabed is a τόπος in both Greek and Latin storm descriptions, cf. Gow, *Theocr.* VII,58 (comm.).

Pulsat mare sidera, caelum (RA): The image *sidera pellere/pulsare* often occurs figuratively in the Augustan poets: Verg., *Aen.* 4,322 *(fama), qua sola sidera adibam*; Hor., *Carm.* 1,1,36 *sublimi feriam sidera vertice*; Ov., *Ex Ponto* 2,5,57 *huic tu cum placeas et sidera vertice tangas*. Here the image should be taken literally and comes closest to Verg., *Aen.* 3,619 *ipse* (sc. Cyclops) *arduus altaque pulsat/sidera*. This is of course a famous verse. Via *sidera caeli*, very frequent in the Vulg., it is easy to arrive at *sidera, caelum* 'stars, firmament'.

Editors argue for *sidera caeli* (Riese [1893], Praef. X n.3; Klebs, p.95; McGowan [1977], p.238; Hunt (1981[a]), p.342; Schmeling (1984), ad loc.), the more so because this collocation occurs in the same position in the Augustan poets (Ov., *Met.* 7,580; Verg., *Georg.* 4,58; id., *Aen.* 1,259). But this is to run the risk of smuggling a classical emendation into a literary *conamen*, cf. 11, RA 7 *certa* (comm.). The codd. on which the 'emendation' is based date from the middle/end of the 12th c. (δ, S), or indeed from the 14th c. (L).

11, RA 17-19

In sese glomeratur hiems pariterque mora<n>tur
nubila, grandŏ, nǐves, <Z>ephyri, freta, fulgida, nimbi.
Flamma volat vento, mugit mare conturbat<um>.
'The storm gathers itself into a ball and at the same time there are clouds, hail, snow showers, western breezes, waves, lightning flashes, rain. Flame flies through the wind, the sea bellows in its turmoil.'

11, RB 10-13

… pariterque move<n>tur
grandŏ, nŭbes, Zephyri, fretum ēt inmania nimbi
flamina: dant venti mŭgǐtum, mors sedula terret.
Ereptisque rĕmis sibi nauta nŏn invenit undas

glomeratur (RA): *Globus* and *glomero* belong in this atmosphere, cf. Verg., *Georg.* 1,323 *et foedam glomerant tempestatem imbribus atris collectae ex alto nubes*; Sen., *Agam.* 462 *nubes sordido crescens globo*; Tacit., *Ann.* 2,23 *mox atro nubium globo effusa grando*.

mora<n>tur (*morantur* **Rα**: *-atur* **Va**[c]**P**) ~ *move<n>tur* (*movetur* **b**; *-vet* **βπ**): The two versions join up again here, but with a characteristic difference: instead of the colourless *morari* (= *esse*, cf. 7, RA/RB 8 *in luctu moratur*) *RB* opts for an effective *moveri*.

nubila <…> **nimbi** (RA) ~ *grando* <…> *immania nimbi/flamina* (RB): This verse as passed down in *RA* is found in almost the same form, but with correct use of the quantities, in Isid., *Orig.* 1,36,13 under the name *schesis onomaton* 'accumulation of substantives', explained as *multitudo nominum coniunctorum quodam ambitu copulata, ut; nubila, nix, grando, procellae, fulmina, venti*, included by A. Baehrens, *Fragmenta Poetarum Romanorum*, Lipsiae 1886, p.358,13. The line is also found in Alberic of Monte Cassino, an 11th-c. author of a rhetorical manual, cf. D.M. Inguanez – H.M. Willard, *Alberici Casinensis Flores Rhetorici*, 1938, p.44. It thus forms a good example of the traditionalism in school books and probably an

argument for the provenance of this cento. For the trope itself (also called συναθροισμός), see H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der litterarischen Rhetorik*, München 1960, § 671 (3). This *asyndeton enumerativum* (see ed. m. [1984], n.555) occurs throughout Latin literature, in particular Lucr. 5,1191 *flammaeque volantes | nubila, sol, imbres, nix, venti, fulmina, grando*. In Christian literature such asyndetic enumerations are particularly found in Pope Damasus, cf. H. Delehaye, 'Recherches sur le légendier romain', *AB* 51 (1933), p.52. *RA* has slightly adapted the school example, *RB* more so, with the impressive enjambment *nimbi flamina* 'the roaring of the hurricane', cf. below under: *Flamma volat vento* (RA).

grandŏ (RA/RB): For the sliding scale of syllabic quantity, cf. L. Havet, *Romania* VI (1877), p.280: 'l'*o* final est commun <…> il n'y a donc rien d'étonnant à ce qu'on rencontre presque à chaque vers *passiŏ, amŏ, amandŏ, ergŏ, quandŏ, porrŏ, ilicŏ, denuŏ*'; A.J. Keulen, *L. Annaeus Seneca Troiades*, s.l. (Leiden?), s.a. (2000), Index rerum p.566 s.v. final *-o* shortened. (I am grateful to the author for this reference.)

fulgida (RA) ~ (RB /): *Fulgida, -orum* (neut. pl., subst.) = *fulgora* or *fulmina* (see the above quotation Fragm. Poet. Lat.). No doubt on account of this very rare meaning (cf. ThLL VI 1514,78), *fulgida* is modulated by **Va**^{c} to *fulgora* and happily reworked by *RB* into *immania nimbi | flamina*. A curious parallel is offered by *coruscum* (= *fulgor*), cf. Blaise, s.v.

nimbi (RA) ~ *et immania nimbi* (gen. sing.) *flamina* (RB): *nimbi* 'thunderstorm'. Henry on Verg. *Aen.* 2,616 has a good definition: '*Nimbus* is never *nubes*, but always that combination of darkness, heavy rain (or hail), wind, thunder and lightning called in Germany Gewitter and in Italy temporale, but for which the English language possesses no more appropriate appellation than thunder-storm.' In avoiding *fulgida* and substituting *flamina* for *flamma*, *RB* adds ēt, thus disrupting the figure of speech (cf. above) and also committing a metrical 'error', cf. ThLL V,2 869,22 'Sero mensuratur ēt', with examples.

Flamma volat vento (RA) ~ *flamina* (RB): *RA*'s somewhat veiled phrase is supported by Lucr. 5,1191 *flammaeque volantes* (quoted above in connection with *nubila* <…> *nimbi*). For the underlying theory, cf. Sen., *Nat. Quaest.* 1,6 *nubes conlisae mediocriter* (sc. ventis) *fulgurationes efficient, maiore impetu inpulsae fulmina*; see also Ov., *Met.* 11,433 (*venti*) *caeli quoque nubila vexant excutiuntque feris rutilos concursibus ignes*. Cf. H. Heuvel, *Publii Statii Papinii Thebaidos liber primus*, Zutphen 1932, on v.354. *RB* is ignorant of this theory and changes *flamma* to *flamina*, an almost identical word picture (cf. Introd. I); the pl. *flamina* is often used by poets.

mugit mare (mareque **Va**^{c}) **conturbat<um>** (-bat **Va**^{c}**P**) (RA) ~ *dant venti mŭgītum* (RB): For *RA*, cf. Hor., *Epist.* 2,1,202 *Garganum mugire putes aut mare Tuscum*; *conturbatum* forms a spondaic verse and depicts the situation. The opinion of ThLL IV 807,28 on *conturbare*: 'vox deest poetis, adamat VULG (94 x)' is significant for the thesis of *RA*'s Christian origin. It is uncertain why *RB* alters so drastically, since his probable source also relates the phrase *mugitum dare* to the *pontus Corinthiacus*, cf. Ov., *Met.* 15,508 *Cum mare surrexit cumulusque immanis aquarum* / (509) <…> *visus* / (510) *Et dare mugitus* (a well-known passage on the death of Hippolytus).

Ereptisque rĕmis sibi nauta nŏn, invenit undas (RB) (*e coniect.*) 'The oars having being snatched away from him, the seaman cannot reach the waves.' There has been much text-critical debate on this verse, the scribes, too, being sorely tried to interpret it. Schmeling (1988), at the suggestion of Klebs, p.25 believes that the sentence *Ereptaque diem remediis non invenit unda* passed down by **Va**^{c} can be inserted in *RA* in the form *ereptaque die remus non invenit undas*. But the statement probably belongs in *RB* only, where the scribes half understood it: *Ereptisque* (**M**: *ereptusque* **b**, *erectisque* **βπ**) *remis sibi* (**b**; *sibi remis* **βMπ**) *nauta* (**βπ**: *manus* **M**, *om.* **b**) *non* (**bβ**^{1}: *om.* **βMπ**) *invenit undas*. (**b** probably understood: 'and deprived of the oars he did not find the waves'; **βMπ** 'and only with outstretched oars did he find the waves.') The line was probably added by *RB* to indicate that the ship was practically out of control now that sails and oars had been lost. The manoeuvre alluded to is called *remos demittere* in Latin (cf. Liv. 36,44,8) and was meant 'to check way or to steady the ship' (cf. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, ch. 12 n.35). It seems that *RB* has unsuitably incorporated a *Lese-Früchtlein*, cf. Introd. VII.2.

11, RA 20 Hinc Nothus, hinc Borreas, hinc Africus (-os **Va**^{c}: Auster **P**) horridus instat.
'On one side the South Wind, on the other the North Wind, on another the fierce South-West Wind threatens.'

11, RB 14 Hinc Notus, hinc Boreas, hinc horridus Africus instat.

Hinc Nothus (RA) ~ *hinc Notus* (RB): The borrowing from Sil. Ital., *Pun.* 12,617 *hinc Notus, hinc Boreas, hinc fuscis Africus alis / bella movent* becomes understandable if we recognize that one of the most important events in Rome's history is poetically represented here, i.e. Hannibal before the gates. The cry '*Hannibal ante portas*' was proverbial, cf. Cic., *Fin.* 4,9,22. Roman mothers used it to rush their children off to bed. *RB*'s transposition proba-

bly serves to enhance the alliteration: *hinc horridus*. The original image in Sil. Ital. *fuscis* <…> *alis* 'with dusky wings' did not fit into the hexameter.

11, RA 21/ RB 15 Ipse tridente suo Neptunus spargit harenas.
'Neptune himself scatters the sand with his trident.'

Ipse <…> **Neptunus** (RA/RB): Of course no storm description would be complete without the stock characters Neptune and (in the next verse) Triton. In the earliest epic depiction of a storm Hom., *Od.* 5,291 we already see him playing his part with relish: ἐτάραξε δὲ πόντον | χερσὶ τρίαιναν ἑλών 'he grasped his trident and rooted up the sea'. *RA* probably enjoyed composing the verse as a cento within one line: *Ipse tridente suo* = Ov., *Met.* 1,283, combined with *Neptunus spargit harenas*, largely based on Verg. *Ecl.* 3,87/*Aen.* 9,629 *pedibus qui spargit harenam*. See also Ov., *Trist.* 4,9,29 *spargit iam torvus harenam / taurus*. Usually Neptune's role is to calm storms: Verg., *Aen.* 1,124-156 (142 *dicto citius tumida aequora placat*); Ov., *Met.* 1,330-331 *nec maris ira manet, positoque tricuspide telo / mulcet aquas rector pelagi* (cf. 12, RA 5).

11, RA 22 Triton terribilis cornu cantabat in undis.
'Horrible Triton is singing on his sea-shell horn amidst the waves.'

11, RB 16-17 Triton terribili cornu cantabat in undis.
Arbor fracta rui t, antemnam corripit unda.

Triton (*Triton* **Rα**; *Trinon* **Va**^{c}**P**/RB): Triton was the son of Neptune and the nymph Salacia, who was famous for his skill at blowing on a seashell (Verg., *Aen.* 1,44; ibid. 10,209; Ov., *Met.* 1,331). Misenus (Aeneas' helmsman) tried in vain to surpass him (Verg., *Aen.* 6,171-174). In Ov., *Met.* 1,331-342 he calms the storm; here his role is clearly to make the sea even more violent. Later works of art represent him as a group (cf. Stat., *Achill.* 1,55 *armigeri Tritones eunt*).

terribilis (RA) ~ *terribili* (RB): *RA* talks about Triton in general, cf. above; *RB* modifies with great subtlety, cf. Ov., *Met.* 12,103 (on a bull in Rome, in the Circus Maximus) *cum sua terribili petit inritamina cornu, Poeniceas vestes*.

cornu cantabat (RA/RB): For the alliteration ThLL IV 968,25 refers to an (accidental) parallel in Apul., *Met.* 8,26; for *cantabat in undis*, cf. Ov., *Fast.* 6,408 *conviva per undas / cantat*.

Arbor fracta ruīt (RB): Where *RA* has the storm still raging in all its violence, *RB* offers a traditional ending. The earliest epic storm description ends with Hom. *Od.* 5,316 μέσον δέ οἱ ἱστὸν ἐάξε | <…> θύελλα | τηλοῦ δὲ σπεῖρον καὶ ἐπίκριον ἔμπεσε πόντῳ 'The gale broke the mast in two; far away the sail and sail-yard fell into the sea', cf. ibid. 12,410-11. This is repeated in almost all subsequent storm descriptions, both in Greek, in particular the Greek Novel, and in Latin. Compare e.g. Achill. Tat. 3,4,3 ἀπωσθείσης δὲ τῆς νηὸς ὁ ἱστὸς ἐπὶ θάτερα πεσὼν τὸ μέν τι κατέκλασε, τὸ δέ τι κατέδυσεν αὐτῆς 'As the ship rebounded, the mast fell in the other direction, shattering part of the hull and driving the rest under water', cf. ibid. 3,5,2; Heliod., 5,22,7 τῶν τε πηδαλίων θάτερον ἀποβαλόντες καὶ τῆς κεραίας τὸ πλεῖστον συντρίψαντες 'one of our rudders gone and most of our rigging smashed.' In Latin: Ov., *Met.* 11,551 (Ceyx and Alcyone, cf. 24, RA 22) *Frangitur incursu nimbosi turbinis arbor, | frangitur et regimen*; Petron. *Sat.* 114 *Non arbor erat relicta, non gubernacula, non funis aut remus, sed quasi rudis atque infecta materies ibat cum fluctibus*; *Excid. Troiae* 25,4 *naves Aeneae per deserta litora fractis arboribus et antemnis* (sc. venti) *sparserunt*, cf. ibid. 29,11. Starting from this τόπος, *RB* concludes his storm description with an essentially correct verse, which forms a good introduction to the desperate situation in the next chapter. Metrically, however, the verse does not entirely come up to the classical standard: *ruīt* with a long ending instead of *ruĭt* (and *corripit*) is perhaps defensible in view of the penthemimeral caesura that follows, cf. R.G. Austin, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos liber quartus*, Oxford 1955 on Verg., *Aen.* 4,222; J.H. Waszink, *Carmen ad Flavium Felicem de resurrectione mortuorum et de iudicio Domini*, Bonnae 1937, p.177.

corripit bβ[1]: *corruit* β: voor β (trans.), cf. Kroll on Catull. 68,52.

undis (RB 16) – *undis* (RB 17): To modern ears an awkward repetition, see Austin, loc. cit. on Verg., *Aen.* 4,409. Understandably, the sea storm has not survived the storm of time in the *Nachleben*. It is usually reduced to a brief phrase or two, cf. Riese (1893), Praef. p.X.

We can now draw some final conclusions about this metrical intermezzo.

1. The strict parallel between *RA* 11-22 and RB 7-17 is demonstrable line by line, *RA* leading *RB*. The differences are often minute, but admit of rational explanation.
2. Both recensions are based on a limited number of sources: first and foremost Virgil (ll. 6, 7-22, 9, 16, 21, 22), immediately followed by Ovid (ll. 10, 21, 22). No doubt the author enjoyed combining his two sources twice in a single line (ll. 21-22). Two poets do not belong to the usual stock: Horat. (l. 19) and Lucan. (ll. 13, 20). But both poets can be easily placed from a Roman perspective.

3. One line (l. 18) does not occur in the usual canon, but betrays familiarity with the Roman school in that it forms a so-called *asyndeton enumerativum*.
4. In language and syntax the cento clearly points to Christian and Late Latin (for Christian Latin ll. 8, 15: for Late Latin ll. 11, 14).
5. The prosody, too, shows that the classical quantities no longer form a living reality, more so in the case of *RB* than *RA* (for *RA* see ll. 7,18; for RB ll. 11, 12, 13, 17). This culminates in the rhythmic hexameters in the song of Tarsia (c.41, RA/RB) and the various metrical irregularities in the riddles of Symphosius. Further proof of an advanced date can be based on the absence of elision (but see RB 11), the coincidence of ictus (metrical accent) and word accent in the last two feet (E.H. Sturtevant, 'Accent and Ictus in the Latin Hexameter', *TAPA* 54, 1928), and in the dominance of the caesura in the fifth foot (the so-called penthemimeral caesura), so that the line loses it playful character and becomes monotonous.
6. The immediate consequence of items 2-5 is that the cento in *RA* and *RB* cannot possibly be attributed to a pagan original, 3rd c. AD. Rather it must be assigned to a Christian milieu in Rome in the 5th/6th c.: both centos are *specimina* within a popular genre, the storm description, *descriptiones tempestatum*.
7. The Greek substrate is probably based on a prose description. *RA* gives a standard translation (l. 10) *clipeum* for the term τὸ ὅπλον; *RB* follows his example, but does not know what to do with the term and inserts a lengthy lacuna (7 lines in this edition), cf. ed. m. (2004), n.84.
8. This lacuna is the longest in the *HA* and moreover incomprehensible, in sharp contrast to *RB*'s method elsewhere. An interesting question is: could he present his revision to the public in this way?

(Garbugino, p.81, n.40 sees the sea storm as a later interpolation [8th c.] influenced by Isid. *Orig.* 1,36,13 [l.18 quoted]. This interpretation should be firmly rejected: (1) the use of *certa* [11, RA 7] agrees completely with its use in the *HA*, cf. Ind. verb. s.v.; (2) it is inconceivable that Isid. and his followers would sin against classical prosody [see above under 5]; (3) There is no sign of any connection with Isid. or his school in the *HA*; (4) Enk's testimony [Mnemosyne IV,1 p.222-37, quotation p.237] is based on an erroneous interpretation relating to c.41, Tarsia's song. For other hypotheses, made by Garbugino on the textual genesis of RA/RB, see 12, RA 19/RB 21; 18, RA/RB 4-5; 41, RA/RB 1-13; 42, RA 28-30/RB 21-23.)

CHAPTER 12

12, RA 1 Tunc unusquisque sibi rapuit tabulas, morsque nuntiatur. 'Then each sailor grabbed a plank for himself and death announced itself.'

12, RB 1 Tunc "quisque rapit tabulam, mortemque minatur."

tabulas (RA) ~ *tabulam* (RB): As in epic descriptions, the wreckage is floating around: Hom., *Od.* 12,67 πίνακάς τε νεῶν καὶ σώματα φωτῶν κύμαθ' ἁλὸς φορέουσι 'The waves of the sea carry planks of ships and corpses of heroes', cf. Acts 27:44 *in tabulis* (Gr. ἐπὶ σανίσιν); (fig.) Ps. Ambr., *Laps. virg.* 8,38 *tanquam in naufragiis tabulae*. In the Greek Novel too: Xen. Eph. 2,11,10 τῆς νεὼς διαφραγείσης μόλις ἐν σανίσι (**F**: σανίδι *edd.*) τινὲς σωθέντες: 'the ship broke up; some of the crew survived with great difficulty on planks.' These lifesavers are usually a single piece of wood, a beam or a keel: 5,371 αὐτὰρ 'Οδυσσεὺς ἀμφ' ἑνὶ δούρατι βαῖνε 'but Odysseus got astride a plank' (cf. ibid. 7,252), not so much planks held together. To be on the safe side, *RB* changes this collective grabbing at planks to the singular, cf. Petr., *Sat.* 115 *de tam magna nave ne tabulam quidem naufragus habes*. The image is also used allegorically: Nicet., *Virg. laps.* 38 (p.125 Burn) *fortiter inhaere tamquam naufragus tabulae sperans te ab ipsa de profundo criminum liberari*.

nuntiatur (RA) ~ *minatur* (RB): Riese (1893) explained *RA* (= **P**) as '*litteris navigantium in mare demissis*', so a kind of message in a bottle: he took *tabula* in the sense of *tabula descriptoria*, cf. OLD, s.v. *tabula* (6). It is probably better to assume a Greek substrate here, e.g. ὁ θάνατος (ἐξ)ἀγγέλλεται 'death announced itself' or 'death was announced', cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀγγέλλω (II, III). The idea is clear: Achill. Tat. 3,2,1 ἀεὶ τὸν θάνατον προσδοκῶντες καὶ ἦν, ὡς εἰκός, οὐ μακράν 'always expecting death: and it was in all likelihood not far off', cf. 32, RA 33. *RB* has made this meaning explicit: 'death threatens', in which *mortem* should be regarded as *acc. regens*, i.q. *mors*, see RB 24 *Paupertatem* <...> *sufficiet*, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. acc. regens. For the phrase, cf. e.g. Ven. Fort. *Vita Martini* 4,413 *rapitur lux morsque minatur*. For the phenomenon itself, crucial to the Romance languages, zie Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 253; Blatt, o.c., Index p.195; K. Vossler, *Einführung in das Vulgärlatein*. Neu ausgegeben von H. Schmeck, München 1954, p.103. The metre probably played a role here as well, cf. 11, RB 7-9 (*aliter* Klebs, 216 n.1). An interesting conjecture is

R. Renehan’s *mortemque ominatur* ‘each one had a presentiment of death.’ This reading is recommended by Hunt (1980, pp.26-8; 1981[a], pp.342-3); Schmeling (1988) introduces it both into RB (p.52,4) and into RC (p.90,18). Though the conjecture is perfectly in keeping with *RB*’s changes (cf. Introd. III.5) and fits with Christian Latin (cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v.), it has not been incorporated because it goes against the unanimous manuscript tradition of *RB* and *RC*.

12, RA 2	In illa vero caligine tempestatis ómnes periérunt (*v.*). ‘In the darkness of that storm all perished.’
12, RB 2	In tali caligine tempestatis perierunt universi.

illa (RA) ~ *tali* (RB): An effective stylistic improvement. For *caligine tempestatis*, i.q. *tempestate caliginosa*, cf. Quint., *Declam.* 18,7 *caligo tenebrarum*; Vopisc., *Car.* 8,5 exorta tempestas, ut caligarent omnia.

omnes (RA) ~ *universi* (RB): The quadrisyllabic, more emphatic word wins, cf. 6, RA 11/RB 12 *universarum quaestionum* (comm.).

12, RA 2-3	Apollonius vero unius tabulae beneficio in Pentapolitarum est litore pulsus. ‘Apollonius, however, thanks to a plank was cast up on the shore of the Pentapolitans.’
12, RB 2-4	Apollonius solus beneficio tabulae in Pentapolitanorum est littore pulsus gubernatore pereunte; fortuna (**b**: et deo volente **βπ**) proicitur fatigatus in litore Cyrene<s>.

vero (RA) (e.g. δὲ?) ~ *solus* (RB): An almost classical emendation by RB prompted by *perierunt universi*. (Schmeling, *Notes*, p.136 on 9,2 *aliter*.)

unius tabulae beneficio (RA) ~ *tabulae beneficio* (RB): As in 1, RA/RB 2 (comm.), *unus* here means probably only ‘one plank’. This can be explained with reference to both Latin and Greek. As in the shipping disaster in cc. 11-12, Homer is decisive for Greek: cf. *Od.* 5, 370 αὐτὰρ ’Οδυσσεὺς ἀμφ’ ἑνὶ δούρατι βαῖνε ‘but Odysseus got astride a single plank’. See also e.g. Anth. Palatina 9,269 δισσοὶ ὑπὲρ μούνης μαρνάμενοι σανίδος ‘two men fighting for a single plank’. For Latin, cf. Cic., *Att.* 4,19,2 *perspice* <…> *cum Caesare suavissimam coniunctionem; haec enim me una ex hoc naufragio tabula delectat*; id., *Off.* 3,90 *quid si una tabula sit, duo naufragi*. In my view, the de-

velopment is: **HA(Gr)** μία σανίς 'one timber' = **R(Gr)** = RA *una tabula*. Of course a neutral, non-specific interpretation is possible too: 'a plank', as translators of the *HA* commonly render it. *RB* also interpreted *una* for an indefinite article and omitted it, as elsewhere (cf. Introd. II.1).

beneficio (RA/RB): For *beneficio* + gen. (i.q. *merito, propter* etc.), usually in postposition, functioning as *abl.* in the corresponding form or a simple preposition *a(b)*, see ThLL II 1888,53. It corresponds with Gr. χάριν τινος, cf. *Less.*, s.v. χάρις.

Pentapolitarum (RA) ~ *Pentapolitanorum* (RB): The form of *Pentapolitae* (nom. pl.) is formed directly from Πενταπολῖται (c.q. Πενταπολιτῶν), on the pattern of ναύτης/*nauta*, adopted in full, as is not uncommon (cf. Pseudo-Methodius 8,4 κανθαροειδῶς ~ *cantharospeciem*). For the procedure followed by *RA*, cf. Introd. n.65 (unnecessarily doubted by Garbugino, p.35). *RB* has removed the Graecism via the usual classical form *Pentapolitani*, cf. *Neapolitani* (Cic., *Fam.* 13,30,1; *Off.* 1,10,33; *Tusc.* 1,35,86). The list *solus* (RB), *tabulae beneficio* (RB), *Pentapolitanorum* (RB) shows that Klebs's objection to *RB*, p.77 ('die Stelle ist sowohl in b als in β in verschiedener Weise verderbt') is unnecessary and fails to justice to the real state of affairs.

pulsus (RA) ~ *pulsus gubernatore pereunte*: *fortuna* (**b**: *et deo volente* **βπ**) *proicitur fatigatus in litore Cyrene<s>* (RB): A simple statement in *RA*, epically elaborated by *RB*.

gubernatore pereunte (RB): An epic reminiscence (cf. Hom., *Od.* 12,411-414; Verg., *Aen.* 1,115) added from *RB*'s reading, cf. 12 RB 4-5 (comm.) and 8, RB 3. Though the κυβερνήτης 'helmsman' occurs frequently in the Greek Novel (cf. *Less.*, s.v. κυβερνήτης) and has an important say in the running of a ship (cf. HA 25, RA 20/RB 15), there seems to be no reason for this statement, except perhaps a literary one. For this τόπος, cf. Rougé (1978), pp.279-80.

fortuna b ~ *et deo volente* **βMπ**: A good example of how revisers of *HA* gradually increase the motivation of events, cf. 13, RA/RB 10. Whereas *RA* lacks any further motivation (Apollonius planned to sail to Cyrene anyway, cf. 11, RA 2 *premente fortuna*), for *RB* it is 'by chance' (or possibly 'by Fortune') that he arrives there. The more religious view (**βMπ**) sees the hand of God at this cardinal point, where Apollonius starts a new, more happy phase of life. For this abl. abs. as a whole, see Introd. II.2.3. For the **βMπ** reading, cf. 13, RB 10 *deo volente*. (Klebs, p.219 *aliter*).

fatigatus (RB): In several places in the *HA fatigari* has the euphemistic meaning *vexatus*, cf. 40, RA 18 *luctu fatigatus*; 44, RA 8/RB 11 *calamitatibus* <…> *fatigari*, cf. *Passio Leonis et Marini* (Mombr. II 98,54) *ponti tellurisque inextricabilibus periculis miserabiliter fatigata*; Marcellus Papa (ibid. 171,50) *aegritudine fatigatus testamentum condidit* (sc. Diocletianus); *Passio S. Pauli apostoli* (ed. Bonnet-Lipsius, p.25,12) *cum* <…> *iuvenis somno fatigaretur*.

in litore Cyrene<**s**> (*Cyrenen* **b**; *in Cirenem regionem* **βπ**) (RB): In fact this has already been mentioned in 11, RA 3/RB 2. The repetition makes sense though, as the rocky coast of Cyrene was regarded as particularly dangerous: storm and shipwreck near Cyrene form the backdrop to Plautus' *Rudens* (based on a Greek original by Diphilus), cf. S. Trenkner, *The Greek Novella in the Classical Period*, Cambridge 1958, p.96. For recent information and photos, cf. G.D.B. Jones ~ J.H. Little, 'Coastal Settlement in Cyrenaica', *JRS* 61 (1971), pp.64-80. The reading *Cyrenen* **b** could be interpreted as a fossilized acc. for names of cities in particular, cf. ThLL *Oromasticon* II 801,83; 802,59-60.

12, RA 2-3 Iterum stans Apollonius in litore nudus, intuens tranquillum mare ait: 'Apollonius in his turn, as he stood naked on the shore, looking at the peaceful sea said:'

12, RB 4-6 Et dum evomit undas, quas potaverat, intuens máre tranquíllum (*pl.*), quod paulo ante túrbidum sénserat (*t.*), respiciens fluctus sic ait:

Iterum P ~ (RB /): Though *interim* and *iterum* are often confused in codd. (cf. ThLL VII [II I] 552,8-10) and though *interim* fits the context very well, I have not followed Riese's emendation (1893), which is accepted by all editors: for it may be that *iterum* conceals a translation error from πάλιν 'in his turn' 'in her turn', cf. LSJ, s.v. (III). Compare Introd. IV.1. In particular the Greek Novel has this use, cf. *Less.*, s.v. πάλιν 'a propria volta', e.g. Charit. 4,1,11 Σὺ μὲν ἔθαψας ἐμὲ πρῶτος ἐν Συρρακούσαις (*sic*, cf. *Less.*, s.v.), ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν Μιλήτῳ πάλιν σέ 'First you buried me in Syracuse, and now in my turn I am burying you in Miletus', cf. 6,1,3; 8,6,10; Achill. Tat. 2,26,2 καὶ πάλιν ἡμῶν ἡ Κλειὼ τί ποιεῖν μέλλομεν 'and she in turn heard our plans'; Xen. Eph. 2,12,1 τὴν κόρην πραθῆναι πάλιν ἐκέλευσα 'I (sc. the goatherd) ordered her to be sold in her turn' (Hercher notes: *delevi* πάλιν). A similar careless use of *iterum* is also found in Late Latin: Greg. Tur., *Liber de Miraculis B. Andreae* (Bonnet p.836,29) *Proconsul vero iussit iterum dimitti taurum*, though there is no question of 'again', cf. Blatt, *Die lat. Bearbeitungen*, loc. cit. p.71,16. For more examples, see Blaise,

Dict., s.v. *iterum* (3). αὖ is also eligible for this confusion, cf. LSJ, s.v. II: 'generally *again*, i.e. *further, moreover*'; (2) 'on the other hand, in turn'; *Less.*, s.v. (b): 'a sua volta'. (Klebs, p.162 n.1 *aliter*.)

stans <...> **nudus** (RA) ~ *dum evomit undas, quas potaverat* (RB): *RA* probably goes back directly to **R(Gr)**: for *stans* (? from στάς), cf. 1, RA 16 (comm.); *nudus* (? from γυμνός) forms an epic detail, cf. Hom., *Od.* 5,453 ff., typically omitted as indecent by *RB*, cf. Introd. III.2. When it is not formulated so explicitly, *RB* does accept *nudus*, cf. 2, RB 15. *RB* changes to an epic detail which is more 'seemly' in his view, both in Greek and in Latin: ibid. 5,322 στόματος δ' ἐξέπτυσεν ἅλμην, | πικρήν, ἥ οἱ πολλὴ ἀπὸ κρατὸς κελάρυζεν. 'From his mouth he spewed out the salt water, plenty gushing from his head'; Theocr. 15,133; even the Greek Novel: Achill. Tat. 3,4,4 ὁπόσοι μὲν οὖν παραχρῆμα τῆς ἅλμης πιόντες κατεσχέθησαν 'Those who had at once swallowed the salty water met a relatively mild fate'. For Latin, cf. Verg., *Aen.* 5,181 *illum et labentem Teucri et risere natantem | et salsos rident revomentem pectore fluctus*; Ov., *Her.* 7,61 *neu bibat aequoreas naufragus hostis aquas*; id., *Met.* 15,513 *et petulo partem maris evomit ore*.

tranquillum mare (RA) ~ *máre tranquillum* (*pl.*) (RB): These words automatically evoke their antithesis: *quod paulo ante túrbidum sénserat* (*t.*).

respiciens fluctu<**s**> (RB): Corrected on the basis of *respiciens fluctu* **b**, cf. Blaise, *Dict.* s.v. *respicio* (II): the reading *ad fluctus* is classical (Klebs, p.162 n.2; Riese [1893, ad loc.]).

12, RA 4-5	"O Neptune, rector pelagi, hominum deceptor innocentium, '"O Neptune, ruler of the ocean, deceiver of innocent men,'
12, RB 6-8	"O Neptune, praedator maris, fraudator hominum, innocentium deceptor, tabularum latro, Antiocho rege crudelior, utinam animam abstulisses meam!

O Neptune (RA/RB): In the Greek Novel the heroes (sometimes after a maritime disaster) address the sea at length, in protracted monologues both in a friendly sense, though sarcastically intended, and directly reproachful, cf. Charit. 3,6,6 (sc. Χαιρέας) «Ὦ θάλασσά» φησι «φιλάνθρωπε, τί με διέσωσας; Ἢ ἵνα εὐπλοήσας ἴδω Καλλιρρόην ἄλλου γυναῖκα; <...>» 'He cried: "Kindly sea! Why have you preserved me so far? Is it so that after my fair voyage I may see Callirhoe another man's wife? <...>";

id., 3,10,8 «Θάλασσα μιαρά, σὺ καὶ Χαιρέαν εἰς Μίλητον ἤγαγες φονευθῆναι καὶ ἐμὲ πραθῆναι.» "Hateful sea! You brought Chaireas to Miletus to be murdered – and me to be sold!"; for the invocation of Neptune, cf. Achill. Tat. 3,5,4 "᾿Ελέησον", ἔφην, "δέσποτα Πόσειδον, καὶ σπεῖσαι πρὸς τὰ τῆς ναυαγίας σου λείψανα <…>" 'In a breaking voice I prayed: "O Lord Poseidon, grant in your clemency final peace to this final piece of your shipwreck <…>"; 5,26,5 "<…> ὦ θάλασσα, πλέουσαν μέν με διέσωσας, σώσασα δὲ μᾶλλον ἀπολώλεκας <…>" "<…> O sea, you spared my life when I was sailing across you, but after saving me you destroyed me <…>", cf. id. 3,10,6; 3,23,4; 4,9,5: Heliod. 5,27,18. In the *HA* Neptune has taken Poseidon's place.

The so-called 'exclamative o', Gr. ὦ, requires a separate comment. The *HA* uses this *o* 5x (RA), usually followed by *RB*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. Linderbauer (*Regula Benedicti*, p.95) notes that the use of *o* with the vocative is rare in Latin in all periods and is used only in situations of urgent address, 'nur bei besonders eindringlicher Anrede'. See also Corbett *Regula Magistri*, p.55 on the Prologue *o homo* (ὦ is discussed too). The Greek Novel is lavish in its use of exclamative ὦ.

rector pelagi (RA) ~ *praedator maris* (RB): *RA* is a clear borrowing from Ov., *Met.* 1,331; 4,798 *rector pelagi*, without further in-depth knowledge. For *RB* such a term of address was too honourable and not meaningful enough.

hominum deceptor innocentium (RA) ~ *fraudator* <…> *deceptor* <…> *latro* (RB): *RA*'s phrase is separated into *fraudator hominum, innocentium deceptor* to form a chiasm. The added *tabularum latro* clearly alludes to the situation of the life-saving plank (RA/RB 1). Moreover, *latrocinium* 'robbery' 'piracy' is frequently used for the robbing of ships, cf. ThLL VII 1017,68. The entire passage belongs to the trope of σχετλιασμός 'indignant complaint', extremely popular in later Roman poetry with series of asyndeta, preferably with end rhyme, as here: *praedator, fraudator, deceptor*, cf. C. Weyman, *Beiträge zur christl. Dichtung*, München 1926 (repr. Hildesheim 1975), p.126. Splendid material is provided by hagiography, especially in relation to the devil and his henchmen: *Actus Petri cum Simone*, c.8 (ed. Lipsius-Bonnet, p.55,26) *exterminium hominum simplicium, lupus rapax, vorator et dissipator vitae aeternae*; *Martyrium beati Petri apostoli a Lino conscriptum*, c.8 (ed. Salonius, p.31,5): *dux libidinum, amator pollutionis, atrocitatis inventor, innocentium persecutor, deceptorum fautor, fallaciae conditor, habitaculum Satanae* (all this said to Simon Magus). On the other hand the rhetoric of address and invective (RA 5-8) may point to the influence of '*Asianismus*', cf. Billault (1991), pp.100-3. This would fit well with the thesis that **HA(Gr)** originated in Asia Minor.

12, RA 5-7 propter hoc me re<s>er<v>asti egenum et pauperem, quod facilius rex crudelissimus Antiochus persequebatur? 'have you preserved me, destitute and impoverished, just with the aim that the most cruel King Antiochus can persecute me with greater ease?'

12, RB 8-10 Cui me solum reliquisti, egenum et miserum et impio naufragum? Facilius rex Antiochus crudelíssimus persequátur (*v.*)!

propter hoc <…>, **quod** <…> **persequebatur P**: 'so that' should be retained, cf. Blaise, *Dict.* s.v. *quod* (4): 'sens consécutif, avec indic.' (Vopiscus, Cassius Felix). Editors like to emend: *quo <…> persequatur* Riese; *quo <…> persequeretur* Schmeling. *RB* probably also took exception to the ind.; hence his correction, preserving almost the same words, to *persequatur* (*coni. potentialis*, cf. Blaise, *Manuel*, § 233). (Klebs, p.265 wrongly connects this *quod* to the analytical construction 39, RA 31 *iussit, quod <…> frangantur*.)

re<s>er<v>asti (from *revers-* **P**, a very frequent metathesis) (RA) ~ *cui reliquisti* (RB): A solemn, dramatic mode of expression in Latin literature, less frequent in Greek, cf. Verg., *Aen.* 2,677-8 *Cui paruus Iulus | cui pater et coniunx quondam tua dicta relinquor?*; ibid. 4,323 *Cui me moribundam deseris, hospes?*; Ov., *Her.* 3,61 (Briseis to Achilles) *ibis et o! miseram cui me, violente, relinquis?*; Quint., *Decl.* 6,7 *Fili, cui me reliquisti?* The phrase is especially popular in Late and Christian Latin (Sulp. Sev., *Epist.* 3,10; Greg. Tur., *hist. Franc.* 2,23, *alibi*). The plural occurs too: *Acta Seb.*, c.8 (Migne 17, p.1115^{D}) *Quibus nos servituras relinquitis?* For Greek, cf. Charit. 3,5,4 «τίνι με καταλείπεις, ὦ τέκνον, ἡμιθνῆτα πρεσβύτην; "My child," he said, "to whom are you abandoning me? I am old, and half-dead already."; Xen. Eph. 1,14,4 (app. crit.). It is theoretically possible that *RB* used a Greek model in his revision here, but it is more likely that, going by his feeling for language and his greater literary experience, he introduced this emendation too, cf. Introd. VII.2.2.

impio (*naufragum*) **bM** ~ *impie* **βπ**: The agrammatical form has been retained, cf. F. Neue – C. Wagener, *Formenlehre der lateinische Sprache*, Leipzig 1892^{3}, t.II, pp.617-32, which gives several examples of an *e*/o change (e.g. *crebro, -e*; *dubio, -e*; *gratuito, -e*; *manifesto, -e*; *mutuo, -e*; *necessario, -e*; *raro, -e*; *sedulo, -e*). ThLL VII 625,32 is unfamiliar with this possibility.

12, RA 7-8 Quo itaque ibo? Quam partem petam? Vel quis ignot<o> vitae dabit auxilium?" 'So where shall I go? Which direction shall I take? Who will provide the necessities of life for a stranger?"'

12, RB 10-11 Quo itaque pergam? Quam partem petam? Quis ignotus ignoto auxilium dabit?"

ibo (RA) ~ *pergam* (RB): This difference is explained by the obsolescence of *ire* (cf. Väänänen, *Introd.* § 141; Adams (1976), p.112), the great poetic expressiveness of *pergere* and the alliteration with *partem*. Such questions (preferably in *tricolon*) are common in this kind of situation, cf. Apul., *Met.* 5,30 *quid agam? quo me conferam? <...> petamne auxilium ab inimica <...>?* This goes for Greek too, cf. Achill. Tat. 8,2,1 ποῖ φύγωμεν ἔτι τοὺς βιαίους; ποῖ καταδράμωμεν; ἐπὶ τίνα θεῶν μετὰ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν; '"Whither further may we flee violence? Where may we seek shelter? To whom of the gods after Artemis?"'; Heliod. 6,7,5 ποῖ γὰρ τράπωμαι; τί δέ με καὶ χρὴ πράττειν; καταλίπω Χαρίκλειαν οὔπω Θεαγένην ἀνευρηκυῖαν; '"Which way should I turn? What ought I to do? Am I to abandon Charikleia before she has been reunited with Theagenes?"'

ignotus (RB): This addition is suggested by the context: it forms a so-called polyptoton, cf. 40, RB 22; Blaise, *Manuel*, § 31.

12, RA 8-10 Et cum sibimet ipsi increparet, subito anima<d>vertens vidit quendam grandaevum, sa<cc>o sórdido circumdátum (*v.*). 'When he was complaining to himself, he suddenly noticed an elderly man draped in a dirty cloak.'

12, RB 11-13 Haec dum loquitur, animadvertit venientem contra se quendam robustum senem, arte piscatoris sordido tribunário coopértum (*v.*).

increparet (RA) ~ *loquitur* (RB): *increpare sibi* 'to rail at *oneself*' is hard to explain here in the context: why would he have to revile himself? ThLL VII 1057,8-40 does not offer an example of such a reflexive usage either, cf. Blaise, *Dict.* s.v. (I,3). Perhaps it hides a Greek word, e.g. ἐπιτιμᾶν + dat. 'to rebuke'; Lucian., *Dial. Meretr.* 4,3 ὑβριζόμενοι παύονται οἱ ἐρῶντες καὶ ἐπιτιμῶσιν ἑαυτοῖς 'Lovers, if made fools of, cease and rebuke theirselves') or λοιδορέομαι + dat. (cf. LSJ, s.v. [II, Med.] 'to use all kind of reproaches'). This ἐπιτιμᾶν 'to allay a storm / to rebuke a person' is used a great deal in the NT, always with a translation *increpare* in the Vulg. (Matt. 16:22; 17:17; 19:13; Luke 4:41; 9:42; 19:39). Compare also the

terminology in the allaying of the storm on the Sea of Galilee, Mark 4:39 καὶ διεγερθεὶς ἐπετίμησεν τῷ ἀνέμῳ καὶ εἶπεν τῇ θαλάσσῃ σιώπα <…> καὶ ἐγένετο γαλήνη μεγάλη (Vulg. *Et exurgens comminatus est vento et dixit mari: Tace <…> et facta est tranquillitas magna*), cf. Bauer, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. ἐπιτιμᾶν. Given such a hypothetical ἐπιτιμᾶν, it may be that *RA* has committed a translation error here by misreading αὐτῷ (sc. τῷ πελάγει) as ἑαυτῷ/αὑτῷ, which can perhaps be explained or made acceptable by the absence of critical marks in his model, cf. Pseudo-Methodius (ed. Aerts-Kortekaas, p.30 n.51), cf. Introd. IV.1. Perhaps even this assumption is unnecessary. All we are actually looking at is a confusion of *spiritus lenis* and *spiritus asper*. Because the latter was no longer pronounced, αὐτῷ coincides with αὑτῷ. No further traces of translation errors of this kind seem to be present in the text of **HA(Gr)/RA**, which is an argument in support of *RA*. *RB* has skilfully eliminated the problems in both places.

subito (RA) ~ *venientem contra se* (RB): By means of a phrase known to him (cf. 9, RB 1) RB removes popular *subito* 'suddenly', cf. 2, RA/RB 1.

quendam grandaevum (RA) ~ *robustum senem, arte piscatoris* (RB): An emendation by *RB* to let the reader know straightaway that we are dealing with a fisherman. For *RA* these details are unnecessary (*piscator* is not mentioned until l.15). The figure of the fisherman is a stock character in the Greek Novel: Iamblichus, *Babyl.* [74 a 17] was probably the first to produce him. The major authors mention the ἁλιεύς 'fisherman', but with great differences between them (cf. *Less.*, s.v. ἁλιεύς: Charit. 3,4,11,12; Xen. Eph. 5,1,2; Achill. Tat. 2,11,5; 2,17,3; 4,18,2 τὴν δὲ τέχνην ἁλιεύς; Long. 3,21,1; Heliod. 5,18,4 [see J. Maillon, Paris 1960, p.59 n.1]); 7,9,4). For more information, see S. Trenkner, loc. cit., p.96. The popularity of this figure is also reflected in art, particularly in Alexandrian cabaret. Pictures in Helbig, *Führer*[3], nos. 358,934; Collignon, *Sculpt. grecque* II p.565; Brunn-Bruckmann, no.164. For further literature, see Groeneboom on *Herondas* III, 52; Cumont, p.111; A. Lesky, *Thalatta. Der Weg der Griechen zum Meer*, Wien 1947, p.273. For fishermen in Cyrenaica specifically, cf. Jones ~ Little, loc. cit. p.77.

The earliest students of the *HA* (Rohde[3], pp.440-1; Riese (1893), Index s.v. piscator) already pointed out that, both in situation and in language, the figure of the fisherman in the *HA* comes closest to Xen. Eph. 5,1,2 καὶ δὴ ἐνοικίζεται πλησίον τῆς θαλάσσης παρὰ ἀνδρὶ Αἰγιαλεῖ πρεσβύτῃ, ἁλιεῖ τὴν τέχνην. Οὗτος ὁ Αἰγιαλεὺς πένης μὲν ἦν καὶ ξένος καὶ ἀγαπητῶς αὐτὸν διέτρεφεν ἐκ τῆς τέχνης· ὑπεδέξατο δὲ τὸν Ἁβροκόμην ἄσμενος 'So he took lodgings near the sea, with an old man, Aegialeus, a fisherman by trade. This man was a poor stranger, who just scraped a living from his work. But he gladly took Habrocomes in.' Despite obvious differences (read

Xen. Eph., loc. cit. for these) the parallel with *HA* is clear: *RA* 22 *mecum laborabis et piscabis*: *paupertas, quaecumque est, sufficiet nobis*. (Klebs, p.297 ignores this parallel.)

quendam grandaevum (RA) ~ *robustum senem* (RB): The Greek Novel likes to emphasize the advanced age of the fisherman, cf. Heliod. 5,18,4 ὁρῶ πρεσβύτην ἁλιευτικόν 'I saw an old fisherman'. *Grandaevus* is common in the Vulgate.

sacco sordido circumdatum (RA) ~ *sordido tribunario coopertum* (RB): The reading *sacco* **P**, **Rα** (Atreb.), Ring has been retained against the reading *sago* **Rα** (L, G) preferred by many editors, e.g. Riese (1893), Schmeling (1988). This *saccus*, 'a garment of sackloth or haircloth', fits the context well in relation to the shabby clothes of fishermen, as found represented in art. Moreover, *circumdatum* is more suited to *saccus* than *sagum*, 'a coarse woollen blanket or mantle', worn by servants (cf. Cato, *re rust.* 59; Col. 1,8,9). A *sagum* was usually 'a military cloak', too warm for a fisherman (cf. Cic., *Fam.* 7,10,1 *valde metuo ne frigeas in hibernis* <...> *praesertim, qui sagis non abundares*). The reading *sago* seems due to the influence of *RA* 19, see comm. This *saccus sordidus* is a paraphrase of what is further on called a *tribunarium*, a so-called hapax legomenon for τριβωνάριον (diminuitive of τρίβων), 'small cloak'. This *tribunarium* occurs a few more times in the *HA*, cf. Ind. verb. Since the word will have been completely unfamiliar to Romans, it seems natural to assume that *RA* introduces it the first time in a periphrastic form and then uses the technical term. The *Vitae Patrum* uses a similar method, cf. Introd. III.6 with nn. 34, 64. *RB* on the other hand introduces *tribunarium* directly (RA 19); for *coopertum* he could refer to 14, RA 6 *sordido tribunario coopertum*. Thus far the Latin. Klebs's remark, p.274 'nur hier (i.e. in the *HA* in relation to the rest of Latin literature) finden sich tribunarium' 12 = τριβωνάριον und die hybride Bildung 'subsanium' (navis) (cf. 38, RA 19)' is completely inadequate to a word that clearly points to a Greek origin. (The same kind of 'argumentation' is found in Garbugino, p.110 'altrimenti inattestato', so that the Graecism is 'eliminated'.) This τριβωνάριον occurs in the Greek Novel only in Heliod. 10,35,1 (cf. *Less.*, s.v. τριβώνιον), but it is obvious that, introduced as a 'threadbare cloak' 'shabby outfit', it could not be misunderstood, cf. LSJ (+ Suppl.), s.v. As such it could also be halved (see comm. on 12, RA 19). It is clear that *RA* wanted to retain this word as 'couleur locale'.

12, RA 10 Et prosternens se illius ad pedes effusis lacrimis ait: 'Apollonius threw himself at his feet and said, weeping:'

12, RB 13-14 Cogénte necessitáte (*v.*) prostravit se illi ad pedes et profusis lacrimis ait:

illius (RA) ~ *Cogente necessitate illi* (RB): In a single sentence *RB* is able to adjust the gramm. construction (*prosternere se alicui ad pedes*) and make the humiliating gesture of *prostratio* ~ προσκύνησις 'adoration' more or less acceptable, cf. ed. m. (2004), n.80.1.

12, RA 11 "Miserere mei, quicumque es, succurre naufrago et egeno, non humilibus natalibus cognito. '"Have pity on me, whoever you are! Help a destitute, shipwrecked man, who is not of lowly birth.'

12, RB 14-15 "Miserere, quicumque es, succurre nudo naufrago, non humilibus genito.

miserere mei (RA) ~ *miserere* (RB): The construction *misereor* + gen. (classical, cf. Blaise, s.v. *misereor*: Cic./Hyg.) or + dat. (Blaise: Hyg.; greatly preferred by Christian and later authors) has been much debated (cf. ed. m. [1984], p.103; Klebs p.240). Remarkably, the classical construction in the *HA* occurs only in the standing expression *miserere mei,* and only in *RA*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. For a similar situation, cf. Salonius, *Vit. Patr.*, pp.151-3. Obviously one should not normalize (as some modern editors do), though sometimes the two constructions rub shoulders: 12, RA 11 *miserere mei* ~ 12, RA 12 *cui miserearis*. The two constructions occur side by side in eminent authors too: Hier., *Amos* 3,7,4 *quomodo miseretur pater filiorum, misertus Dominus timentibus se*. It may be that Gr. οἴκτειρον underlies this verb: Riese (1893), Index, s.v. *misereri* refers to Xen. Eph. 2,5,6 «οἴκτειρον» ἔφη, «πατέρ, θυγατέρα τὴν σὴν ὑβρισμένην ὑπ' οἰκέτου· <…> '"Have pity, father," she exclaimed, "on your daughter, wronged by a slave <…>"' For this verb in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. οἰκτείρω. (See also Charit. 1,9,5 ἐλέησον, cited further on in this note.)

quicumque es (RA/RB): Cf. 40, RA 17 (comm.), 38: A favourite expression both in Latin literature (Verg., *Aen.* 1,391; 2,148; 6,388; Ov., *Met.* 2,693; 3,454; 11,721; 12,80) and in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. ὅστις: I.a. 'nelle parentetiche del tipo ὅστις πότ' ἐστιν: Achill. Tat. (1x); Charit. (1x); Heliod. (5x); Xen. Eph. (5x).'

naufrago et egeno (RA) ~ *nudo naufrago* (RB): As usual *RB* has not refused the opportunity to introduce an alliteration much favoured among Romans: Hygin., *Fab.* 21 *naufragos nudos*; Sen., *Benefic.* 4,37,4 *nudo et naufrago* (Klebs, 281 n.2 reaches a diametrically opposite interpretation on the basis of the same information).

non humilibus natalibus cognito (RA) ~ *non humilibus genito* (RB): On account of its difficult interpretation the form *cognito* **P** (cf. Klebs, p.19 n.2) has been the object of various conjectures, partly based on Greek: thus *cognato* Ring; *congenito* Peters (1904), 177, i.q. συγγενεῖ; *genito* Riese (1893); *orto* Rα, Schmeling (1988), McGowan (1997). The ThLL III 1507,74 refers to 'γνωρίζεσθαι, i.q. *notum fieri*' (see also s.v. *cognitus*, p.1516,59 ff.), probably rightly, cf. LSJ, s.v. γνωρίζω: '*Pass.*: 'to become known'. CGL VI,228 also suggests a translation from γνωστός (γνωτός), cf. LSJ, s.v. γνωτός: 'known'; ibid., s.v. γνωτός (2): 'of persons, well-known'. This may make for a link with **R(Gr)**. For the expression *natalibus* it is best to start from a masc. pl. noun *natales*, cf. Blaise, s.v. *natalis* (2) *plur.*: 'condition, naissance': Salv., *Gub.* 5,21 *natalibus obscuris editi*; *Thomas Apostolus* (Mombrit. II 611,45) *contra deos agens et contra natales tuos*, but a neut. pl. *natalia* cannot be ruled out. The *natales* occur quite frequently in the *HA*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. *RB* changes almost consistently, shortening and substituting precision for *RA*'s flowery diction (cf. 29, RA 11/RB 10; 30, RA 3/RB 2). Here with an ellipsis of *parentibus* (see 41, RB 9 *regiis ortam parentibus ac natalibus*). For the expression *natalibus suis restitui/reddi*, of great importance in the *HA*, see 12, RA 23-24/RB 26.

12, RA 12-13/RB 15-17 Et ut (RA: Vt autem RB) scias, cui miserearis: ego sum Tyrius Apollonius, patriae meae princeps. 'And so that you may know on whom you are taking pity: I am Apollonius of Tyre, prince of my country.'

Et ut scias (RA) ~ *Vt autem scias* (RB): A common phrase, cf. 34, RA/RB 23; 35, RA 13/RB 11; 42, RA/RB 7; elsewhere too, e.g. Petron. 94,11 *et ut scias non longe esse quaerentibus mortem*; id., 99,4.

cui (RA/RB), cf. 12, RA 11/RB 14 (comm.).

patriae meae princeps (RA/RB), cf. 4, RB 2 (comm.).

ego sum (RA/RB): Perhaps we can compare Odysseus' famous words at the court of the Phaiacians: Hom., *Od.* 9,19 εἴμ' Ὀδυσσεὺς Λαερτιάδης, ὃς

πᾶσι δόλοισι ἀνθρώποισι μέλω 'I am Odysseus, the son of Laertes, beloved to mankind by tricks of all kind.'

12, RA 13-15	Audi nunc tragoediam calamitatis meae, qui modo genibus tuis provolutus ‹*deprecor*› vitae auxilium. Praesta mihi, ut vivam." 'Listen to the tragedy of my misfortune, I, who have fallen at your knees and am begging for help to stay alive. Help me to survive."'
12, RB 17-18	Audi nunc tropheum calamitatis meae, qui modo genibus tuis provolutus deprecor vitam."

tragoediam (RA) ~ *tropheum* (RB): Every Roman will have understood the image *tragoedia calamitatis*, i.e. the tragic disaster (of the storm at sea): Cicero is keen on this figurative use (cf. Blaise, s.v. *tragoedia*): Cic., *de Orat.* 1,51,219 *neque istis tragoediis tuis perturbor*. It is found elsewhere too: Apul., *Met.* 10,2,12 *lector optime, scito te tragoediam, non fabulam legere*; Augustin., *de beata vita* 1,2 *lacrimabiles tragoediae fortunarum suarum*. A similar use occurs in Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. τραγῳδία (I,2): Plato, *Phileb.* 50^b ἡ τοῦ βίου τραγῳδία καὶ κωμῳδία 'The tragedy and comedy of life'. The Greek Novel is rather sparing, cf. *Less.*, s.v. τραγῳδέω; under τραγῳδία 'vicenda dolorosa' there is only one reference, i.e. Xen. Eph. 3,1,4 διηγήματα πολλὴν ἔχοντα τραγῳδίαν "It's a long story," he replied, "and a very tragic one." (This parallel was already noted by Riese [1898], Index, s.v. *tragoedia*.) The usage belongs to metaphors deriving from the theatre (cf. J.W.H. Walden, *Stage Terms in Heliodorus' Aethiopica*, Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 5 [1894], 1-43), applied in particular by Heliod.: Heliod. 1,3,1 δρᾶμα τὸ περὶ ἡμᾶς 'the tragedy around us'; 1,3,2 Ἡ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπετραγῴδει 'She lamented as in tragedy' (for the broader context, see H. Zilliacus, 'Τραγῳδία und δρᾶμα in metaphorischer Bedeutung', *Arctos, Acta Philologica Fennica*, N.S. 2 (1958), pp.217-20; id. (1967), pp.87-8).

tropheum (cl. *tropaeum*) (RB): The exact meaning is unclear, but probably 'the victory gained over me by my fate', cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *tropaeum*. Morelli, *Apuleiana*, p.183 quotes Apul., *Met.* 6,13 *fruatur diutius tropaeo* (cod. *trophaeo*) *Fortuna, quod finxit ipsa* (= Garbugino, p.45 n.71; p.120). The comparison seems far-fetched to me. Perhaps the emendation 'the resounding victory' can be considered in the vein of Cassiod., *Hist.* 5,45,1 *trophaeum ergo nunc studeo narrare victoriae*.

vitae auxilium (RA): After simplifying to *vitam*, *RB* can also drop the supplication *Praesta mihi, ut vivam* (RA).

12, RA 15-18 Itaque piscator, ut vidit primam speciem iuvenis, misericordia motus erigit eum et tenens manum eius duxit eum intra tecta parietum domus suae et posuit epulas, quas potuit. 'When the fisherman saw the handsome appearance of the young man, touched by pity he raised him up, led him by the hand into the shelter of the walls of his own house and served him the best food he could.'

12, RB 18-21 Piscator ut vidit prima specie iuvenem pedibus suis prostratum, misericordia motus levavit eum et tenuit manum eius et duxit infra tectum paupertatis suae et posuit epulas, quas potuit.

primam speciem iuvenis (**P**, **Rα(F)**) ~ *prima specie iuvenem* (RB): *RA* seems a direct translation of τὸ πρῶτον εἶδος νεανίου, cf. LSJ, s.v. πρότερος (4). *Species* is a standard translation of τὸ εἶδος or τὸ κάλλος (cf. Pseudo-Methodius II, p.208, s.v.). *RB* has not only eliminated the Graecism, but also added to the sentence: the fisherman was not so much struck by Apollonius' handsome appearance as amazed by the fact that he performed the προσκύνησις 'act of worship' before a humble fisherman (cf. 12, RB 13 *Cogente necessitate*).

misericordia motus (RA/RB): This phrase occurs both in secular literature (cf. ThLL VIII 1128 with examples from Rhet. Her., Cic., Caes., Liv., Sen.) and in the NT: Luke 7:13; 10:33 (both times as a translation of ἐσπλαγχνίσθη 'he felt pity'). Other Bible places are lacking.

intra tecta parietum domus suae (RA) ~ *infra tectum paupertatis suae* (RB): The grand description of a poor fisherman's hut has been brought back to reality by *RB*, who almost preserves the shape of the words, cf. Introd. I; *infra* is highly expressive: you had to stoop to avoid knocking your head, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 7,668 *sic regia tecta subibat*. (The fact that later on *infra* stands simply for *intra* (cf. 42, RB 32 [cf. app. crit., ad loc.]; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *infra* [2]) seems less relevant here.) Dr A. Hilhorst, an expert in these matters, characterizes *tectum paupertatis suae* (= pauper tectum) as a Semitism. Naturally this conclusion afects our overall picture of the author of *RB* (*aliter* Klebs, p.235 ff.).

posuit epulas, quas potuit (RA/RB): A charming chiastic formulation which not only corresponds with descriptions of poverty in Latin, cf. Ov., *Met.* 8,(611-724) 662, *testa parem fecit* (sc. mensam), but also with

the Greek Novel, cf. S. Stephans, *Ancient Greek Novels* (1995), p.239,50 αὐτὴ γὰρ καὶ τράπεζαν παρέθηκεν ὑμῖν καὶ ξενίοις ὑπεδέξατο 'She herself apposed the table for you and served the hosts'. Compare also Charit. 1,13,2 ἐκέλευσε δὲ παραθεῖναι τράπεζαν 'he gave instructions to lay the table'. For a description of such a fisherman's meal, cf. Heliod. 5,18,9. Finally *quas* (RA/RB) = *quascumque*.

12, RA 18-20	Et ut plenius misericordiae suae satisfaceret, exuens se tribunarium suum, scindit eum in duas partes aequaliter et dedit unam iuveni dicens: 'And to satisfy his sense of compassion more fully, he took off his cloak, cut it into equal halves and gave one to the young man, saying:'
12, RB 21-22	Et ut plenius pietati suae satisfaceret, exuit se tribunario et in duas partes scidit aequales. Dedit unam iuveni dicens:

plenius (RA/RB): Cf. 46, RA 18/RB 17: from (?) πλέον, cf. LSJ, s.v. πλείων (II.1) 'to a greater extent'.

misericordiae (RA) ~ *pietati* (RB): The same change as in *Vitae Patr. Em.* 1,23 *viscera pietatis repletus*, where the model Sulp. Sev., *Epist.* 3,11 reads *misericordiae visceribus affluebat*, cf. Garvin, loc. cit., p.300. The change here is probably prompted by the wish to vary *RA misericordia* 2x (ll.16 and 18). *HA* uses *pietas* here in the sense of 'pity'. For the various meanings of *pietas* in the *HA*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v.

exuens se tribunarium suum (RA) ~ *exuit se tribunario* (RB): The same change from acc. (RA) to abl. (RB) is found in 13, RA 7 ~ RB 6; for *exuere* (with 2 acc.), cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *exuo*: Eugipp., *Vit.* p.21,23 *exuens se vestem*. The opposite *induo* (with 2 acc.) can be regarded as a direct Graecism, cf. 32, RA 46 (comm.).

tribunarium (RA/RB), cf. Ind. verb., s.v.: A hapax legomenon in Latin, cf. τὸ τριβωνάριον 'small cloak', cf. Introd. III.7; IV.2.1; VII. See above 12, RA 8 *sago sordido*.

scindit eum (RA): Though it is easy to 'emend' here (cf. Schmeling [1988]), *eum* should stand: the *HA* has several examples of a declining sense of the neut., cf. Ind. gr., s.v. For the resulting confusion in pronouns, cf. Åke Fridh, *Contributions à la critique et à l'interprétation des Variae de Cassiodore*, Göteborg

1968, p.12. For *eum* = *id* in particular, cf. S. Lundström, *Studien zur lateinischen Irenäusübersetzung*, Lund 1943, pp.106, 129 ff.

in duas partes aequaliter (RA) ~ *in duas partes* ‹...› *aequales* (RB): These words and the immediate context (RA 20-24; RB 22-27) have long been the subject of controversy. From the earliest years both editors (Riese [1872], Praef. XV; [1893] XVIII; Goolden [1958] p.x), translators (Peters [1904] n.79) and critics (Smyth [1898], p.13, J.W. Beck, p.3; Delbouille [1969], p.1182) have seen in the gesture of the poor fisherman from Cyrene a clear reference to St Martin of Tours († 401), who, tradition tells us, cut his cloak into two equal parts and gave one half to a poor beggar at the gate of Amiens, cf. Sulp. Sev., *Vita S. Martini* 3,1-3 *nihil praeter chlamydem, qua indutus erat, habebat. Iam enim reliqua in simile opus consumpserat. Arrepto itaque ferro quo erat accinctus, mediam dividit partemque eius pauperi tribuit reliqua rursus induitur* (cf. Venant. Fort., *Vita Martini* 1,50 ff.; *carm.* 10,6). Opponents of a Christian translation/adaptation would explain this gesture as a common deed of charity to a *naufragus*. Thus Klebs, p.189 notes: 'Aber ohne alle biblische Belehrung haben seit den Tagen Homers Hellenen wie Römer dem Schiffbrüchigen Nahrung und Kleidung gereicht,' with reference to Apul., *Met.* 1,7. Whatever we may think about this parallel and its value (the beggar is lacking!), it is clear that Roman readers must have picked up on the terms *aequaliter* (RA) 'into equal halves'/*aequales* (RB) 'equal' as an allusion to the popular saint. The question which naturally arises is to what extent *RA* (and possibly *RB*) departed from their original here. Though this is now beyond our ken, their intervention is probably negligible. Lucian of Samosata already mentions such a gesture, *Toxaris* 30: θαρρεῖν τε παρακελεύεται καὶ διελὼν τὸ τριβώνιον τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ αὐτὸς ἀναβάλλεται, τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ ἐκείνῳ δίδωσιν, ἃ εἶχε πιναρὰ καὶ ἐκτετρυχωμένα ῥάκη περισπάσας 'Then he bade him have no fear, and tearing his short cloak in two, he himself put on one of the halves and gave the remainder to Antiphilus after stripping from him the filthy, worn-out rags that he was wearing.' We can therefore conclude that *RA* (and *RB*) probably stayed fairly close to the original, but put it into words strongly reminiscent of the Vulgate, cf. 2 Kgs. 2:12 *Et non vidit* (sc. Eliseus) *eum* (sc. prophetam Elias) *amplius apprehenditque vestimenta sua et scidit illa in duas partes*. (For the almost τόπος-like character of this gesture, cf. P. Devos, 'Le manteau partagé. Un thème hagiographique en trois de ses variantes', *AB* 93 [1975], pp.157-65.) See Introd. II.2 for further references to hagiographical material in the *HA*. Finally, we need to mention that precisely this detail of the fisherman and his cloak are curiously elaborated in the late 12th-c., Middle High German minstrel poem *Orendel*, together with details about the rival suitors (HA c.19), the false death and burial at sea

(HA c.24) and the main heroine's stay in the *lupanar* (HA cc.33-34), cf. E. Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre. Medieval and Renaissance Themes and Variations*, Cambridge U.S.A., 1991, pp.55-6. (The theory proposed by Robins, *Ancient Romance*, pp.45-6, that Sulpicius Severus [c. AD 400] goes back to the Latin *HA* (5th-beginning 6th c.], must be flatly rejected for reasons of chronology, language and content.) Garbugino, pp.86,93,172 even sees this 'Martinus gesture' as clear evidence that the *HA* was Christianized in Gaul. Two other linguistic arguments are adduced to support this theory: *Habet* in the sense of *il y a* (but see comm. 31, RA 9) and *qu'est ce que*, which is said to be related to 18, RB 5; 19, RA 4 *quid est hoc quod* (but see comm. ad loc). The many references from hagiography (cf. ed. m. [2004], p.21) militate against Garbugino's facile argumentation.

12, RA 20-21 "Tolle hoc, quod habeo, et vade in civitatem: forsitan invenies, qui tibi mísereátur (*v.*). '"Take what I have, and go into the city. Perhaps you will find someone who will take pity on you.'

12, RB 22-24 "Tolle, quod habeo, et vade in civitatem: ibi forsitan invenies, qui misereatur tibi.

tolle (RA/RB): The *HA* uses *tollo* almost exclusively as an imperat., where classical Latin would prefer *sume/sumite*, cf. Ind. Verb., s.v. tollo. Other tenses or compounds are rare: 31, RA 12/RB 8 *tollam*; 31, RA 24 *tulit* (RB /). This preference runs parallel with Christian Latin, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *tollo*: Gen. 6:21 *tolle* (Gr. λήμψῃ) *igitur tecum ex omnibus escis*; Vit. Patr. 3,148 *vade et tolle tibi quod opus habes*; Aug., *Conf.* 8,11,9 *tolle, lege* (Klebs, p.249 [= Garbugino, p.102, n.49] is very superficial here).

hoc, quod (RA) ~ *quod* (RB), cf. 8, RA 2 *his, qui* ~ RB 1-2 *qui*. For the τόπος 'kings in rags', cf. Trenkner, op. cit., p.35.

vade (RA/RB): *Vado* also occurs infrequently, preferably as an imperat., where classical Latin would use *eo, ire*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. vado; see also 27, RA 12/RB 11 *vadit*; 41, RA 33/RB 32 *vadam*. For *eo, ire*, cf. 17, RA 16/RB 14 *eamus* (comm.).

in civitatem (RA/RB): Kussl, loc. cit., p.155 refers to Hom., *Od.* 7,14.

tibi (RA/RB), cf. above *RA* 12/RB 16 *cui miserearis* (comm.) (changes, like *tui* Schmeling, are unnecessary).

12, RA 21 Et si non inveneris, huc revertere et mecum laborabis et piscabis: paupertas, qu<ae>cumque es<t>, sufficiet nobis. 'And if you do not find anyone, come back here, and you shall work and fish with me. It may be poverty, but there will be enough for us.'

12, RB 24 Si non inveneris, huc revertere. Paupertatem, quaecumque est, sufficiet nobis; mecum piscabis.

revertere et <…> **laborabis** (RA) ~ *revertere* (RB): A favourite combination of imperat. and fut. ind., both in Latin and in Greek, cf. S. Trenkner, *Le style καὶ dans le récit attique oral*, Assen 1960, p.69 (with extensive literature). *RB* has disrupted this construction.

mecum laborabis et piscabis (RA) ~ *mecum piscabis* **b**: The juxtaposition of two identical moods reflects popular usage. Ljungvik, *Zur Syntax der spätgr. Volkssprache*, p.77 refers to Plaut., *Aul.* 270 *propera atque elue*; id. *Asin.* 157 *festina et fuge*; in Greek: *Doctr. Iacobi* ἔτι μικρὸν κοπώθητι καὶ θεράπευσον ἡμᾶς 'Trouble yourself briefly and take care of us'. The same phenomenon is found in English: make haste and finish your breakfast. *RB* simplifies this mode of expression too.

piscabis (RA/RB): The active form *piscare* is rare: Vet. Lat. (cod. g) Ioh. 21,3 *vado piscare* (Vulg. *vado piscari*; Gr. ἁλιεύειν); Patric., *Conf.* 40 *bene et diligenter piscare*; Op. imperf. in Matth. 44, p.881[A] *qui longis orationibus quasi magnis retibus viduarum facultates piscatis*. In medieval Latin the active form is common. From a classical point of view, the change to *piscaberis* **βMπ** is therefore nothing out of the ordinary.

paupertas (RA) ~ *paupertatem* (RB): Fishermen were proverbially poor, cf. Headlam on Herondas 3,22. *Paupertatem* (RB) is to be regarded as an *acc. regens*, cf. 12, RB 1 *mortemque minatur* (comm.).

paupertas <…> **sufficiet** (RA): There seems to be a direct link here with Vulg., Tob. 5:25 *sufficiebat enim nobis paupertas nostra, ut divitias computaremus hoc, quod videbamus filium nostrum* (LXX ὡς γὰρ δέδοται ἡμῖν ζῆν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου, τοῦτο ἱκανὸν ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει). The difference between Vulg. and LXX suggests that the biblical phraseology in *HA* here derives more from *RA* than from **R(Gr)**.

12, RA 23-24 Illud tamen admoneo te, ut, si quando deo adveniente redditus fueris natalibus tuis, et tu

respicias tribulationem paupertatis meae." 'But I give you this warning: if ever through God's intervention you will be restored to your birthright, may you also pay attention to the suffering of my poverty."'

12, RB 25-27 Illud tamen ammoneo, ut si quando deo favente dignitati tuae redditus fueris, et tu respicias paupertatem tribunarii mei."

Illud <…> **admoneo** (RA/RB): The Greek Novel is liberal in its use of this gratitude τόπος: Charit. 6,5,7 καὶ ὅταν πλουτῇς, ἐμοῦ μνημόνευε 'And when you are rich, remember me', id. 6,5,1; 8,3,8; Achill. Tat. 6,4,2 ἀλλ' ὅπως εὐτυχήσασα μὴ ἐπιλήσῃ μου 'and all I ask is that you do not forget me in your good fortune', cf. id. 6,11,4.

deo adveniente (**P**) ~ *deo favente* (RB): Both phrases, necessary to the story, are rejected as spurious by Klebs, p.190. For *adveniente* we could follow ThLL I 830,61 and link up with *advenire*, i.q. βοηθεῖν 'to come to someone's aid' 'to succour' e.g. August., *Sol.* 1,1,3 *deus* <…> *adveni mihi, propitius tu*; Vulg., Wis. 16:10 *misericordia tua (dei)* <…> *adveniens sanabat illos*. (A similar abl. abs. is found in Hoppenbrouwers [1960], ch. 28 [p.116] *Adveniente Domino cecidit inimicus*, but in a different sense.) *RA*'s unusual expression for divine intervention (from ? προσέρχομαι, cf. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. (g): 'of divine approach to man') has been replaced by *RB* with the more traditional *deo favente* (4, RA 11/RB 14). For these abl. absolutes in general, cf. Introd. II.3.1.

redditus <…> **natalibus tuis** (RA) ~ *dignitati tuae redditus* (RB): *RA*'s expression, though poetic, is actually inappropriate, inasmuch as the phrase *natalibus suis restituere* (*reddere*) means in a strictly legal sense 'to confer on one born a slave the status of a freeborn citizen', cf. LSJ, s.v. *natalis* (7.b): Plin., *Ep. Tra.* 10,72 (77) *de agnoscendis liberis restituendisque natalibus*; Scaev., *Dig.* 40,11,3 *is quem* <…> *imperator natalibus suis restituit*; Vlp., *Dig.* 38,2,3,1 *si natalibus redditus sit (libertus)*. Though a castaway enjoyed little legal protection in Antiquity, *RB* obviously could not accept this formulation, because it implied that Apollonius was a slave: to be on the safe side he opted for neutral *dignitati*, cf. H. Heumann – E. Seckel, *Handlexicon zu den Quellen des römischen Rechts*, 1907[9], s.v. *natalibus restitui*.

tribulatio paupertatis meae (RA) ~ *paupertas tribunarii mei* (RB): The principles of both *RA* and *RB* are reflected in the phrases they use. *RA* goes back to Vulg., Rev. 2:9 *scio tribulationem tuam et paupertatem tuam* (Gr. οἶδά σου τὴν θλῖψιν καὶ τὴν πτωχείαν 'I know thy tribulation and

poverty’). (Klebs, p.272 therefore regards it as an interpolation). *RB*’s classicistic emendation uses almost the same words to arrive at *paupertas tribunarii* (cf. Introd. III.5).

12, RA 25-26	Cui Apollonius ait: “Nisi meminero tui, iterum naufragium patiar nec tui similem inveniam!” ‘Apollonius said to him: “If I do not remember you, may I be shipwrecked again, and not find someone like you!”’
12, RB 27-28	Apollonius ait: “Nisi meminero, iterum naufragium patiar nec tui similem inveniam!”

tui[1] (RA) ~ (RB /): A usual retrenchment of pronouns by *RB* (cui, tui[1]). This kind of self-malediction occurs frequently both in Latin and in Greek. In Greek the so-called τὰ ἐναντία formula prevails: εὐορκοῦντι μέν μοι εὖ εἴη, ἐφιορκοῦντι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία ‘if I swear in all sincerity, may prosperity be my lot, in case of perjury exactly the opposite’, cf. E. Seidl, *Der Eid im Römisch-Ägyptischen Provinzialrecht*, München 1933. The specific version here, tailored to the situation, is witty. This kind of imprecation is particularly frequent in Asia Minor, cf. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome*, pp.26-7, 145, 285.

CHAPTER 13

13, RA 1-2 Et haec dicens per demo<n>stratam sibi viam iter carpens ingreditur portam civitatis. 'And after these words he set out on the road which had been pointed out to him and entered the city gate.'

13, RB 1-2 Et haec dicens demonstratam sibi viam iter carpens portam civitátis intrávit (*pl.*).

dicens (RA/RB), cf. εἰπών (?), cf. Garbugino, p.110.

per (RA) ~ (RB /): *RB*'s change has not made the construction more transparent: the acc.: *demonstratam* <…> *viam* could function as object of *carpens* (and *iter* therefore as predicative 'as the road') or, more probably, as acc. abs. The latter is not uncommon in the *HA* (esp. in **b**), sometimes corresponding to abl. abs. in the other recension, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. accusativus. For the acc. abs., cf. Bonnet, p.561; Linderbauer, p.258; Garvin, p.52; Y.M. Biese, *Der Spätlateinische Akkusativus absolutus und Verwandtes*, Helsingfors 1928; Kroll, *Glotta* 19 (1931), p.260 ff.; Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 384; S. Cavallin, *Vita S. Caesarii Arelatensis*, p.76; LHS II, p.143. The codd. vary widely for other Latin Latin writers as well (cf. 13, RB 1 app. crit.).

demostratam P: These spellings are fostered by vulgar pronunciation: thus in Pompeii we find *metula* (CIL 4,198), *huc* (ibid. 1517), *mostrat* (ibid. 1928). In Italian codd. (like **P)** *mostrare* is not infrequent, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 121. Content-wise it is worthwhile extensively citing Roques, loc. cit. (ad 11, RA 1-3) p.514: 'Cependant l'auteur de l'HA paraît ne pas ignorer la realité géographique puisqu'il sait qu'entre le rivage et la cité de Cyrene il y a discontinué: Apollonius reçoit en effet du pêcheur toutes les indications pour prendre la vie qui conduit de la mer à la ville.'

iter carpens (RA, **bπ**) ~ *iter capiens* (**βM**): The first phrase occurs particularly in poets in the sense of 'to pursue a journey', cf. Hor., *Sat.* 1,5,95 *Rubos fessi pervenimus utpote longum carpentes iter*; Ov., *Met.* 2,550 *non utile carpis iter*; Donat., *Vitae Vergil.* p.4,55 Br *nocte die tutum | carpe, viator, iter*; Late Latin is fond of the expression: Coripp., *Ioh.* 7,2 *iam tutum carpebat iter*: Greg. Tur., *Miracula/Opera minora* (ed. B. Krusch), Index s.v. *carpere iter*. It is impossible to determine to what extent Greek plays a role here, e.g. ὁδὸν λαμβάνω. The second phrase *iter capere* seems more

common, cf. Kroll on Catull. 35,7 *viam vorabit*. This *carpere* is also an excellent rendering of the laborious climb, since Cyrene is situated on a highland plain, difficult to reach via a number of rising plateaus, cf. Herodotus IV,199; Strabo XVII,3,20.

portam civitatis (RA/RB): This detail and the other typographical clues also agree with the real situation. Cyrene is located on the highest plateau, from a south-west to a north-east direction. Apollonius enters the city via the south-east gate (a good map is provided by Der Neue Pauly [6], Stuttgart 1999, s.v. Kyrene, pp.1005-6). From the gate a straight road (cf. 13, RA/RB 3) leads directly past the gymnasium (cf. 13, RA 6/RB 4) and forum (19, RA/RB 1) to the acropolis (14, RA 10).

13, RA 2-5 Et dum secum cogitaret (dum cogitat RB), unde auxilium vitae peteret, vidit puerum (RA: puerum nudum RB) per plateam currentem oleo capite (RA: RB /) unctum, 'And while he was pondering where to find the means to survive, he saw running along the street a boy smeared with oil on his head,'

dum cogitaret (RA) ~ *dum cogitat* (RB): Syntactically almost a classical emendation. But *RB* no longer knows how the construction exactly works either, cf. 13, RA 10 *dum* <...> *luderet*: RB 11 *dum exerceret* **bβM**.

auxilium vitae (RA/RB), cf. 12, RA 8.

puerum (RA) ~ *puerum nudum* (RB): *RB* can safely (cf. 12, RA 4 comm.) use *nudus* here in the sense of γυμνός, cf. LSJ, s.v. γυμνός (5) 'lightly clad' i.e. 'in the undergarment only'. *RA* does not need such an adjective, cf. *sabano praecinctum*.

per plateam currentem (RA/RB): Here in the sense of ἡ πλατεῖα (ὁδός) 'the main street' (cf. Headlam on Herondas VI,53, p.302). This 'street' can be defined precisely. Built by Battus, the founder of Cyrene, it was praised in high terms on the return of King Arcesilaus in 462 from the Pythian chariot races (Pyth. 5,33): ἱππόκροτον σκυρωτὰν ὁδόν 'a road paved with stone and trodden by the hoofs of horses'. The route has retained the name Σκυρωτή (sc. ὁδός) 'the paved street' to this very day. Splendid photographic material, both of the Skyrota and of the adjacent γυμνάσιον, can be found in S. Stucchi, *Architettura cirenaica*, Roma 1975, p.128 and p.125 respectively.

oleo capite (**P**: *a capite* **Va**^{c}) **unctum** (RA) ~ *oleo unctum* (RB): In *RA* probably in the sense of 'pomade', whereas *RB* is thinking of 'wrestlers' oil'. Instead of *capite* we would expect *caput*, cf. 16, RA 21 *corona caput decoravit*. In Greek we would expect an acc. too (cf. Bauer, s.v. ἀλείφω: Matt. 6:17 ἀλειφόμαι τὴν κεφαλήν; Less., s.v. ἐπαλείφω: Achill. Tat. 4,10,4 ἐπαλεῖψαι τὴν κεφαλὴν μέσην 'to anoint the middle of her head'), The construction has nevertheless been retained here, cf. Verg., *Aen.* 3,545 *capita* <...> *Phrygio velamur amictu*, where **P**^{1} reads *capite*.

13, RA 3-5	sabano praecinctum, ferentem iuvenilem lusum ad gymnasium pertinentem, maxima voce clamantem et dicentem: 'with a towel wrapped round his waist, carrying a boy's toy for gymnasium exercise, shouting in a very loud voice:'
13, RB 3-5	praecinctum sabano, ferentem lusos iuvenales ad gymnasium pertinentes, maxima voce dicentem:

sabano praecinctum (RA) ~ *praecinctum* (*pre-* **b**: *om.* **βMπ**) *sabano* (**b**: *-num* **βM**, *-nam*: **π**): *Sabanum* is the Latin transcription of σαβάνον, cf. LSJ, s.v. 'linen cloth' or 'towel': a postclassical word (cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *sabanum*), but very widespread. The towel was handed out as you left the bath, cf. Greg. Magn., *Dial.* 4,55 *exeunti e caloribus sabana praeberet*. Klebs's remark, p.274 'sonst nur im späten Latein nachgewiesen' (= Garbugino, p.110), is devised for the **Hi** theory, but does not hold, cf. Introduction. The term *praecinctum* seems a direct translation of περιζωσάμενος/περιεζωσμένος (cf. LSJ, s.v. περιζώννυμι; περίζωμα 'girdle' worn round the loins; ἡ περίζωσις according to the Glossaria *praecinctus* 'apron').

iuvenilem lusum (RA) ~ *lusos iuvenales* (RB): The lexicons offer no parallel for the meaning *instrumentum ludendi* ('toy', 'Spielzeug') required here, cf. Introd. IV.2.1. In the place listed by ThLL VII,2 1790,61, i.e. Aug., *Conf.* 1,19,30 *furta etiam faciebam* <...> *ut haberem quod darem pueris ludum suum mihi ... vendentibus*, *ludus* does have a concrete sense, but as 'result of the game'. We are probably dealing here with a loan translation from τὸ παίγνιον – τὰ παίγνια 'plaything' 'toy' as also indicated by the Glossaria, cf. ThLL loc. cit. 1783,49; LSJ, s.v. παίγνιον (1). A good Greek parallel is given by Usener, *Der heilige Theodosios*, p.78.2 τὰ συνήθη τῶν παίδων παίγνια 'the usual playthings of boys'. *RB*'s change to a noun of the 2nd decl. is remarkable given his endeavour to write as classically as possible. But examples are attested since Hieron., *Ier.* 6,30,19 *luso*, cf. Blaise, s.v. *lusum*. For the broader context, see L. Deubner, 'Spiele und Spielzeug der

Griechen', in: *Die Antike*, Band 6 (1930), pp.166-7; J. Jüthner, *Die athletischen Leibesübungen der Griechen* (ausgegeben von F. Brein), Wien 1965-1968 (2 Bnd.), II *Einzelne Sportarten*; H.A. Harris, *Sport in Greece and Rome*, London 1972, p.75 ff.

gymnasium, γυμνάσιον (RA/RB): No further introduction is needed. The important role which this institution played in everyday social life, also in the Greek Novel, is shown not so much by the frequency of the word γυμνάσιον as by the descriptions of the games which took place there (cf. *Less.*, s.v. γυμνάσιον: Charit. 1,1,5; 1,2,6; Xen. Eph. 3,2,2; Achill. Tat. 8,9,4; Long. 3,19; Heliod. 10,31,5; for the games, cf. Heliod. 4,1; 4,4; 4,16; 10,25; 10,30). Among monographs we should mention J. Deforme, *Gymnasion, Étude sur les monuments consacrés à l'éducation en Grèce des origines à l'empire romain*, Paris 1960.

clamantem et dicentem (RA) ~ *dicentem* (RB): Cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *dico*: (redondance fréq. dans le style pastoral) Cypr., *Epist.* 3,2 *docet dicens*; 4,1 *instruit dicens*; 63,4 *testatur et dicit*; August., *Serm.* 14,8 *respondes et dicis*. The phrase may come directly from Greek (cf. Bauer, s.v. κράζω): e.g. φωνῇ μεγάλῃ κράζοντα καὶ λέγοντα. For the overall context, cf. Horn (1918), pp.50-1. Such exuberance was not to *RB*'s taste, hence the abridgement *dicentem*, cf. 16, RA 27 *clamare coeperunt et dicere*: RB 24 *voce clamoris laudare coeperunt*. This kind of abridgement is common, cf. *Excid. Troiae* (ed. Atwood) 19,8; 23,10.

13, RA/RB 5-6 "Audite <*cives, audite*> peregrini, ingenui et servi (RA: liberi et ingenui RB), gymnasium patet!" '"Listen citizens, listen foreigners, freemen and slaves: the gymnasium is open!"'

<***cives, audite***> (RA /): The addition is found in both Rα and RB: the error is due to homoioteleuton. For the combination *cives, peregrini*, cf. 23, RA 12 *exultant cives, peregrini et hospites*.

ingenui et servi (RA) ~ *liberi et ingenui* (RB): In connection with *RA* Klebs, p.39 notes: 'Der Bearbeiter hat bei dieser thörichten Änderung keine Ahnung mehr davon, daß Sklaven ebenso vom Gymnasium wie von öffentlichen Schauspielen ausgeschlossen waren.' He believes (p.39, p.278) that *RB* is the most original: 'Die echt römische und volkommen korrekte Wendung.' In my view, of course, the relationship should be turned round: *RA* first and then, as a correction, *RB*. The actual explanation of the expression 'freemen and slaves' should be sought in a total-

13, RA 3 vidit puerum per plateam currentem <...> clamantem: <...>: 'gymnasium patet'. Cyrene. Practice track for the athletes of the Gymnasium. The wall is decorated with 25 pilasters, with alternating representations of Hermes and Heracles. In the foreground the Skyrotá. The royal palace was located at the end of this road. Illustration after S. Stucchi, *Architettura cirenaica*. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider - Roma 1975, fig. 109.

ly different cultural circle from the strictly formal Roman sphere. The young man's call for all to be present corresponds exactly to the call of the heralds in *Acta Thomae* 4 (ed. Bonnet-Lipsius II,2 p.104,4) ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς κήρυκας ἀπέστειλεν κηρύξαι πανταχοῦ πάντας παρατυχεῖν εἰς τοὺς γάμους, πλουσίους τε καὶ πένητας, δούλους τε καὶ ἐλευθέρους, ξένους τε καὶ πολίτας· εἴ τις δὲ παραιτήσηται καὶ μὴ παρατύχῃ εἰς τοὺς γάμους ὑπεύθυνος ἔσται τῷ βασιλεῖ 'The King sent out his heralds to proclaim everywhere that all should be present at the royal wedding party, rich and poor, serf and freeman, stranger and citizen. If anyone should make excuses and not participate at the wedding, he will be answerable to the King.' From a less pleasant context we can cite the call of the apostle Andrew on the cross: *Acta Andreae* (ed. MacDonald 1990, p.416) [56] [6] ἀπεκρίνατο πᾶσιν κοινὸν λόγον, καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἔθνη συνέτρεχον ἀγανακτοῦντα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδίκῳ κρίσει τοῦ Αἰγεάτου· ἄνδρες οἱ παρεστῶτές μοι καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ παῖδες καὶ πρεσβῦται καὶ δοῦλοι καὶ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ ὁπόσοι ἄλλοι μέλλετε ἀκουεῖν 'He answered all in a common discourse, in fact people came running along, angry with the unjust verdict of the governor: "men, who stand beside me, and women, young and old, serfs and freemen, you all who will hear me."' The typically Latin, legal correction of the view that slaves were also part of society is completely understandable and, as Klebs, p.278 rightly remarks, accords with the fundamental distinction (cf. Gaius, *Instit.* 1,10) between freeman and

slave: *RB*'s substitution *liberi et ingenui* agrees with the earliest literary sources (Plaut., *Poen.* 1240 *ingenuas liberas*; ibid. 1344 *liberas ingenuasque*; *Mil.* 489 *ingenuam et liberam*). The distinction is also preserved in hagiographical writings, where people are constantly asked: *servus es an ingenuus* (cf. Mombrit. I 347,17; 348,38; 425,2; 427,9; II 28,32; 499,38). Finally, the correction is in keeping with *RB*'s legal adjustments, cf. 5, RB 6 and 12, RB 26.

gymnasium patet (RA,**b**: *petite* **βMπ**): The reading *patet* probably goes back directly to a form of ἀνοίγω 'open', cf. LSJ, s.v. (b): '"to throw open for use": OGI 529,11 γυμνάσιον; Dem. 24,208 ἀνέῳκται τὸ δεσμωτήριον "prison stands open"'. This reading is reflected in the anonymous southern French treatise *De dubiis nominibus cuius generis sint* (for the full quotation, see app. fontium, ad loc.). This is a series of 476 *nomina*, of which the gender needed to be explicitly recorded. The source quoted last is Venantius Fortunatus, who cites the *HA* too (if obliquely, in his *Carmina* VI,8,5, probably written between 566-568). Unfortunately it is impossible to determine whether these references relate to an *RA* or *RB*(**b**) text. In practice this means that the quotation *De dubiis nominibus* is assigned to *RA*. The group **βMπ** prefers a direct call.

13, RA/RB 6-7

Hoc audito Apollonius (RA: Apollonius hoc audito RB) exuens se tribunarium (RA: -o RB) ingreditur (RA: et ingreditur RB) lavacrum, utitur liquore P<alladi>o. 'When Apollonius heard this, he took off his threadbare little cloak, went into the bath, made use of the liquid of Pallas.'

(**exuens se**) **tribunarium** (RA) ~ *tribunario* (RB), cf. 12, RA 18-19/RB 21 (comm.). This took place in the so-called ἀποδυτήριον. For a comprehensive study of baths, including terminology, see Fikret Yegül, *Bath and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*, New York-Cambridge 1992. All further bathhouse terminology relies on this study.

lavacrum (RA/RB): Probably a part of the het *gymnasium*, cf. LSJ, s.v. λουτρόν/λουτρών 'bathing room'. Perhaps *Tractatus de dubiis nominibus* no.228: *lavacrum generis neutri* also used the *HA* as a source.

liquore P<alladio>: *liquore Palladio* β^{1}: metonymic for 'oil': the scribes often failed to understand this expression. Thus **P** reads *(licore) pilido* (cf. Klebs, p.19 n.2), associating with *pila* 'ball'? The group **bβMπ** reads *palli-*

do. Scholarly mss. concur with Riese (1893), Praef. IX n.1 in reading *Palladio*. The reference may be to Ov., *Metam.* 8,275 (the Calydonian boar-hunt) *Oenea <…> ferunt Palladios flavae latices libasse Minervae* ‘They said that Oeneus had offered oil of Pallas Athene in honour of her, the blond Minerva.’ But Greek probably plays a direct role here, cf. LSJ (Suppl.), s.v. Παλλάδιος, -α, -ον: ‘Marc. Sid. (poeta medicus, II AD) 75 ἔλαιον “oil of Pallas”’, cf. E. Heitsch, *Die Griechischen Dichterfragmente der Römischen Kaiserzeit* (Göttingen 1964), II, p.20. The elevated expression probably indicates the original stylistic level of **HA(Gr)**, cf. Introd. VI.3. The activity is likely to have taken place in the ἀλειπτήριον ‘place for anointing’. The term *liquor* ‘a fluid’ has been effectively chosen here, since ἔλαιον can be either ὑγρόν ‘moist’ ‘fluid’ or ξηνόν ‘fat’ ‘tallow’, cf. LSJ, s.v. ὑγρός. For the spelling *licor* **P** = *liquor*, cf. CGL VI, p.650, s.v. *liquor*. The change *qu* > *c* is relatively common, cf. E. Tidner, *Sprachlicher Kommentar zur lateinischen Didascalia apostolorum*, Stockholm 1938, p.257; S. Lundström, *Studien zur lateinischen Irenäusübersetzung*, Lund 1941, p.122 n.3.

13, RA 7-8 Et dum singulos exercentes videre<t>, quaerit sibi parem nec invenit. ‘And as he watched each man exercising, he looked for someone of his own standard, but found no one.’

13, RB 7-8 Et dum exercentes síngulos intuétur (*v.*), parem sibi quaerens, non invenit.

exercentes (RA/RB): For *exercentes* (= *se exercentes*), cf. ThLL V.2 1370,49-60. This is probably not occasioned by the Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. γυμνάζω: ‘Med. train in gymnastic exercise’. This took place in the so-called σφαιριστήριον ‘ball-court’.

parem ((RA/RB) ‘an equal’, ‘a counterpart’: A standard word, cf. Plaut., *Rud.* prol. 49 *ei erat hospes, par illius, Siculus*; Cic., *ad Att.* 4,15,6 *in ceteris parem habuit neminem*; Petron., LXVIII,7 (ed. Ernout) *Itaque parem non habet*, cf. Heraeus, *Kleine Schriften*, p.123; Fronto, *Epist. ad Amic.* 1,6 *ubique eum parem sui invenies*. The underlying Greek was probably something like ὅμοιος ἑαυτῷ, cf. LSJ, s.v. ὅμοιος (3): ‘equal in force, a match for one’. The game is probably envisaged as man-to-man. Instead of *non invenit* **b**, **β** reads *et non invenit*, defended by Horn (1918), p.75. In view of the secondary nature of **β** in relation to **b** I have followed Riese in rejecting this reading, cf. 37, RA 13 (comm.).

13, RA 8-10 Tunc rex Archi<s>trates eiusdem civitatis subito cum magna turba famulorum ingressus est gymnasium. 'At that point Archistrates, the king of that city, suddenly entered the gymnasium with a great crowd of attendants.'

13, RB 8-9 Subito Archistrates rex totius illius regionis cum turba famulorum ingressus … .

Tunc <…> **subito** (RA) ~ *Subito* (RB): A transition from simple to more literary prose. For *subito*, cf. 2, RA/RB 1 (comm.).

Archistrates (masc.) (RA/RB) ~ **Archistratis** (fem.) (RB): This combination of names seems to have no parallels in Latin nor a purely corresponding Greek form, viz. 'Αρχιστράτης ~ 'Αρχιστρατίς. There is ample attestation of 'Αρχέστρατος, cf. Fraser ~ Matthews (1987-) I,II,III^{A}. The feminine name occurs in several variants: 'Αρχιστράτη (ibid., I), 'Αρχεστράτη (ibid., I,II), 'Αρχεστράτα (ibid., III^{A}). But the most direct parallel seems to be Στράτης (masc.) ~ Στράτις (fem.) (ibid. I). Most remarkably, both forms come from Cyrenaica. Did the author of **HA(Gr)** deliberately take the names of the king and his daughter from this region (cf. ed. m. [1984], n.54)? The occurrence of the name *Archistrates* in the *HA* is limited, like that of his daughter, cf. Ind. nom., ss.vv. Understandably, the codd. show great confusion, because both in Latin and in Greek the two endings are identical in sound and almost identical in form. For the formation of the name *Archistratis* in the Greek Novel, cf. 15, RA/RB 1. For the substitute name *Lucina*, see 25, RA 10 (comm.). For the problem as a whole, see Introd. VII.2.2.2.

eiusdem civitatis (RA) ~ *totius illius regionis* (RB): In Late Latin terms like *civitas* 'city' and the surrounding *regio* 'country' often coincide, like πόλις en χώρα in Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. πόλις (II).

ingressus est gymnasium (RA): This idyllic image of a monarch playing a ball game is completely at odds with the historical reality of Cyrene in de 3rd century, the time in which **HA(Gr)** was probably written, cf. Introd. VI.4. For the historical reality, Cyrene as part of the Roman Empire under the *dioecesis Orientis*, see Jones, *Eastern Cities*, ch.12; P. Romanelli, *La Cirenaica romana*, Verbana 1943; id., *Storia delle provincie romane dell' Africa*, Roma 1959. On the other hand scholars have long observed that this romantic image of Apollonius' adventures in Cyrene can be compared with Odysseus' vicissitudes at the court of the Phaiacians and his discus-throwing there, cf. Kussl, p.64 n.7; p.155 with n.56; U. Holscher, *Die Odyssee. Epos zwischen Märchen und Roman*, München 1989^{2}, pp.222-34.

13, RA 10-11 Qui dum ‹*cum*› suis ad ludum luderet, deo favente approximavit se Apollonius in regis turba ‘When he was playing at a ball game with his men, by God’s favour Apollonius got close to the king’s crowd’

13, RB 9-10 dum cum suis pilae lusum exerceret, volente deo miscuit se Apollonius regi.

dum ‹cum›: **P**’s haplography is made good by *RB*.

ad ludum luderet (RA) ~ *pilae lusum exerceret* (RB): This expression in *RA*, esp. the variant form *ad tabulam ludere*, is very common since Paul. Diac., *Hist. Lang.* (ed. Waitz p.58,24), cf. U. Westerbergh, *Chronicon Salernitanum*, Lund 1956, Index. The *ad* replaces an original abl. of instrument, cf. ThLL I 551,50 ff.; Schmalz-Hofmann, p.438; Svennung, *Orosiana* 27. This Late Latin usage is even easier for *RA* to adopt because it accords with παίζειν πρὸς κότταβον, cf. LSJ, s.v. παίζω (3) [source: Plato, *comic.* 46,1]. *RB* has smoothed out the construction (without objecting to *dum* + imperf. subjunct.).

deo favente (RA) ~ *volente deo* (RB): *RB* apparently thought *RA*’s expression (cf. 4, RA 11/RB 14) too weak at this crucial juncture. It seems unnecessary to assume that *RB* based his change on **R(Gr)**. (Naturally Klebs, p.190 deletes both expressions.)

approximavit se in regis turba (RA) ~ *miscuit se regi* (RB): An extremely important change between *RA* and *RB*. *Approximare* ‘to approach’ can be used both transitively ‘to cause to approach’ and intransitively ‘to approach’. In the latter function it occurs mainly in everyday language and in Christian authors, cf. Svennung, *Vitae Patrum*, p.271; the ThLL II 316,60-80 quotes only Christian authors (Klebs, p.273 n.1 is of no real value; Garbugino, p.45 n.71 questions the originality). This *approximare* is avoided by Jerome in his Vulgate and replaced with synonyms, cf. Wölfflin, *Archiv. f. lat. Lex.* 2,357. For *RB* this is one reason to change. But *RA* takes his phrasing a step further and makes the transitive use ‘to proceed’ reflexive as well ‘*approximare se*’, an extremely rare use, cf. ThLL II 316,75; LHS II, p.293^{4}. The V*itae Patrum* offers interesting material for comparison (cf. ed. m. [1984], pp.98-9) not only because the Greek can be adduced, but also because the various authors correct each other, in this case Pseudo-Rufinus who corrects Pelagius. From the material on offer we can only give two quotations at length here: *Vitae Patrum* (Pelagius) 5,15,27 *ut numquam se ad sacrificandam oblationem altari approximarent* (Gr. μὴ ἐγγίσαντες θυσιαστηρίῳ: ‘without approaching the altar’); in the version of

Ps. Rufinus: *ut ad altare <…> numquam accederent*; ibid. 5,15,28 (Pelagius) *quantum se approximat homo Deo* (Gr. ὅσον ἐγγίζει ἄνθρωπος τῷ θεῷ 'in as much as man approaches the Divinity'), *tantum se peccatorem videt*; in the version of Ps. Rufinus: *quantum homo Deo appropinquaverit*. This material shows (a) that *RA* probably goes back to ἐγγίζω in **R(Gr)**, cf. LSJ (+ Suppl.), s.v. ἐγγίζω (II), (b) that *RA*'s language coincides with the *Vitae Patrum* (Salonius, p.363 'einem unsicheren Beispiel [in der Hist. Apoll.]' is too sceptical [cf. ed. m. [1984], n.566]) and (c) that *RB*'s response of avoiding *vulgariora* is found within this circle too (Pseudo-Rufinus against Pelagius). His emendation is typically a *flosculus*, a literary embellishment; cf. Verg., *Aen.* 1,440 *Aeneas <…> infert se <…> per medios, miscetque viris*.

13, RA 11-13 et ludente rege sustulit pilam et subtili velocitate remisit remissamque rursum <*velocius remisit*> nec cádere pássus est (*t.*). 'and as the king was playing he picked up the ball and returned it with accurate speed; when it came back he hit it back again even faster and never dropped it.'

13, RB 10-12 Et decurrentem sustulit pilam et subtili velocitate percussam ludenti regi remisit remissamque rursus velocius repercussit nec cádere pássus est (*t.*).

The game referred to here is probably a ball game popular in gymnasia and played with a small ball. Galen (2nd c. AD) devoted a small treatise to it entitled Περὶ τοῦ διὰ τῆς σμικρᾶς σφαίρας γυμνασίου 'Exercise with the small ball' (ed. J. Marquardt, *Galeni Scripta Minora*, I, Leipzig (T) 1884, pp.93-102). For a cartoon view of this game, see Yegül, p.37. It is apparently a game of skill '*datatim ludere*', in which the ball (σφαιρά) is returned with more or less increased speed, with one or more feints combined with '*expulsim ludere*', playing outside the field (cf. 13, RB 10 *decurrentem <…> pilam*). The person who plays longest without missing the ball wins. Archistratis' intervention is probably modelled on Odysseus' ball game with Nausicaä, also after a shipwreck, cf. Hom., *Od.* 6, 100 ff. σφαίρῃ ταίδ' ἄρ' ἔπαιζον 'they were playing at ball'. The Latin formulation bears some resemblance to Sen., *De beneficiis* 2,17,3 (see 13, RA 16 comm.), in the figurative sense of receiving and returning benefactions. This resemblance is probably accidental. (The game in question here could be ἐπίσκυρος (rugby football, as Rhode[3], p.437 n.1 suggests [cf. Pauly-Wissowa *R.E.* II, p.2834 (2)], but this is an unnecessary hypothesis in the light of the above. Klebs, p.207 with n.2 also requires correction.) An instructive, chronological citation of c.13 as passed down in various

Latin versions and popular adaptations is found in H. Gillmeister, 'The Origin of European Ball Games', *Stadion* VII. 2 (1981) pp.19-49, esp. pp.36-49. Gillmeister thinks the game may have been a kind of tennis or possibly fives, cf. p.32 ff.

sustulit (RA): Apparently one of the players has fumbled the ball, which has rolled out of the ball court, the so-called σφαιριστήριον. *RB* thinks it necessary to add *decurrentem* to this detail instead of (and based on the sound of?) *ludente rege* (RA). The latter phrase returns in *RB* in the fuller form *ludenti regi remisit* with striking alliteration to depict the rapid striking of the ball back and forth.

13, RA 13-16 Tunc rex Archistrates cum sibi notasset iuvenis velocitatem et, quis esset, nesciret et ad pilae lusum nullum habere*<t>* parem, intuens famulos suos ait: "Recédite, fámuli (*t.*): 'Then since King Archistrates had noticed the young man's speed and did not know who he was, and since he had no equal at the ball game, he looked at his servants and said: "Draw back, servants:'

13, RB 12-14 Notavit sibi rex velocitatem iuvenis et quia sciebat se in pilae lusum neminem parem habere, ad suos ait: "Famuli, recedite:

RA's formulation is understandable but syntactically and notionally awkward. What he obviously means is: *cum notasset* <…> *et* <cum> <…> *nesciret et* <cum> <…> *nullum haberet* <sibi> *parem, ait*. *RB* patches up the sentence as best he can: *cum notasset* becomes the main clause; *qui esset* is dropped as redundant; (cum) *nesciret* is modified into *quia sciebat*; the <sibi> to be added in *RA* is supplied via an *acc. cum inf.* construction.

cum sibi notasset (RA) ~ *Notavit sibi* (RB): This *sibi* construction, which departs from classical usage, functions as a middle voice. The construction is often used in everyday language. Thus A. Stefenelli, *Die Volkssprache im Werk des Petron*, Wien-Stuttgart 1962, p.19, cites three examples (6,1 *non notavi mihi Ascylti fugam*; 103,5 *unus forte ex vectoribus* <…> *notavit sibi ad lunam tonsorem*; 111,6 *cum miles notasset sibi lumen inter monumenta clarius fulgens*) as precursors of Romance constructions like *s'apercevoir,* cf. *Heraeus,* Kleine Schriften, p.123. The construction is also frequent in Late Latin, e.g. Arnobius Iunior (Migne, P.L. 53), *Praedest*. 636[C] *nota tibi, Praedestinate, quid dicat*; *Psalm.* 633[A] *nota tibi, calumniose*; ibid. 633[B] *nota tibi, Praedestinate, quod loquor* (further exampels in Morin, *Études* I, p.319); *Martyr. S. Romani*

(ed. H. Delehaye, *AB* 50 (1932), pp.269-70) *Multi ergo dum solverent cingulos suos, notavit sibi Maximianus transeuntes*. For the construction *sibi* with *verba dicendi, sentiendi* in a broader context, see Norberg, *Syntact. Forsch.*, p.167; Löfstedt, *Synt.* II, p.394 n.2. All this shows that Klebs, p.277 ('gut klassisch, obwohl nicht häufig') requires correction.

Notuit sibi RB (**β**), i.q. *notum facere* probably in an attempt to avoid popular *notavit sibi* (**bMπ**). Several examples in Rönsch, *Beitr.* III, 50 ff.; Salonius, *Vit. Patrum*, p.400 ff.; Väänänen, *Introd.* § 316 (*innotescere* trans.).

ad pilae lusum nullum haberet parem (RA) ~ *in pilae lusum neminem párem habére* (*pl.*) (RB): A skilful series of emendations: (1) *ad* (from ? Gr. πρός, cf. LSJ, s.v. (III) 'in reference to') replaced by *in*; (2) *nullum* replaced by classical *neminem*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *nullus* (1); (3) a rhythmic change in the standard expression *neminem parem* (= rival) *habere*, cf. above 13, RA/RB 8.

Recedite (RA/RB): Riese (1893), Index p.127 proposes to explain *recedere* as *superari* (pres. indic.). Probably better is: 'to draw back/aside' (pres. imperat.), cf. (?) Gr. ἀποχωρέω 'to go away'.

13, RA 16/RB 14-15 hic enim iuvenis, ut suspicor, mihi comparandus est." 'For I believe that this young man is a match for me."'

mihi comparandus est (RA/RB): Probably still in the sense of the classical gerundive: 'can/must be compared with me'; for a somewhat different construction, cf. 51, RA 15 *occidendum se putabat* = putabat se occisum iri (comm.). A possible Greek substrate is συμβλητέος/συμβλητός, cf. LSJ, s.v.: '"comparable, capable of being compared" abs. or c. dat.'

13, RA 16-19 Et cum recessissent famuli, Apollonius subtili velocitate manu docta remisit pilam, ut et regi et omnibus vel pueris, qui aderant, miraculum magnum videretur. 'When the servants had drawn back, Apollonius returned the ball with well-judged speed and skilful hand, so that he seemed a great miracle to the king and everyone else, even to the pages who were present.'

docta manu (RA) 'with a trained hand': Perhaps comparable with Sen., *De beneficiis* 2,17,4 *Si cum exercitato et docto negotium est, audacius pilam mittemus*

<...> *si cum tirone et indocto, non tam rigide nec tam excusse*. The expression recurs in 13, RA 20/RB 16 *docta manu cer<omate> fricavit*, again very pertinent, cf. Mart. 3,82,14 *percurrit agili corpus arte tractatrix manumque doctam spargit omnibus membris* (cf. ThLL V,1 1758,81). The final place containing this phrase is 49, RA 4 *qui docta manu me docuisti* (RB /), cf. comm. (Without any further arguments Klebs, p.38 n.5 regards both places in which *RA* stands alone [13, RA 16; 49, RA 3] as interpolated.)

ut et regi <...> **videretur** (RA): Regarded as an interpolation by Klebs, p.264 n.1. This is probably wrong, since the sentence seems to have two Greek terms, *pueri* and *miraculum*.

pueri (RA): The interpretation of this word is uncertain: it may refer to the boys in the gymnasium (= νεανίσκοι) or the *pueri regii* (= παῖδες βασίλειοι / βασιλικοὶ νεανίσκοι 'pages', cf. Headlam, p.27). *Vel* = even, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. For *vel* = *et*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *vel* (3); LHS II, p.502[1.2]; Löfstedt, *Per.*, 197. (Klebs, p.38 n.3 acknowledges this use, but stipulates 'nur in den Interpolationen von RA'.)

miraculum (RA): This word also recurs in *RA*, 31 *RA* 4 *miraculum apparebat*. According to the definition of Blatt, *Acta Andreae*, p.49,3 *miraculum* is a 'book word' as opposed to popular *mirabilia* (merveille). The word *miraculum* 'miracle' is particularly common in hagiographical literature. Here it may overlie a Greek word like θαῦμα 'wonder' 'marvel'. The Greek Novel uses this word fairly often, cf. *Less.*, s.v. θαῦμα. Its use in *Od.* should also be mentioned, Hom. *Od.* 9,190 θαῦμ' ἐτέτυκτο πελώριον 'he was a miracle, gigantic'; 11,287 θαῦμα βροτοῖσιν, said of a beautiful woman (cf. 31, RA 4). (Klebs, p.265 n.1 regards both places with *miraculum* [13, RA 17; 31, RA 4] as interpolations.) *RB*'s omission (an entire sentence) is probably due to *RA*'s exuberant formulation and the connection which *RB* wants to make between (RB 15) *mihi comparandus est* and (RB 15) *laudari*.

13, RA 19-20	Videns autem <*se*> Apollonius a c<*uncti*>s laudari, constanter adpropinquavit ad regem. 'When Apollonius saw that the citizens were all applauding him, he boldly approached the king.'
13, RB 15-16	Apollonius ut audivit se laudari constanter accéssit ad régem (*pl.*)

videns (RA) ~ *ut audivit* (RB): *RA* probably goes back directly to **R(Gr)** ὁρῶν 'perceiving'. For a similar reaction in *RB*, cf. 5, RA 1 *ut vidit* ~ RB 1 *ut audivit* (comm.).

a cunctis (**Va**^{c}, **Rα**: *civibus* **P**) ~ (RB /): The approval of the bystanders in *RA* will have been expressed in words and gestures (e.g. καλῶς, καλῶς; bravo!). *RB* logically had to leave out this identification: in his version the praise and challenge relate to the king's '*mihi comparandus est*'.

constanter (RA/RB): 'constantly' 'boldly', cf. 40, RA 37/RB 31. For the meaning, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *constanter*: 'sans crainte', 'sans hésitation' (this interpretation is supported by Klebs, p.243). Possibly underlying *constanter* is συνεχῶς 'unremittingly' 'immediately' (cf. Riese [1872], Praef. XIII), without much difference in meaning. The Glossaria (cf. CGL VI 264) give εὐσταθῶς 'steadfast' 'tranquil' (cf. Charit. 3,2,1) / θαρσούντως 'boldly'.

13, RA 20-21	Deinde docta manu cer<*omate*> fricavit regem tanta levitate, ut de sene iuvenem redderet. 'Then he rubbed him with wax ointment so expertly and gently that the old man was rejuvenated.'
13, RB 16-17	et docta manu ceromate fricavit eum tanta subtilitate, ut de sene iuvenem redderet.

docta manu (RA/RB), cf. 13, RA 17 (comm.).

cer<omate> (RA) ~ *ceromate* (RB). A passage that poses difficult textual problems: *RA* actually has *cerconi et* **P** (*ceroma* corr. Riese [1893]); *RB* reads *cerome* **b** (corrected from *cherome*) and the other codd. (**βMπ**) *cheromate*. The form *ceroma* (fem.) is possible as a direct translation from Gr. τὸ κήρωμα 'ointment', cf. ThLL III 877. The shift from (neut.) 3rd to (fem.) 1st decl. agrees with the general linguistic development (cf. *diadema, -ae*, Gr. διάδημα, -ατος; *dogma, -ae*, Gr. δόγμα, -ατος); *plasma, -ae*, Gr. πλάσμα, -ατος); *schisma, -ae*, Gr. σχίσμα, -ατος). All the same this form, accepted by Konstan, has not been incorporated in the text, since it is virtually unknown elsewhere and the word as it stands in **P** is too long. The other manuscripts point more in the direction of *ceroma, -atis*.

fricavit (RA/RB): F.G. Banta, *Abweichende spät- und vulgärlateinische Perfektbildungen*, Freiburg in der Schweiz, 1957, p.79 refers to *confricavi* in Vegetius and *perfricari* in Marcellus medicus. This kind of *ceromaticus* (Gr. κηρωματικός) was highly regarded esp. in the medical world, cf. Cass. Felix (ed. V. Rose, Leipzig 1879, p.144,2), 55 *etiam et defricationibus ceromaticis et deambulationibus et lavacris calidioribus* (cf. *HA* 13, RA 22/RB 17) *et ceteris exercitationibus usualibus omnino non prohibebis*; for the overall picture,

cf. MAMA VIII 605; L. Robert, 'Histoire et sens du mot κηρωματιστής au Bas-Empire', *Hellenica* XIII, pp.167-70. We would talk about a health masseur. A more neutral form for Apollonius' treatment would be γυμναστής, ἀλειπτήρ/ἀλείπτης, cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* V, p.520; Cumont, *L'Egypte des astrologues*, p.80 n.1.

tanta levitate P ~ *tanta subtilitate* (RB): Understandably the codd. often confuse *leniter* and *leviter*, the more so because the meanings are blurred. The reading of the manuscript has been retained here, cf. 26, RB 5. *RB*'s 'correction' is very subtle, inspired perhaps by RA 12/RB 11 *subtili velocitate* above.

ut de sene iuvenem redderet (RA/RB): Stock language, cf. ThLL V,1 60,84 *sqq.*, s.v. *de*: Comm., *Instructiones* 1,27,21 *vivum te de mortuo reddit*; Paul. Nol., *Epist.* 11,9 *ut de temporalibus aeterna reddantur*; for the image of rejuvenation, cf. Hom., *Od.* 10,395 ἄνδρες δ'ἄψ ἐγένοντο, νεώτεροι ἢ πάρος ἦσαν, καὶ πολὺ καλλίονες καὶ μείζονες εἰσοράασθαι. Klebs, p.277 points out that the expression is proverbial in Latin too: Plaut., *Pseud.* 870 *Quae* (sc. Medea) *medicamento et suis venenis dicitur / Fecisse rursus ex sene adulescentulum* (sc. Peliam senem); Ov., *Met.* 7,297 ff. For the modification of the rejuvenation τόπος in hagiography, cf. Robert, *Pionios*, pp.119-20.

13, RA 21-23 Iterato in solio gratissime f<o>vit, exeunti officiose manum dedit. Post haec discessit. 'Again in the bathtub he massaged him very agreeably and helped him out courteously. Then he went away.'

13, RB 17-18 Deinde in solio gratissime fovit et exeunti manum officiosam dedit et discessit.

Iterato (RA) ~ *Deinde* (RB): Klebs, p.239, wants to delete *iterato* ('wo es nach dem sachlichen Zusammenhang falsch ist'). This intervention is unnecessary. *Iterato* links up with the previous sentence *ceromate fricavit*; what follows is a second stage of Apollonius' activity, now as *balneator* (βαλανεύς 'bath attendant'), cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *iterato*: 'class. *iterum*, une seconde fois (postcl.)'. *HA* thus follows precisely the procedure after a ball game as recommended by Gal. IV, p.100,3 ἐπὶ τῷδε τρίψεσι μαλακαῖς δι' ἐλαίου καὶ λουτροῖς θερμοῖς χρῆσθαι 'and after this (sc. serious training) to make use of soft rubbings of ointment and hot bathing.'

solium (RA/RB) 'bath' 'tub': A very common term: Petron. 73,5 *in solio descendere* (cf. Heraeus, *Kleine Schriften*, p.115). The underlying Greek is

uncertain: ἀσάμινθος?; λουτρόν? (cf. *Less.*, s.v.); ἐμβατή (cf. CGL III 217,16 [p.652] καταβῶμεν εἰς τὴν ἐμβατήν; cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐμβατός II). The *solium* was probably moderate-sized and made of stone or wood. Though Romans will have relished this scene too (Klebs, p.207, points to Petron. 27.28), the entire proceeding has a Greek-Oriental feel to it, cf. A. Calderini, *Bagni pubblici nell' Egitto greco-romano*, Reale Instit. Lombardo, LII, Milano 1919, pp.297-331. In the Greek Novel guests are often invited to take a bath, cf. Charit. 2,8,4; 4,3,7.

gratissime fovit (RA/RB): 'massaged him'. In practice this meant that the παραχύτης 'bath attendant' (cf. LSJ, s.v.) or the βαλανεύς poured hot water over the bathers, cf. Steinmetz on Theoph., *Caract.* 9,8. They could be very meddlesome and remiss in their duties; hence the expression ἐμαυτῷ βαλανεύσω 'I will act as my own servant', cf. Ussher on Theoph., *Caract.* 9,8.

exeunti (RA/RB): Sc. de solio. Apollonius extends a helping hand to the king. At this point a towel was also handed out, cf. 13, RA 3 comm.

officiose manum (RA) ~ *manum officiosam* (RB): Enallage, cf. Svennung, *Palladius*, p.234 ff.; Patrick, ed. Bieler, comm. p.161. In particular the scene of King Archistrates in bath had its own development in the late Middle Ages in the adaptation of the Master Singer of Nuremberg, Hans Sachs, *Der König Apollonius im Bad*, cf. Archibald, *Medieval and Renaissance Themes*, p.208.

CHAPTER 14

In chapters 14-21 *RA* and *RB* have roughly the same text. Nevertheless, *RA* is clearly the dominant text over *RB*. To bring out the differences as clearly as possible, the two versions are again reproduced together. The commentary's user should be warned that not every small detail is commented on (*aliter* Klebs, p.47 n.1).

14, RA 1-2	Rex autem, ut vidit iuvenem discessisse, conversus ad amicos suos ait: 'When the king saw that the young man had gone, he turned to his friends and said:'
14, RB 1	Rex ad amicos post discessum iuvenis ait:

ut vidit iuvenem discessisse (RA) ~ *post discessum iuvenis* (RB): The same statement, but stylistically shorter.

conversus (RA): (RB /): *RA*'s formulation occurs very often and in many combinations in Greek: ἐπιστραφεὶς/μεταστραφεὶς πρός τινα, also στραφείς, cf. O.G.H. Almquist, *Studien zur spätlateinischen Mulomedicina Chironis*, Uppsala 1909, p.34: Plut., *Mor.* 184[c] μεταστραφεὶς πρὸς τοὺς φίλους <…> ἔφη; Luc. 14,25 καὶ στραφεὶς εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς (for other examples, see Almquist). The *HA* likes to use *intuens, respiciens* in this sense (cf. 14, RA 4).

amicos suos (RA) ~ *amicos* (RB): Probably to be interpreted in a technical sense as οἱ φίλοι, originally referring to all those who were close to the monarch, later used increasingly as an official title, cf. A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Lagides*, Paris 1903-1907, t. III, p.103 ff.; Cumont, p.34 n.3; Roueché, *Aphrodisias*, p.30. For the special term φίλος τοῦ Καίσαρος, cf. Bauer, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. φίλος (β): cf. also 13, RA 22 *amice* (comm.); 15, RA 3/RB 2.

14, RA 1-4 "Iuro vobis, amici, per [communem] salutem meam, me melius nunquam lavisse nisi hodie, beneficio unius adolescentis, quem nescio." '"I swear to you, my friends, by my well-being I never had a better bath than today, thanks to one young man whom I do not know."'

14, RB 1-3 "Iuro vobis per communem salutem, melius me numquam lavasse, quam hodie, beneficio nescio cuius adolescentis."

per salutem meam (RA) ~ *per communem salutem* (RB): This highly interesting form of oath, sworn by the well-being of the king, probably comes from Oriental regions: 2 Kgs. 11:11 *Et ait Urias ad David* <…> *Per salutem tuam et per salutem animae tuae* (LXX ζῇ ἡ ψυχή σου; v.l. μὰ τὴν ζώην τῆς ψυχῆς) *non faciam rem hanc*; ibid. 14:19 *per salutem animae tuae, domine mi rex* (LXX ζῇ ἡ ψυχή σου, κύριέ μου βασιλεῦ). In Latin it is well-known in the military oath, cf. Tert., *Apol.* c.32,2 *sed et iuramus sicut non per genios Caesarum, ita per salutem eorum*, cf. Flav. Veg., *De re militari* 2,5 (ed. Lang, p.38). From there it entered Roman law (cf. Mommsen, *Staatsr.* II^{2} p.784 n.3), but also hagiography. In this context we can cite e.g. *Pass. SS. Martyrum Firmi et Rustici* (Mombr. I 548,8): (Maximianus imperator) *Nam per deos et salutem meam et statum rei publicae romanae faciam vos ad experimentum omnibus hominibus devenire*; *Pass. Victoris Mauri* (ibid., II 631,11) *Deinde Maximianus imperator ei dixit: Victor, consule sanguini tuo* (cf. *HA* 50, RA 22) <…> *Nam per deos et per salutem meam et statum rei publicae faciam te ad omnium hominum experimentum devenire*. In Greek the oath is attested even earlier, cf. LSJ, s.v. σωτηρία 'deliverance': P. Cair. Zen. 324,2 (3rd c. BC) ὀμνύω σωι (or σοι) τὴν σαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν; OGI 678,1 (Egypt, 2nd c. AD) ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας <…> Αὐτοκράτορος = Lat. *pro salute Imperatoris*. An amusing example is provided by Theophanes Confessor (760-818) in a story relating how a third party returns an apple to Emperor Theodosius II which he had given to his wife Eudocia as a love-gift: the emperor swears to his wife (PG 108,99_{24}): "τὴν σωτηρίαν μου, τὸ μῆλον, ὃ ἔπεμψα σοι, ποῦ ἔστιν;" ἡ δὲ ἔφη· "μὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν σοῦ ἔφαγον αὐτό" '"by my health, the apple I gave you, where is it?" She answered: "By your health (it is no more) I have eaten it"' (example cited by Tabachovitz (1926), pp.43-4; see also p.44 n.1 for later versions of the story in Malalas and Georgios Monachos). This kind of expression was also used by the common people: P. Oxyrrh. 939_{20} Νὴ γὰρ τὴν σὴν σωτηρίαν, κύριέ μου (Ghedini, nr.25). So there can be no doubt that King Archistrates swears by his own well-being. *RB*'s change to *communem* is obvious: Apul., *Met.* 9,36 *suam suorumque carorum salutem, quam sanctissime adiurans*; Fronto (p.45 van den Hout; p.49 Naber) *adiuro tamen tibi meam,*

meae matris, tuam salutem, cf. ThLL VII [II 1] 674,43. For further literature: P. Hermann, *Der Römische Kaisereid. Untersuchungen zu seiner Herkunft und Entwicklung*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1968. The meaning of *communem* (RB) is: my well-being (as father) and your well-being (as daughter). Sometimes the entire family is involved in the oath, cf. TLL VII,2 s.v. *iuro* p.674, 43 (Pap. Corp. 262.13 [4th c.]): *iuro enim* (sic) *salutem communem et infantum nostrorum*. The form *communem* has been retained in the *RA* text as evidence of the early penetration of an *RB* reading in *RA*, in incomprehensible passages, cf. Introd. IV.2.1.

lavisse (RA) ~ *lavasse* (RB): A remarkable form in *RB* that goes against the general linguistic evolution. This verb: 'I swear by my well-being that I have never had a better bath than today' will have brought a smile to the reader's lips.

numquam <…> **nisi** (RA) ~ *numquam* <…> *quam* (**b**: *sicut* **βMπ**): The double negative *numquam* = *nisi* could perhaps be traced back directly to οὔποτε <…> εἰ μή, cf. LSJ, s.v. εἰ (VII,a): 'except'. Further literature in Löfstedt, *Synt.* II,212; Hoppe (1938), p.142. For similar constructions in *HA*, see 22, RA 19; 30, RA 7/RB 8; 48, RA 13. It also occurs in more eminent Latin authors, cf. Iuven., *Sat.* 6,580 *aptior hora nisi quam* (cf. Friedländer comm.); Tert., *Spect.* 25 *nemo in spectaculo ineundo prius cogitat, nisi videri et videre*, cf. Löfstedt, *Verm. Stud.* p.34; LHS, p.596[1]. For conversely *sicut* = *quam*, cf. Salonius, *Vit. Patrum*, p.118 n.1., as in many modern languages. (Schmeling, *Notes*, p.388 [op ed. 53,26 *sicut* **βMπ**]: '*quam* **b** <…> may be correct'.)

unius adolescentis, quem nescio (RA): *nescio cuius adolescentis* (RB); *unius* is indefinite article = an (cf. Klebs, p.261); *nescio* (RA): *ignoro*. *RB*'s correction via *nescio quis* 'someone' 'somebody' (a combination also found in *RA*, cf. 15, RA 6) is excellent in itself, but *RA* probably goes back to a Greek phrase ὃν οὐκ οἶδα 'whom I do not know', cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. οἶδα.

14, RA 4-5	Et intuens unum de famulis suis ait: "Iuvenis ille, qui mihi servitium gratissime fecit, vide, quis sit." 'He looked at one of his servants and said: "See who that young man is, who gave me such excellent service."'
14, RB 3-4	Et respiciens unum de famulis ait: "Iuvenis ille, qui mihi officium fecit, vide, quis est."

intuens unum (RA) ~ *respiciens unum* (RB): For *respiciens*, cf. 8, RB 3 (comm.). In the same way the Greek Novel likes to use ἀποβλέψας

εἰς/πρός, cf. Charit. 2,5,6 "ἔλεγόν σοι" φησὶ Διονύσιος ἀποβλέψας πρὸς τὸν Λεωνᾶν "ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι δούλη" 'Dionysius looked at Leonas. "I told you she wasn't a slave" he said'; Xen. Eph. 3,3,3 ἀποβλέψας εἰς τὸν Ἁβροκόμην ὁ Ἱππόθοος <...> ἔφη 'Looking at Habrocomes Hippothous said', cf. Zimmermann, *Index.*, s.v. ἀναβλέπω.

unum de famulis (RA/RB): In Late Latin cardinal numbers tend to be combined with *de/ex* rather than in the more classical construction of part. gen.; this corresponds to Greek, which as well as the part. gen. εἷς αὐτῶν 'one of them' has εἷς ἐκ πολλῶν 'one from many', cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 250; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. εἷς. See also below 14, RA 19 *quidam de* (RB *aliter*).

servitium gratissime fecit (RA) ~ *officium fecit* (RB), cf. 15, RA 7 *servitium gratissime fecit* ~ 15, RB 6-7 *officium gratissimum fecit*: The embarrassing term *servitium* (as applied to a king) is eliminated where possible.

sit (RA) ~ *est* (RB): The correct use of the subjunctive eludes *RB* as well, cf. 7, RA 8/RB 9.

14, RA 5-7 Famulus vero secutus est iuvenem et, ut vidit eum sordido tribunario coopertum, reversus ad regem ait: 'So the servant followed the young man, and when he saw that he was wrapped in a dirty old cloak, he came back to the king and said:'

14, RB 4-5 Ille secutus iuvenem vidit eum tribunario sórdido coopértum (*v.*). Reversus ad regem ait:

sordido tribunario coopertum, cf. 12, RB 13 (RA 9-10 *sacco sordido circumdatum*): For τρίβων, τριβώνιον, τριβωνάριον, see comm. on 12, RA 9/RB 13.

coopertum (RA/RB) as a verb corresponds quite closely to ἀμπέχομαι, cf. LSJ, s.v. (II) 'to put round' 'esp. *put* clothes and the like *on* another', as used by Heliod. 10,35,1 τοῦ τε τριβωνίου (τοῦτο γὰρ ἔτυχεν ἀμπεχόμενος) τὸ κράσπεδον εἰς βρόχον περιειλήσας 'and looping the hem of the threadbare cloak in which he was clad into a noose, he threw it around Theagenes' neck.' Another possible substrate is περιβάλλω 'to throw round' 'to cover', cf. GGL II 402,8 *coperior* (sic) περιβάλλω ἱματίῳ; *Less.*, s.v. περιβάλλω.

14, RA 7 “Bone rex optime, iuvenis naufragus est.” ‘“Good, best king, the young man has been shipwrecked.”’

14, RB 5-6 “Iuvenis ille naufragus est.”

Bone rex optime (RA) ~ (RB /); The pleonastic combination *bonus-optimus* is controversial. Riese (1893) proposed *domine rex optime*; ThLL II 2087,26 argues for: *bone rex <et pater> optime*, as elsewhere in the *HA* (15, RA/RB 4; 17, RA 17/RB 15; 20, RA 15/RB 11). Others support retention of the transmitted text (Thielmann, p.4; G. Landgraf, *Neue Philologische Rundschau*, 1888, p.121), others simply delete (cf. Klebs, p.38 ‘unangemessen im Munde eines Sklaven’). Nowadays critics are inclined to regard the expression as authentic (Konstan: ‘good and best king’; Archibald: ‘Good king, best of kings’), rightly in my view. Though harsh, the combination is consistent with the examples listed in ThLL II 2087,16-28, esp. Vulg., Tob. 7:7 *quia boni et optimi viri filius es* (LXX ὁ τοῦ καλοῦ κἀγαθοῦ ἀνθρώπου υἱός). Landgraf, loc. cit., therefore proposes to derive the expression from καλὸς κἀγαθός. *RB*’s omission can be explained via Klebs’s observation, p.38, quoted above: ‘unangemessen’. For further literature on the juxtaposition, cf. Löfstedt, *Glotta* 4 (1913), p.260; Tabachovitz (1926), pp.17-8. See also 46, RA 1 (comm.).

naufragus (RA/RB), cf. ναυαγός: Also in the Greek Novel (cf. *Less.*, s.v.), as elsewhere in Greek literature (LSJ, s.v. ναυαγός; Cumont, p.17 n.2; p.110, nn.3, 5)

14, RA 7-8 Rex ait: “Et tu unde scis?” Famulus respondit: “Quia illo tacente habitus indicat.” ‘The King said: “And how do you know?” The servant replied: “Because his clothes make it clear, although he says nothing.”’

14, RB 6 Rex ait: “Vnde scis?” Famulus ait: “Illo tacente habitus indicat.”

Et (RA) ~ / (RB): On Et/καὶ *indignantis* (or *impatientis*) cf. 2, RA/RB 9.

14, RA 9/RB 7-8 Rex ait: “Vade celerius et dic illi: rogat te rex, ut ad cenam venias (RA: venias ad cenam RB).” ‘The King said: “Go quickly and say to him: the King invites you to come to dinner.”’

Vade (RA/RB): Cf. 12, RA 20/RB 22 (comm.).

celerius (RA/RB): The comparative instead of positive *celeriter*: this could be based directly on **R(Gr)**, cf. LSJ, s.v. ταχύς (2): 'θᾶσσον also stands for the Posit.' The corresponding form may also have been τάχιον. This use of the comparative, rare in Latin (cf. the places cited by ThLL III 754, 42 ff.), could help to determine the language level of **R(Gr)**, cf. Vogeser (1907), p.20; Linnér (1970), p.78.

rogat te (RA/RB): Klebs, p.277 refers to Apul., *Met.* 1,22 *rogat te, inquit*; 1,26 *rogat te, inquit, hospes*. But in Greek in the Novel (and elsewhere) καλεῖν ἐφ' ἑστίασιν is equally the standing term, cf. Charit. 4,6,2 καλῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ἑστιάσεις Διονύσιον μετὰ τῆς γυναικός 'inviting Dionysius to banquets, along with his wife'; Achill. Tat. 2,23,1 ἐφ' ἑστίασιν αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσεν 'He invited him to dinner.' The poor fisherman was no doubt surprised by this invitation, but the theme of the poor man invited to dinner by a rich man, after having washed him (λουσάμενον), occurs particularly in Lucian. of Samosata (*Gall.*, 7-8; *Merc. cond.* 14; *Sat.* 17), cf. G. Husson, *Le navire ou les souhaits*, p.56. The parallel with Odysseus at dinner at the court of the Phaiacians (Hom., *Od.* 7,167 ff.) urges itself, cf. Kussl, p.155.

14, RA 10-11 Et cum dixisset ei, adquievit Apollonius et eum ad domum regis secutus est. Famulus prior ingressus dicit regi: 'When the servant told him, Apollonius accepted and followed him to the king's palace. The servant went in first and said to the king:'

14, RB 8-9 Apollonius ut audivit, adquievit et ducente famulo pervenit ad regem. Famulus prior ingressus ait regi:

adquievit (RA/RB) 'he agreed': There has been some debate on *ei* (RA), whether it should be connected with *dixisset* or with *adquievit* (thus Klebs, p.237: Suet., *Vitell.* 14 *muliere, cui velut oraculo adquiescebat*). Though it is a trivial detail, I have punctuated after *ei*, purely because of *RB*'s absolute *adquievit*.

14, RA 11-12/RB 9-10 "Adest naufragus (RA: Naufragus adest RB), sed abiecto habitu introire confunditur." '"Here is the shipwrecked man, but he is ashamed to come in because of his mean attire."'

abiecto habitu (RA/RB): i.q. vili veste: This could possibly go back to ἀπόβλητος, cf. LSJ, s.v.: 'to *be thrown away* or *aside* as worthless'. A similar translation is suggested by CGL VI 28. *Habitus* in the sense of *vestis* is very frequent, esp. in Late and medieval Latin, cf. ThLL VI.3 2485,64 ff.

introire confunditur (RA/RB): *Confundi* 'to be ashamed' is used in several places in the *HA*, cf. 34, RA/RB 8.26; 40, RA 21/RB 17; 50, RA 25 (RB /). For this sense of *confundi*, cf. ThLL IV 263,76 ff.; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *confundo* (6): '"être rempli de confusion, rougir de" (αἰσχύνεσθαι, καταισχύνεσθαι)' (a series of examples there). The occurrence of this verb in the Latinity of *RA/RB* need not surprise us (cf. Introd. II). The reference to αἰσχύνομαι hits the mark, cf. LSJ, s.v. αἰσχύνομαι + inf.: 'to be ashamed to do a thing and therefore not to do it' with examples from early Greek authors: Herod., Aeschyl., Plato. Perhaps **R(Gr)** or even **HA(Gr)** had something like εἰσέρχεσθαι/εἰσελθεῖν (κατ)αισχύνεται. (Klebs's argumentation, p.290, is disgraceful: 'es ist hier wie "erubescere" gebraucht und konstruirt; davon habe ich in der klassischen Literatur (abgesehen von der patristischen) nur noch ein Beispiel finden können: Apul., *Met.*, 9,41 *confususque de impotentia deque inertia sua quicquam ad quemquam referre popularium.*' = Garbugino, p.120 with n.141)

14, RA 12-13/RB 10-11 Statim rex iussit eum dignis vestibus (RA: vestibus <u>d</u>ignis RB) in<u>d</u>ui et ad cenam ingredi (RA: ingredi ad cenam RB). 'At once the king ordered that he should be dressed in suitable cloths and should come in to the dinner.'

ad cenam (RA/RB): 'Symposium scenes' are found in all Greek novels. In connection with the so-called 'Apollonius novel' (P.S.I. 151) Kussl, p.145 refers to such scenes in Charit., Achill. Tat., Xen. Eph., Longus, Heliod., Methiochus-Parthenope novel, and for Latin to *Cena Trimalchionis*. For *ad cenam ingredi*, cf. Xen., *Anab.* 7,3,21 εἰσέρχομαι ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον.

14, RA 13-16 Et ingressus Apollonius triclinium ait ad eum rex: “Discumbe, iuvenis, et epulare. Dabit enim tibi dominus, per qu<o>d damna naufragii obliviscaris.” Statimque assignato illi loco Apollonius contra regem discubuit. ‘When Apollonius entered the dining-room the king said to him: “Recline, young man, and feast. For the Lord will give you what will make you forget the losses of the shipwreck.”’And after a place had been immediately assigned to him, Apolloniuw reclined opposite the king.

14, RB 11-12 Ingressus Apollonius triclinium contra regem designato lóco discúbuit (*t.*).

A passage with serious textual problems, in which scribes, editors and scholars have freely introduced changes. The most extreme example is Klebs (p.218, 190, 263-4); he deletes [*ait* <…> *obliviscaris*] as a duplication of *RA* 25, and then strikes *statim[que]* and *[illi]*: he thus ends up with virtually the same reading as *RB*. Yet despite his discursiveness and clumsy language, *RA* has every appearance of being authentic. Perhaps the formulation goes back to **R(Gr)**.

ingressus Apollonius (RA) (nomin. abs.) ~ *ingressus Apollonius* (RB) (nomin. partic.). The construction in *RA* (nomin. followed by acc. for the same person) is harsh, but occurs elsewhere in the *HA* (31, RA 2-3; 40, RA 27; adjusted in both places by *RB*), even in *RB*’s corrective version (50, RA 29/RB 23; 48, RB 31). This nom. abs. (also called *nominativus pendens*) occurs in many Late Latin authors, including more eminent ones. Bonnet (*Acta Thomae*, Index p.209) refers to Vict. Vit., Ennodius, Boetius, Venantius Fort., alongside *Regula Benedicti* (cf. Linderbauer, pp.133-134) and Greg. of Tours (cf. Bonnet, p.558); Adams (1976), pp.61-4. In Greek the nom. abs. is already found in classical prose (Kuhner-Gerth II, p.107,3). In NT writings it occurs frequently combined with a pronoun in the main clause. Some examples: *Acta Pilati* A 15,5 ὀρθρίσαντες οἱ ἀρχισυνάγωγοι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ λευῖται εἰς τὸν οἶκον Νικοδήμου ὑπήντησεν αὐτοῖς Νικόδημος ‘early in the morning the leaders of the synagogue, the priests and the Levites being awakened in the house of Nicodemus, there Nicodemus met them; *Ev. Thomae* A 5,2 καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἐν τῷ ἄγρῳ πρὸς συλλογὴν ξύλων, συνέλθῃ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Ιησοῦς ‘and going out in the field to collect firewood, Jesus too came with him.’ For other examples, see Blass-Debrunner § 466,4; Ghedini, *La lingua dei vangeli apocrifi greci*, p.478; Radermacher, *Neut. Grammatik* 1925[2], p.219; Salonius, *Vitae Patr.* p.12; Ljungvik, *Studien zur Sprache der Apokryphen*

Apostelgeschichten, Uppsala 1926, p.19; Acta Thomae 218_{22} στὰς δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολοσ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βασιλέως λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεύς (with almost the same word order as **RA**); E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, Band II 1, *Satzlehre*, Berlin ~ Leipzig 1926 (repr. 1970), Sachregister, p.221 s.v. Nominativ); Festugière (1974), p.592: 'le nom. abs. n'est pas rare, surtout à la tête d'un phrase.' In my view, we are dealing with the same construction in *RA* 13 *ingressus Apollonius* <...> *ait ad eum* (sc. Apollonium). Can this be traced back to **R(Gr)**?

discumbe (RA): As is customary, the guests recline on couches, cf. (?) κατακλίνομαι; ἀναπίπτω.

dominus (RA): The reference is to *dominus (deus) christianorum* (cf. Introd. II.3). **HA(Gr)** probably alluded here to Ζεῦς σωτήρ 'Zeus the Saviour', cf. L. Deubner, *NJbb* 43, 1917, p.39 ff. (Schmeling, *Notes*, pp.139-142 *aliter*, cf. Hunt [1999], pp.345-6).

qu<o>d (RA): *quid* **P**: The **P** reading has been much emended (cf. Riese [1893], ad loc.; Schmeling [1988]). The simplest correction is probably *per quod*, cf. Gr. δι' ὅ; this reading agrees with Rα (cf. ed. m. [1984]).

assignato illi loco (RA) ~ *designato loco* (RB): By eliminating *illi*, *RB* has regularized the construction; *designato* is a techinical term, cf. ThLL V,1 715. The place in question is the place of honour, cf. 15, RA 5 *in honorato loco*: RB 5 *honorabili loco*, directly opposite the king. For this τόπος ἔνδοξος, see Kussl, p.145; he refers to Plut., *Mor.* 617 [d/e] (*Symp.*) κατακλίνω γὰρ εἰς τὸν ἔνδοξον μάλιστα τόπον 'I recline at the place of greatest honour.' The placing of guests was often a point of debate (also in connection with the serving of dishes), cf. Plut., *Mor.* 612[f]-619[a]; Luc. 14,10 'Αλλ' ὅταν κληθῇς (cf. 14, RA 9 *rogat te rex*), πορευθεὶς ἀνάπεσε εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον τόπον <...> φίλε, προσανάβηθι ἀνώτερον. 'But if you are invited, lie down at the last place <...> friend, take a place higher up.'

contra regem (RA/RB): Though the arrangement of couches is not entirely clear, *contra* should be probably be taken in the sense of ἐναντίον, ἄντικρυς (ἀντικρύ) 'opposite' 'right', cf. *Fragmenta Choliambica* (Anonym. in Ps. Callisth. II 192) (ed. A.D. Knox, LCL, no. 225, p.312) τοῖσ<ι> δ'ἄντικρυς | ἀνέκειτο μο<ῦ>νος αὐτὸς ἐπὶ μιᾶς κλίνης | ὁ πάντ' ἄριστος ὁ Μακεδὼν <'Αλέξανδρος> 'Face to face with them lying alone on one couch the best of all, Alexander, the Macedonian.' This arrangement explains the lofty expression 15, RA 4 *retrorsum rediit ad patrem* and allows father and daughter to have their conversation. This lying opposite to each other agrees with the custom in Homer, where the heroes are seated face

to face (Hom., *Il.* 9,190-218; *Od.* 7,169). The royal couch is reserved for the king and his regents, cf. 14, RA 19 *iuxta regem discumbens* (cf. LSJ, s.v. κατακλίνω: κατακλίνεσθαι παρά τινα 'to lie at table next to someone'). For the arrangement of the couches in the Greek Novel, usually at right angles, cf. Achill. Tat. 1,5,1 (comm. Vilborg); Long. 4,35,1 (comm. Schönberger).

14, RA 16-17/RB 12-13 Adfertur (RA: Infertur RB) gustatio, deinde cena regalis. 'The hors d'oeuvre was served, and then the royal banquet.'

gustatio (RA/RB) corresponds to γεῦσις, cf. LSJ, s.v. (II): 'a tasting' LXX Dan. 5,2.' See also Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. γεῦσις. The term itself is well-attested in Latin (Petron. 21,6; 31,8; Mart., *Epigr.* 5,78,4-5; 10,48,7-13; 11,52,5-12).

14, RA 17-19 Epulantibus ipse solus non epulabatur, sed respiciens aurum, argentum, mensam et ministeria, flens cum dolore ómnia intuétur (*v.*). 'Everyone was feasting: Apollonius alone did not eat, but looking at the gold, the silver, the table and the servants, he wept for grief as he observed it all.'

14, RB 13 Apollonius cunctis epulantibus non epulabatur, sed aurum, argentum, vestes, ministeria regalia dum flens cum dolóre consíderat (*t.*),

Epulantibus (RA) ~ *cunctis epulantibus* (RB): The use of the abl. abs. without a subject is already recorded in Latin literature (cf. LHS II, p.141[1]) for Caes., *de bello gall.*, 4,12,1 *nostros perturbaverunt: rursus resistentibus* (sc. nostris). In some authors it is much in vogue, e.g. Tacit. (*Ann.* 1,5,1; ibid. 1,18,7; 1,29,5; *Hist.* 4,17,15; ibid. 4,25,24; 4,27,10). In Late Latin it is the order of the day, e.g. *Vita et Navigatio S. Brendani* (*Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, Bruxelles 1965, p.64) c.23 *Appropinquantibus autem ad portum insule, omnes aves cantabant*. So an omission in the Latin is completely understandable. In Greek such usage is even more common (cf. W. Schmid, *Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern*, Stuttgart 1887-1897, IV, p.69; Radermacher, *Neutest. Gramm.* 1925[2], p.209); the novelists form no exception, cf. Zimmermann, p.23: in particular Charit. offers many examples of such a suppressed subject, usually a form of αὐτός, cf. Charit. 1,3,4 πυνθανομένης δὲ τί γέγονεν, ἄφωνος ἦν. 'She asked him what

had happened; he stood dumb', see also Charit. 1,4,4; 1,5,6; 1,14,1; 2,9,6; 2,11,6; 3,4,10; 3,4,17 etc. Heliod. 1,32,1; 2,5,2; 8,9,2; 8,9,6; 10,34,5. The lacking noun in a gen. abs. is usually αὐτοῦ/αὐτῶν, or a corresponding form of ἄλλος. Thus **R(Gr)** may have read: δειπνεόντων (cf. LSJ, s.v. δειπνέω 'to take the chief meal' 'dine') αὐτὸς μόνος οὐκ ἐδειπνεῖ, cf. Introd. IV.2.2. In view of the overwhelming material I have decided after due deliberation not to supply a form like *omnibus/cunctis*, though *omnibus*, written *oîbus*, could easily drop out as a result of *epulantibus* (cf. ed. m. [1984]).

ipse solus (RA) ~ (RB /): Greek likes to use αὐτὸς μόνος, cf. Theophr., *Char.* 8,9,27 δεῖ δ' αὐτόν σε μόνον εἰδέναι, with the remark by O. Navarre: 'αὐτός, qui est souvent synonyme de μόνος, en redouble le sens': αὐτός (*ipse*) takes initial position. *RB* has also eliminated this Graecism, like the addition of *cuncti*. Of course a refusal to take part in a banquet was regarded as a breach of etiquette, both in Roman and in Greek culture, cf. W.B. MacDaniel, *Some Phases of Roman Social Usages* (Classical Studies in Honor of John C. Rolfe), Philadelphia 1931, p.236; Plutarch., *De tuenda sanitate* 5 (124 B-C). (Dr A. Hilhorst refers to *Acta Thomae* c.5.)

mensam (RA) 'dining-table' ~ *vestes* (RB): *RB* has probably wanted to emphasize the precious covering of the couches (the so-called *stragula*) and the equally precious clothing of the guests.

ministeria (RA) ~ *ministeria regalia* (RB): *ministeria* is probably used in the sense of 'servants' (RA)/'court staff' (RB), cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. 'serviteurs (Tacit., Suet.)'; ThLL VIII 1013,20 ff.; August., *De civ.* 20,21 *angelica ministeria*. As the Glossaria suggest, the underlying Greek is probably ὑπηρεσία 'service', cf. LSJ, s.v. (II.2): 'in concrete sense, in plur. *the class of servants*'. (A translation σκεῦος/σκεύη 'vessel' is less likely.) *RB* has specified this term. The reading *misteria* **β** (corrected by β^1) is instructive on account of the frequent confusion *ministerium/misterium*, cf. C. Mohrmann, 'Exultant divina mysteria' in *Études sur le latin des chrétiens* I, p.227 ff.; ThLL VIII, s.v. *ministerium* p.1007, 10.

flens cum dolore (RA/RB): This weeping when thinking of the past is a typical τόπος, introduced by Hom., *Od.* 8,83 ff.; 521 ff.

14, RA 19-21	Sed quidam de senioribus iuxta regem discumbens, ut vidit iuvenem singula quaeque curiose conspicere, respexit ad regem et ait: 'But one of the elders reclining next to the king saw how the young man looked at every single thing. He turned to the King and said:'
14, RB 15-16	quidam senex invidus iuxta regem discumbens vidit iuvenem curiose singula respicientem et ait regi:

quidam de senioribus (RA) ~ *quidam senex invidus* (RB): *RB* in correcting has made a mistake here: *RA*'s *seniores* are the πρεσβύτεροι 'the elders' in the sense of 'regents', cf. LSJ, s.v. πρέσβυς (III): Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. πρεσβύτερος (2). Hence their place of honour next to the king. *RB*'s *senex invidus* is no more than a banal substitution; *senior* (RA) = *senex*, already found in Sen., *Herc.* 1032; id., *Oed.* 667.

singula quaeque curiose conspicere (RA): C. Morelli, 'Apuleiana', *SIFC* 20, 1913 (pp.145-188), p.183 refers to Apul., *Met.* 24,24 *curiose singula considerabam* = Garbugino, p.120 (in my view a coincidence).

14, RA 21-22	"Bone rex, vides: ecce, cui tu benignitatem animi tui ostendis, bonis tuis invidet et fortunae." '"Noble king, do you see? Look the man to whom you are showing the kindness of your heart is envious of your possessions and your good fortune."'
14, RB 16	"Bone rex, ecce homo, cui tu benignitatem animae tuae ostendisti, fortunae tuae invidetur."

vides (RA): For several reasons the manuscript reading (**P**, **Rα** [L.G.Atr.]) should be retained here; in Late Latin the indic. sometimes has the function of an imperat., cf. V. Bulhart, *Euseb. Vercell.*, Praef. XI § 9 (*adfers* = *adfer*; *aufers* = *aufer*); LHS II, p.327; Svennung, *Unters.*, p.438, p.458; Uddholm, *Form. Marc.*, p.151; Adams (1976), p.68. This is partly connected with the suppression of the final syllable in pronunciation. A second argument is the Greek, where an interrogative clause or conclusion often starts with ὁρᾷς 'do you see?', cf. LSJ, s.v. ὁράω (4): Sophocl., *Electra 628*; Eurip., *Androm.* 87.

cui tu (RA) ~ *homo, cui tu* (RB): The failure to express the antecedent in *RA* (*cui* = *is, cui*) is elegantly remedied by *RB*, cf. 8, RA 2/RB 1.

(benignitatem) animi tui (RA) ~ *animae tuae* (RB): Perhaps this change can be attributed to the preference of Christian authors for *anima* (ψυχή) above *animus*, cf. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Synt.* II, p.13. Or does *anima* simply mean 'mind'?, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *anima* (5).

bonis tuis <...> **et fortunae** (RA) ~ *fortunae* (RB): This is probably a deliberate simplification by *RB*: for him *fortuna* means especially 'the real, practical advantages', cf. 11, RA 2/RB 2-3 (comm.).

invidet (RA) ~ *invidetur* (**b**, **Va**, *item* 18; invidet **βMπ**): Late Latin uses *invideor* in the sense of *invideo*, cf. ThLL VII,2 196,21-41, e.g. Minuc. Felix. 38,7 *quid ingrati sumus? quid nobis invidemur?*; Commod., *Apol.* 154 (diabolus) *qui, dum invidetur homini, perit ipse*. Cf. Salonius, *Vit. Patrum*, p.252; Heraeus, *Kleine Schriften*, p.126.

14, RA 22-24 Cui rex ait: "Amice, suspicaris male, nam iuvenis iste non bonis meis aut fortunae meae invidet, sed, ut arbitror, plura se perdidisse testatur." 'But the king said to him: "Friend, your suspicions are unfounded. This young man does not envy my possessions or my good fortune, but in my opinion he gives proof that he has lost much more."'

14, RB 17 Rex ait: "Male suspicaris. Nam iuvenis iste non invidetur, sed plura se perdidisse testatur."

Amice (RA) ~ (RB /): Cf. LSJ, s.v. φίλος: 'φίλε "my friend", as a form of courteous address'. Naturally *RB* had to drop this term of address, since the king's words ultimately involve a reproach.

bonis meis aut fortunae meae (RA) ~ (RB /): A typical example of so-called λέξις εἰρομένη ('loose or running style'), in which words already used are solemnly repeated, cf. Herod. 1,88 (conversation between Croesus and Cyrus) "Πόλιν τε τὴν σὴν διαρπάζει καὶ χρήματα τὰ σὰ διαφορέει." Κροῖσος δὲ ἀμείβετο· "Οὔτε πόλιν τὴν ἐμὴν οὔτε χρήματα τὰ ἐμὰ διαρπάζει <...>." '"The army ruins your city and drags away your possessions." But Croesus answered: "Neither my city nor my possessions he ruins."'

14, RA 24-26 Et hilari vultu respiciens iuvenem ait: "Iuvenis, epulare nobiscum. Laetare et gaude et meliora de deo spera!" 'And turning cheerfully to the young man he said: "Young man, join in our feast; rejoice and be of good cheer, and hope for better things from God!"'

14, RB 19-20 Et hilari vultu respiciens Apollonium ait: "Iuvenis, epulare nobiscum et meliora de deo spera!"

hilari vultu respiciens (RA/RB); Garbugino, p.120 refers to Apul., *Met.* III,12 hilaro vultu renidens, in my view a coincidental parallel.

epulare <…> **Laetare et gaude** (RA) ~ *epulare* (RB): The combination of eating and enjoying oneself typifies the Ancient World: Hom., *Od.* 2,311 δαίνυσθαι <…> καὶ εὐφραίνεσθαι is perhaps one of the earliest attestationa. See also Luc. 12,19 Ψυχή, <…> ἀναπαύου, φάγε, πίε, εὐφραίνου 'My soul, <…> recline, eat, drink, rejoice.' It is unclear why *RB* omits precisely this element. Perhaps he thought the phrase was too exuberant and also derived from a different cultural sphere.

meliora de deo spera (RA/RB): In its vagueness this exhortation can be used in all cultural circles, both Latin and Greek, in singular and plural. Some examples: Terent., *Phorm.* 5,1005 *mi homo, di melius duint*; Cic., *Cat. mai.* 47, *di meliora*; Verg., *Aen.* 1,139 *dabit deus his quoque finem*; Ov., *Met.* 7,37 *di meliora velint*; Octavia 83 *Dabit afflictae meliora deus tempora mitis*; Sid. Apoll., *Epist.* 3,6: *fas est de cetero sperare meliora*; for Greek, cf. Hom., *Od.* 8,413 καὶ σύ, φίλος, μάλα χαῖρε, θεοὶ δέ τοι ὄλβια δοῖεν! (cf. 6,180; 7,148; 24,402); see also Headlam (op. cit., p.335) on Herondas, *Charact.* 7,25. The Greek Novel shares this conviction. If Xen. Eph. usually confines himself to a form of θαρρεῖν 'to have confidence', a more explicit formulation is found in Heliod. 5,11,3 "σοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων οἱ θεοὶ τοσαῦτα δοῖεν ὅσα κατὰ γνώμην ὄντα τὴν σὴν εἰς κόρον τελεσθῆναι" 'May the gods reward you for this by granting you the satisfaction of all your desires.' From all this we can draw the cautious conclusion that, despite the Christian formulation, this component forms part of the original material of **HA(Gr)**. (Klebs, p.367 would delete [laetare et gaude], likewise p.190 [meliora de deo spera], without any further proof; Schmeling, *Notes*, p.142 [on 11,9-12] *aliter*.)

CHAPTER 15

15, RA 1-2 Et dum hortaretur iuvenem, subito introivit filia regis, speciosa atque auro fulgens, iam adulta virgo. 'And while the king was encouraging the young man, suddenly in came his daughter, beautiful and glittering with gold, already a grown-up girl.'

15, RB 1-2 Et dum hortatur iuvenem, subito introivit filia regis, iam adulta virgo,

dum hortaretur (RA) ~ *dum hortatur* (RB): A common correction, cf. *RA* 3-4/RB 2-3.

subito (RA/RB), cf. 2, RA/RB 1 (comm.). Greek readers will have been very surprised by this turn of events in the novel. The δεῖπνον is over and gradually merges into a συμπόσιον, as in almost all Greek novels, cf. Zimmermann, p.96. The fact that a girl enters and starts to speak is most remarkable, cf. Soph., *Aiax* 293 γύναι, γυναιξὶ κόσμον ἡ σιγὴ φέρει. 'Woman, silence adorns woman'; Eurip., *Heracl.* 476 γυναικὶ γὰρ σιγή τε καὶ τὸ σωφρονεῖν κάλλιστον 'For a woman silence and to be sober are the most beautiful thing'; Heliod. 1,21,3 πρέπειν γὰρ οἶμαι γυναικὶ μὲν σιγὴν 'For I think that silence becomes a woman'; see also Arist., *Polit.* 1260 a 30. J. Maillon (on Heliod. 1,21,3, Paris 1960[2], p.32) therefore observes: 'A la maison même elle (la femme athénienne) observait une parfaite réserve et n'assistait jamais aux συμπόσια.' Her conduct here is justified inasmuch as this is an esoterical scene at a strange, non-Greek court and required within the story, cf. R.M. Rattenbury, 'Traces of Lost Greek Novels', in: J.U. Powell, *New chapters in the History of Greek Literature,* 3 ser., Oxford 1933 (pp.211-257), p.248 ff.; Kussl (1991), p.145 n.4; Lightfoot (1999), p.416 with examples of such freedom at συμπόσια in Persian culture (Hdt 5,18,2 ff.) and Celtic high society (Parth. Ἐρωτ. παθήμ. VII,5). In Etruscan culture, too, women freely joined men during ceremonial meals, cf. R.S.P. Beekes, *The origin of the Etruscans* (mededelingen van de KNAW, deel 66 [no.1]), Amsterdam 2003, p.33. An interesting parallel illustrating Archistratis' bold conduct is offered by a scene in the *Acta Thomae,* cc.4-5. This involves a wedding-party of the daughter of a local King Gundophar (who cannot be identified), where a female flute-player is introduced without further comment (loc. cit., p.108). These flute-players enjoyed a doubtful reputation, cf. Bremmer (2001), p.79. This characterizes the situ-

ation in the *HA* even more (with thanks to A. Hilhorst for the reference.) It is highly questionable whether this scene can be connected with two papyrus texts from Oxyrinchus dated to the 3rd c. AD: *PSI* II 151 (= Pack 2624^2) and *P. Mil. Vogliano* 260. They relate how a figure, also named Apollonius, is approached at a banquet (the scene takes place in an Oriental environment) by the queen for a nocturnal tryst. Several studies have tried to identify this Apollonius with the Apollonius of the *HA*. This hypothesis has met with stiff resistance and finds few supporters today. An excellent survey is provided by Garbugino, pp.145-50 'L'Apollonio dei papiri' with an edition of both texts, a list of the various text editions and relevant studies and a brief, matter-of-fact refutation. Compare also Introd., n.4.

filia regis (RA/RB): It is extremely curious that we are not immediately told the name of the princess, nor that of her mother, and that the present *HA* pays no attention to the fact that the mother has died. This absence of information is probably due to **R(Gr)**, cf. Introd. V. The name of the princess was probably *Archistratis*, in Greek 'Αρχιστρατίς, as a feminine form alongside *Archistrates*, 'Αρχιστράτης. (For a suggestion as to the geographical provenance of the names of both father and daughter, cf. 13, RA/RB 8 [comm.].) Perhaps we can also point to ἀρχίς, -ίδος, fem. of ἄρχων (cf. LSJ). This absence of the name *Archistratis* on the one hand and the confusion following from the name of her father *Archistrates* on the other has caused many problems in the tradition in all those places where her name or person is in question (cf. text and app. crit. on 18, RB 1; 25, RA 9-10; 29, RA 13/RB 11-12; 49, RA 2-3/RB 1.4.10). This last place 49, RB 10 *sonat per Ephesum Tyrium Apollonium regem uxorem suam Archistratem cognovisse* is the only place where <u>all</u> the manuscripts of *RB* offer the form *Archistratem* fem. acc. (unfortunately we do not have a nom. anywhere). The form *Archistratis*, which Klebs, p.30 also accepts, is therefore purely based on the hypothetical form 'Αρχιστρατίς. Perhaps the confusion of -ης/-ις was already at work in **R(Gr)**. The assumption that she was called *Archistratis* is supported by the fact that the Greek Novel has many proper names and nouns with possible variation between -ης (masc.) and -ις (sometimes -ίς) (fem), cf. *Less.*: thus ἀλήτης 'wanderer' ~ ἀλῆτις; δεσμώτης 'prisoner' 'captive' ~ δεσμῶτις; δεσπότης 'master' 'lord' ~ δεσπότις; ἐργάτης 'workman' ~ ἐργάτις; Μεμφίτης 'inhabitant of Memphis' ~ Μεμφῖτις; οἰκέτης 'to serve' ~ οἰκέτις 'female slave'; Πέρσης ~ Περσίς; πολίτης 'citizen' ~ πολῖτις; πρεσβύτης 'old man' ~ πρεσβῦτις; Συβαρίτης 'inhabitant of Sybaris' ~ Συβαρῖτις; συγγενής 'kinsman' ~ συγγενίς; ὑπηρέτης 'servant' ~ ὑπηρέτις. There is another, second linguistic argument. The feminine forms listed above do not have the same declensional endings. Thus a form like Περσίς produces the form -ίδα in the acc. But we also find an acc. ending in -ιν, e.g. δεσπότιν, οἰκέτιν, especially in the Greek Novel: Heliod. 8,9,17 ἐργάτιν;

id. 7,12,7 τὴν πρεσβῦτιν (cf. ibid. 7,17,1); Charit. 2,9,1 Συβαρῖτιν. This ending -ιν would lend itself particularly well to a Latin translation *Archistratem* both because of the vowel change and because of the form (for the so-called *accusativus regens*, see 31, RB 1.4 *Dionysiada* [comm.]). To clear up the question of the princess's name, the Latin tradition started at an early stage to supply substitute names like *Lucina* (25, RA 9-10 in the reading of Va^c [12th c.]) and *Cleopatras* (49, RB 4.9 in π [early 13th c.]). She was also awarded the name *Camilla* (Klebs, p.68 gives a wrong signature; it should be RT 5, anno 1478 [ed. m. (1984), p.5] and RC 16, 13th c. [ed. m. (1984), p.21]). For this Camilla, a Volscian heroine, who died in the war between Aeneas and Turnus, see Verg., *Aen.* 7,803-817; 11,535. For her later significance, cf. E. Auerbach, *Literatursprache und Publikum in der lateinischen Spätantike und im Mittelalter*, Bern 1958, chapter III: 'Camilla oder über die Wiedergeburt des Erhabenen'. (Schmeling's suggestion that Apollonius' wife was anonymous and that *Archistrates/-is* should be explained as 'simply the young daughter of Archistrates' [Schmeling, *Notes*, pp.390-2: quotation p.391; refuted by Garbugino, p.40 n.52)] goes against the ms. tradition, cf. 49, RB 10 [quoted above] where Schmeling [1988] puts *Archistratem* [offered by all RB codd.] between brackets and notes in his app. crit. [p.81,1]: 'Archistratem *delevi post* [= after, following] *RA*.') (I thank Prof. W.J. Aerts for drawing attention to this reference and illuminating this problem.)

speciosa atque auro fulgens (RA) ~ (RB /): This is probably an authentic component in *RA* (καλὴ καὶ χρυσῷ λάμπουσα (?)), cf. LSJ, s.v. λάμπω 'to shine': Hom., *Il.* 12,463 φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ <…> λάμπε δὲ χαλκῷ 'the radiant Hector <…> gleaming with brass', deliberately eliminated by *RB*. Ostentatious finery in women is condemned by both pagan and Christian authors, cf. Plin., *Paneg.* 83 (said of Empress Pompeia Plotina, wife of Emperor Traianus): *quam modica cultu, quam parca comitatu, quam civilis incessu*. For Christian authors, e.g.: Paul, 1 Tim. 2:9-10 *Similiter et mulieres in habitu ornato, cum verecundia et sobrietate ornantes se et non in tortis crinibus aut auro aut margaritis vel veste pretiosa, sed quod decet mulieres promittentes pietatem per opera bona*. Church Fathers devote separate treatises to the subject: Tert., *De cultu feminarum*; Cypr., *De habitu virginum*. A brief description in Ruf., *Hist.* 8,12,5 (virgines) *ornatae moribus magis quam monilibus*. In a broader context, also in relation to the Greek Novel, cf. Söder, p.132 'Das erotische Element'.

speciosa P ~ *speciosa micans* **Va^c**: **Va^c** has supplemented the **P** reading with the standard word *micare*, used frequently in *tituli* to indicate the splendour of (mostly Roman) churches, cf. R. Favreau, *Epigraphie Médiévale*, Brepols, Turnhout 1995, p.115 (This *micans* is wrongly inserted in the text by Schmeling, p.11,13).

iam adulta virgo (RA/RB): *iam* has been omitted in the mss. by **b** (cf. ed. m. [1984]: adulta **b**: iam adulta **βMπ**; Klebs, p.77 wrongly: 'in βπ fehlt *iam*'). This *iam* is probably an *indicium graecae originis*: Latin literature often has *adulta virgo* without *iam* (cf. ThLL I 802,57), but the Greek Novel likes to add ἤδη, cf. Xen. Eph. 2,3,1 ἦν δὲ καλὴ καὶ ὡραία γάμων ἤδη 'She was beautiful and already of marriageable age'; Heliod. 2,22,1 θυγάτηρ τε τοῦ ἑστιάτορος ἤδη γάμου ὡραία 'their host's daughter, a young lady of already marriageable age'; cf. id., 10,3,1; also in other references to age: Long. 3,30,5 ἤδη <…> μειράκιον ἦν 'he was already a boy'. Naturally this is found elsewhere in Greek literature, e.g. Xen., *Cyr.* 4,6,9 ἔστι δέ μοι, ἔφη, καὶ θυγάτηρ παρθένος ἀγαπητὴ γάμου ἤδη ὡραία 'I have' he said 'also a daughter, much beloved and already marriageable'; Lucian., *Toxaris* 22 ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ μήτηρ πρεσβῦτις καὶ θυγάτριον ὡραῖον ἤδη γάμου 'besides an aged mother he had also a daughter already marriageable', cf. ibid. 24. So this means that Archistratis was around 15 years old, cf. Ninos novel A 3,1-3 (ed. Kussl, p.19) παρ' ἡμῖν πεντεκαίδεκα ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐτῶν γαμοῦνται παρθένοι 'with us, girls mostly get married at the age of 15 years'.

15, RA 2-3	Dedit osculum patri, post haec discumbentibus omnibus amicis. 'She kissed her father, then all the reclined house-friends.'
15, RB 2	et dedit osculum patri, deinde discumbentibus amicis.

dedit osculum (RA/RB): In view of its literary and cultural-historical importance, this passage has been the subject of much controversy in the scholarly literature. The translation is unambiguous and leaves no room for misinterpretation. The **P** readings *obsculum* and *obscularetur* are very common, particularly in Italian codices, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, p.40 (see also the end of this note). Critics have tried to make this curious fact of a kissing princess acceptable in all kinds of ways. The least successful solution is that of Klebs, p.215, who finds a 'Welt der Phantasie' here. Another problem is that he fails to devote a single word to other proposed interpretations, in particular a Greek background and the possibility of a translation error (Riese [1893], Praef. XVIII). Other interpretations are closely connected with the overall view of the *HA*. Thus W. Kroll, a convinced supporter of a Latin original, believed that the scene describes a courtly custom (*Real-Enzykl.*, Suppl. V, p.519 article 'Kuß'), a theory taken up by W. Braun, to illustrate a similar kissing scene in the medieval *Ruodlieb* (*Studien zum Ruodlieb*, Berlin 1962; on IV 163, 167). This theory of a courtly ritual was somewhat limited by the position that it is an

esoterical custom at an Oriental court, in particular F.J. Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, I 156 ff.; 186 ff.; II 159 ff.; III 79 ff. A Christian interpretation saw an analogy to a liturgical kiss (*osculum sanctum*, φίλημα ἅγιον) in this scene, cf. Rom. 16:16; 1 Cor. 16:20; 2 Cor. 13:12; 1 Thess. 5:26; 1 Pet. 5:14. The most serious approach imputes the occurrence of *osculum* and its interpretation to a translation error. There are several possibilities here. As P.J. Enk put it (*Mnemosyne* I, 1948, p.232): 'It does not seem probable to me that the princess kissed all the friends. Presumably the adapter has confused προσκυνεῖν with κυνεῖν. The simplex κυνεῖν may, after all, mean as well προσκυνεῖν, cf. Anth. Palat. VI 283.' Yet the choice of προσκυνεῖν as substrate verb poses problems, cf. the description in LSJ, s.v. προσκυνεῖν (2): 'especially of the Oriental fashion of prostrating oneself before kings and superiors.' This seems too much for the princess under the given circumstances. It seems better to translate from ἀσπάζομαι, which can mean 'to greet' in the most general sense, including a kiss on the hand, sometimes with a kiss on the face, cf. LSJ, s.v. (2) 'to kiss' 'to embrace'; *Less.*, s.v. ἀσπάζομαι. So the situation resembles that in Lucian., *Philopseud.* 27 ἅμα ταῦτα λεγόντων ἡμῶν ἐπεισῆλθον οἱ τοῦ Εὐκράτους υἱοὶ ἐκ τῆς παλαίστρας <...> καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι ἡμᾶς ἐκαθέζοντο ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης παρὰ τῷ πατρί 'And while we were talking there, the sons of Eucrates came in from the palaestra and, after having saluted us, they took place next to their father on the couch.' In effect *RA* took the wrong shade of meaning: *dedit osculum patri, salutavit omnes amicos*. Perhaps a mitigating circumstance for *RA*(*RB*) is that Greek, and particularly the Greek Novel, not only has the conceptual confusion involved in ἀσπάζομαι, but can also use the verbs in question interchangeably: Xen., *Cyr.* 6,4,10 οὐκ ἔχουσα ἡ Πανθεία πῶς ἂν ἔτι ἄλλως ἀσπάσαιτο αὐτόν, κατεφίλησε τὸν δίφρον 'Panthea had no other possibility to kiss him (sc. Cyrus), so she kissed his chariot'; Xen. Eph. 2,7,5 Ταῦτα λέγουσα ἐφίλει τε αὐτὸν καὶ περιέβαλλε καὶ τὰ δεσμὰ ἠσπάζετο καὶ τῶν ποδῶν προυκυλίετο 'With this she kissed him, embraced him, clung to his chains, and rolled at his feet'; id., 1,9,6 τὸ πρόσωπον ἠσπάζετο 'she kissed him all over his face'; id., 1,9,7 φιλοῦσα δὲ αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἀφθαλμοὺς 'she kissed his eyes'. Perhaps the somewhat infelicitous expression in *RA*(*RB*) is therefore embedded more deeply in the textual genesis of *HA* (**R[Gr]**?). (To conjecture *obsequium* and *obsequeretur* from *osculum*, as Schmeling does in all three recensions [p.11,14-15; p.54,20-21; p.93,11-12], is wrong in terms of both language and manuscripts and does not agree with his interpretation of Enk.)

amicis (RA/RB): Cf. annotation 14, RA 1. The omission of *omnibus* is significant for *RB*.

15, RA 3-4 Quae dum oscularetur, pervenit ad naufragum. Retrorsum rediit ad patrem et ait: 'And as she was kissing them she came to the shipwrecked man. She went back to her father and said:'

15, RB 2-4 Quae dum singulos osculatur, pervenit ad naufragum. Rediit ad patrem et ait:

oscularetur (RA) ~ *singulos osculatur* (RB): By adding *singulos*, *RB* makes the succession of events clear, also in relation to *pervenit* 'finally she came to'. The reading *singulis* **b** seems due to the influence of *discumbentibus amicis*: lexicons do not provide examples of *osculari* + dat. (Schmeling, *Notes*, p.388-9 [on ed. 54,21 *singulos* **βMπ**] *aliter*).

Retrorsum rediit (RA) ~ *Rediit* (**βMπ**; *Redita* **b**): The pleonastic use of *retro* (*retrorsum*) *redire* is correct Latin, cf. *retro redire* (Liv. 24,20,3; 24,40,9), *retro regredi* (Bell. Afr. 50,2), *retro revocare* (Veg. Mil. 3,22), see LHS II, p.798. Greek has the same pleonastic mode of expression, cf. LSJ, s.v. ὀπίσω: Hom., *Od.* 11,149 πάλιν εἶσιν ὀπίσσω; Achill. Tat. 5,12,3 αὖθις <…> ἐπανέρχεται 'again <…> he comes back'; id. 5,15,1 ἀπετράπετο αὖθις 'he turned away'. Particularly interpolated mss. eliminate this redundant turn of phrase, but popular language has always had a fondness for it, cf. Linderbauer on *Regula Benedicti* 58,23. As regards *Redita* **b** ~ *rediit* **βMπ**, the **b** reading may be correct as such, cf. 17, RB 11 *discessi sunt* **b** (cf. comm.) ~ *discesserunt* **βMπ**. But the word order *redita ad* and the fact that this participle must then be taken as a finite verb argue as a whole against such a reading for *RB*.

15, RA 4-6 "Bone rex et pater optime, quis est [nescio] hic iuvenis, qui contra te in honorato loco discumbit et nescio quid flebili vultu dolet?" '"Good king and best of fathers, who is the young stranger who is reclining opposite you in the place of honour, and who is grieving and looking unhappy for some unknown reason?"'

15, RB 4-5 "Bone rex et pater optime, quis est iste iuvenis, qui contra te honorabili loco discumbit et flebili vultu nescio quid dolet?"

Bone rex et pater optime (RA/RB), cf. 17, RA 17-18/RB 15-16 and 14, RA 7: The usual combination of positive followed by superlative is preserved in a chiastic arrangement, cf. Salonius, *Vitae Patrum*, p.196; Linderbauer, p.109; Bieler, p.168. Translation into Greek is of course possible: in parti-

cular πάτερ κράτιστε would be apt, cf. LSJ, s.v. κράτιστος (2 b): 'mode of address', and P. Steinmetz on Theophr., *Char.* 5,2 (Theophrast, *Charaktere*, München 1962, II pp.78-9): 'ein besonders liebenswürdiges Kompliment'. The posit.-superlat. combination might even go back to **R(Gr)**. It is very common in Byzantine Greek, cf. Tabachovitz (1926), pp.17-8. It occurs 5x in the *Hist. Laus.*, cf. Bartelink ch. 2, l.8 (comm. p.311).

[nescio] hic iuvenis (RA) ~ *iste iuvenis* (RB): This elliptical phrasing is found elsewhere in the *HA* too: 14, RB 3 *beneficio nescio cuius adolescentis*; 15, RA 6/RB 5 *nescio quid <…> dolet*; 26, RA 22 *nescio quod funus* (RB /); 48, RA 16/RB 10 *venisse nescio quem regem*. The forms *nescio quis = aliquis*; *nescio quid = aliquid* and *nescio quomodo = aliquo modo* are very common in Latin (cf. LHS II, 537[3], 648[4]; Kühner-Stegmann II, 491). But a form *nescio hic* is not afforded by the lexicons (Blaise; *Nov. Gloss.*). Greek does have the phrase οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως 'I know not how'; οὐκ οἶδ' ὁπόθεν 'I know not from where', cf. LSJ, s.v. εἴδω (B) *pf.* οἶδα (7). It is also found in the Greek Novel: Achill. Tat. 5,11,6 ὁ δὲ οὐκ οἶδα τί παθὼν ὑπερηφανεῖ 'This young man having experienced I do not know what, ignores her'; Heliod. 2,30,4 σὺ δὲ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι βουλόμενος παίζεις ἡμᾶς 'But for some reason (= *nescio quid volens*) you are making fun of us.' But there is no equivalent for *nescio hic* in the Greek Novel. We could follow Konstan, p.66 in assuming that *nescio hic* here 'is a non-classical demonstrative form of *nescio quis*.' But where no parallel exists it is perhaps better to assume that *nescio* has arrived here from RA 6 *nescio quid <…> dolet*. The change from *hic* (RA) to *iste* (RB) is classical, cf. 7, RA 8 *ista* ~ RB 8 *haec*.

in honorato loco (RA) ~ *honorabili loco* (RB), cf. 14, RA 16/RB 12: To a certain extent this provides a time-marker for *RB*: whereas *honoratus locus* forms the classical term (cf. ThLL VI,3 2950 with examples from Liv., Vell., Val. Maxim., Sen., *dialogi*; Amm. Marc.), *honorabilis* is found only in Christian authors (cf. ThLL VI,2 p.2932,69-2933,4), esp. in Cassiod. (examples from Tert., Vet. Lat., Rufin., August., Cass., *Variae*). The Thesaurus annotates for this place in the *HA*: *praevalente vi obiectiva de rebus suo honore praeclaris*, i.e. *honorabilis = honoratus*. The redactor of *RB* probably thought the ending *honor<u>atus</u>* too popular, cf. C. Mohrmann, *Aug.* 169 on *Serm.* 6,5,7 *populus ille in eremo cervicatus*, where she refers to forms like *cordatus, mamillatus, maritatus, pennatus, uxoratus*. *RB*'s omission of *in* (RA) is classical. A Greek substrate term for *honoratus locus* as 'the place of honour' is dubious. Possible candidates are Aesch., *Eum.* 8,50 τίμιος ἕδρα (cf. LSJ, s.v. τίμιος) or Lucian., *De merc. cond.* 26 ἔντιμος ἕδρα, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ἔντιμος).

nescio quid dolet (RA/RB): The phrase might go back directly to οὐκ οἶδα τί πονεῖ/ἀλγεῖ, cf. above *RA* 5 [*nescio*] *hic iuvenis*, comm.

15, RA 6-8 Cui rex ait: "Hic iuvenis naufragus est et in gymnasio mihi servitium gratissime fecit: propter quod ad cenam íllum invitávi (*v.*). 'The king said to her: "This young man has been shipwrecked and he gave me service in the gymnasium in an excellent manner; so I invited him to dinner.'

15, RB 5-7 Rex ait: "Nata dulcis, iuvenis ille naufragus est et in gymnasio mihi officium gratissimum fecit. Propterea ad cenam íllum rogávi (*pl.*).

Nata dulcis (RB): The allocution is cast in an almost poetic form. For this frequent phrase, cf. 16, RA/RB 3.

hic (RA) ~ *ille* (RB): Classical emendation.

servitium gratissime (RA) ~ *officium gratissimum* (RB): For these changes, see 14, RA 5/RB 4.

propter quod (RA) ~ **Propterea** (RB): An apparently negligible detail. *RA* probably overlies διότι, cf. LSJ, s.v. (2) 'wherefore, for what reason'; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. (2): 'Zu Beginn e. Folgerungssatzes *deshalb, daher*'; Heraeus, *Kleine Schriften*, p.92 n.1 refers to e.g. Vulg., Acts 18:10 διότι ~ (Vulg.) *propter quod*; ibid. 2,24 καθότι ~ (Vulg.) *iuxta quod*. *RB* normalizes, but in doing so probably eliminates a Graecism.

illum (RA/RB): I.q. *eum*; as a Late Latin work the *HA* has many places, in both recensions, where *ille* has the function of classical *is*, cf. 15, RA 8.9/RB 7.8; 19, RA 12; 20, RA 16/RB 12; 30, RB 5; 50, RA 4. For the phenomenon, cf. Adams (1976), p.72.

invitavi (RA) ~ *rogavi* (RB), cf. 14, RA 9/RB 7 *rogat te rex*. For the alternation *rogavi* **bπ**: *vocavi* **(M)π**, cf. 18, RA 8 *vocari*: RB 8 *rogari*.

15, RA 8-9 Quis autem sit aut unde, nescio. Sed si vis, interroga illum: 'However, I do not know who he may be or where he comes from. But, if you like, ask him:'

15, RB 7-8 Quis autem est aut unde sit, nescio. Sed si scire vis, interroga illum:

Quis autem sit aut unde (RA) ~ *Quis autem est aut unde sit* (RB): This passage poses a thorny text-critical problem. In Latin, including classical

authors, indirect interrogative clauses take the indic. (e.g.. Verg., *Ecl.* 4,52 [cod. R]; ibid. 5,6-7; *Georg.* 1,56; *Aen.* 6,615.779.855/6). In Late Latin this becomes the norm (cf. Salonius, *Vitae Patr.*, p.311), so much so that one sentence may contain both moods: Navig. Brendani (ed. Selmer) 1,53 *Cur me interrogas, unde sim aut quomodo vocor* (*v.l. vocer*)?; ibid., 6,10 *ignorabant, ex qua parte* (sc. ventus) *veniret aut in quam partem ferebatur navis*. *RB* seems to represent this variation of moods. The question itself is Homeric, cf. Hom., *Od.* 1,170 τίς πόθεν εἶς ἀνδρῶν· The Greek novelists adopted this formulation, either in direct interrogative clauses (Charit. 2,4,10; 3,9,5; 4,2,15; Achill. Tat. 5,17,4), or, as here, in an indirect form + subjunct.: Xen. Eph. 5,4,4 ἀνεπυνθάνετο ἥτις εἴη καὶ πόθεν 'he made enquiries as to who she was and where she came from', cf. id. 4,3,6; Heliod. 9,25,2 τίνες καὶ ὁπόθεν εἶεν ἠρώτα 'he inquired who they were and where they were from.'

Si vis (RA) ~ *Si scire vis* (RB), cf. 24, RB 18 *Sed si hoc iubes*: For the expression *si vis = si iubes*, cf. Salonius, *Vitae patr.*, p.404: for the addition *scire*, cf. Blatt, p.39,14: (*si vis*/*si iubes*) 'ist haüfig durch eine volltönendere Form ersetzt.' For the attrition of the form *vis*, see also 44, RA 19 *vim* **A** (i.q. vi). A Greek equivalent for *RA* suggests itself, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐθέλω (6): 'εἰ θέλεις "if you please"'; see also Headlam on Herond., *Charact.* 7,92; 8,6 'εἰ θέλεις <...> here expressing impatience as "please" often with us.' Naturally the formula εἰ θέλεις/ἐὰν θέλῃς is also found in the Greek Novel: (Charit. 2,4,9; 7,3,5; Xen. Eph. 1,4,3; Achill. Tat. 4,6,2; 6,3,6).

interroga illum (RA/RB): ἐξετάζω would be a good Greek equivalent here, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐξετάζω (II); Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. (2); Ghedini, no.29. Voor *ille = is*, cf. above *RA* 8.9/RB 7.8.

15, RA 9-10 decet enim te, filia sapientissima, omnia nosse. Et forsitan, dum cognoveris, misereberis illi." 'for it is fitting that you, my most wise daughter, should know everything. Perhaps when you have found out, you will feel sorry for him."'

15, RB 8-9 decet enim te omnia nosse. Forsitan, dum cognoveris, miserebitur illi."

filia sapientissima (RA) ~ (RB /): The allocution in *RA* seems wholly right, cf. 17, RA 13/RB 12 *amatrix studiorum*, also in relation to the Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. σοφός (b): 'later, σοφώτατος as a title'; for *amatrix studiorum* = φιλομαθής (see comm. on 17, RA 13). The term παιδεία plays an important role in other Greek novels, cf. Zimmermann, p.54 (on the

Metiochus-Parthenope novel); Kussl, p.157. Both here and at 23, RA 6 *filia sapientissima RB* eliminates *sapientissima*.

misereberis illi (RA) ~ *miserebitur illi* (RB): For *misereri* + dat. (Christian authors), cf. Ind. verb. The construction in *RB* is *miserebitur* (impers. verb, supplying *te*) *illi*, cf. Pacuv., *trag.* 354 *cepisti me istoc verbo, miseretur* (sc. me) *tui*. For other examples, mainly literary, see ThLL VIII 1120,66-80.

15, RA 10-12 Hortante igitur patre verecundissimo sermone interrogatur a puella Apollonius et accedens ad eum ait: 'So with her father's encouragement the girl asked Apollonius questions speaking very shyly. She approached him and said:'

15, RB 9-10 Hortante patre puella venit ad iuvenem et verecundo sermone ait:

verecundissimo (RA) ~ *verecundo* (RB), cf. 17, RA 8 *copiosissimam* ~ RB 7 *copiosam*: Given the devaluation of the comparative degree, *RB* prefers the positive, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. gradus.

interrogatur Apollonius et <…> **ait** (RA) ~ *venit* <…> *ait* (RB): *RB* corrects and abridges *RA*'s illogical sentence construction.

15, RA 12-13/RB 10-11 "Licet taciturnitas tua sit tristior, generositas autem (RA: tamen RB) tuam (RA: RB /) nobilitatem ostendit. '"Although your silence is rather melancholy, yet your noble appearance reveals your noble birth.'

Licet <…> **sit** (RA/RB): *licet* is construed with a certain liberty in the *HA*: + ind./subjunct. or absol., cf. Ind. verb. This accords with classical usage, cf. LHS II 605[3]. Usually *licet* is combined with *tamen* (RB).

generositas <…> **nobilitatem ostendit** (RA/RB): τόπος: *homo exterior* shows *homo interior*. For the immense popularity of this idea from the earliest times (cf. the epitaph of Scipio Barbatus CIL 1,6,3 *Quoius forma virtutei parissima fuit*), see a list in G.M. Cook, *The Life of Saint Epiphanius by Ennodius*, Washington Catholic University Press 1942, p.131 with examples from Cic., Ov., Petron., Eucherius, *vita Hil. Arel.* The image lives on into the Late Middle Ages (esp. hagiography). In Greek it is a pun on

εὐγένεια in two senses, cf. LSJ, (3) ‘bodily excellence’ and (2) ‘nobleness of mind’ (= γενναιότης). The Greek Novel provides all manner of parallels: Charit. 2,1,5 ’Αδύνατον, εἶπεν, ὦ Λεωνᾶ, καλὸν εἶναι σῶμα μὴ πεφυκὸς ἐλευθερόν ‘Leonas, he said, a person not freeborn cannot be beautiful’; Achill. Tat. 5,17,4 κέκραγε γάρ σου καὶ ἐν κακοῖς ἡ μορφὴ τὴν εὐγένειαν ‘Even in fallen circumstances, your beauty proclaims you a person of no mean birth’; Long. 1,7 κάλλος αὐτοῖς ἐξεφαίνετο κρεῖττον ἀγροικίας ‘beauty set off, more evident than commonly with children of the country’, cf. id., 4,17; Heliod. 5,18,7; 7,12,4; 10,34,4.

15, RA 13-14 Sed, si tibi molestum non est, indica mihi <*nomen et*> casus tuos.” ‘If it is not too painful for you, tell me your name and your misfortunes.”’

15, RB 11-12 Si vero molestum non est, indica mihi nomen et casus tuos.”

molestum non est (RA/RB): Klebs, p.277 is certainly right that the expression *si tibi molestum non est, indica mihi* ‘eine echte Formel der römischen Umgangssprache ist’, with support from Plaut., *Epid.* 460; id., *Poen.* prol. 50, *Persa* 599, *Rudens* 120; Terent., *Adelph.* 806; Cic., *pro Cluent.* 168, *Philipp.* 2,31, *ad Fam.* 5,12,10. But the phrase can do little to help his **Hi** theory, because as colloquial language it enjoys a long life (cf. Mombr. II 301,38). The phrase is fairly common, esp. in funereal inscriptions. Friedrich (on Catull. 55,1 *si forte non molestumst*) refers e.g. to CIL 118,1 *Hospes resiste et nisi molestust* (= molestum est) *perlege*. Translation into Greek poses few problems too. Thus Kroll (also on Catull. 55,1) refers to Plato, *Tim.* 17^{B} εἰ μή τί σοι χαλεπόν. Another option is Plat., *Phaedr.* 87^{a} εἰ μὴ ἐπαχθές ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ‘if it is not burdensome to say’.

<**nomen et**> **casus tuos** (RA): A necessary change of *omnes* **P**, in view of both *nomen et* Rα and *nomen et casus tuos* (RB). Apollonius’ answer is also based two questions (see *RA* 14-15 comm.).

15, RA 14-15	Apollonius ait: "Si nomen quaeris, Apollonius sum vocatus; si de thesauro quaeris, in mare perdidi." 'Apollonius replied: "If you want to know my name, I am called Apollonius; if you ask about my fortune, I lost it in the sea."'
15, RB 12-14	Apollonius ait: "Si necessitatis nomen quaeris, in mare perdidi: si nobilitatis, Tarsum reliqui".

For the sake of convenience we will first comment on *RA*'s answer, then on *RB*'s.

Si nomen quaeris (RA): These opening words are found frequently in epitaphs: *Carmina Epigrafica* 63,6 (= CIL V 6808) *nomen si quaeras*; 109,9 (= CIL VI 10627) *nomen si queris, iunge versuum exordia*; 222,5 (= CIL X 4183) *si nomen queres, qui legis, mensem priorem cogita*; CIL XII 631 *si nomen* <…> *requires, legendo cognoscis*, cf. app. fontium ad locum. A similar formulation is found abundantly in Greek epitaphs: εἰ δ'ὄνομα ζητεῖς, cf. W.A. Baehrens, *Beiträge zur Lateinischen Syntax*, Leipzig 1912, pp.333, 427, 464. Particularly in Asia Minor, e.g. A. Wilhelm, *Griechische Grabinschriften aus Kleinasien*, Berlin 1932, p.23: IG XIV 1565 εἰ δὲ θέλεις γνῶναι, τίς καὶ πόθεν, / οὔνομα τοὐμόν, Ἔκλεκτός τοι κικλήσκομαι 'if you wish to know my name, who I am and whence, I am called Elect.'

Apollonius sum vocatus (RA): In all its simplicity and directness this answer is completely in accordance with custom.

Si de thesauro (*thesaro* **P**) **quaeris, in mare perdidi** (RA): This part of Apollonius' answer does not call for much comment either. The form offered by **P** is the normal Italian variant of *thesauro*, cf. Pesaro < *Pisaurum*, Agosto < *Augustus*: for further references to *thesaurus*, cf. F. Arnaldi – P. Smiraglia, *Latinitatis Italicae Medii Aevi, Lexicon Imperfectum* (Bruxelles 1957-1964), s.v. *thesaurus*. The word *thesaurus/-um* is too established to justify far-reaching conclusions about a possible use of θησαυρός 'store' 'treasure' in **R(Gr).** Of course the reading *in mare* (RA/RB) (classical *in mari*) should be left intact.

The answer in *RB*'s version is a stylistically adjusted text, based in veiled terms on the official title *Apollonius, Rex Tyri*.

Si necessitatis (**bπ**: *necessitas* **β**) *nomen quaeris* (RB): *RB*'s formulation is deliberately mysterious. In my view, *necessitas nomen* is a refinement on *nomen* (RA), i.e. 'the name bestowed within social relations', cf. OLD, s.v. *necessitas* (8) 'a bond or obligation between persons'. This meaning is hard to establish lexicographically in the present place. See the material offered there. This problem of definition has led to many other sug-

gestions in the past. Riese (1893), Ind. s.v. *necessitas* regards it as a possible Graecism. He notes: ἐπιτήδεια? 'provisions'. Klebs, p.131 n.2 sees *necessitas* as 'verderbt'. In an earlier attempt at explanation (1988, pp.188-9) I proposed to interpret *necessitas* as *necessitas siderea*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *necessitas* (1): 'destin imposé par les astres'. Within *RB*'s endeavour to exclude astrology (cf. Introd. III.3) such an interpretation seems on consideration untenable.

The reading *necessitas nomen* **β**, followed by *nobilitas nomen*, can be explained as parataxis, cf. LHS II 27. Translate: the concept of 'necessity'; the concept of 'nobility'.

in mare perdidi (RB): The cryptic description continues. For readers the sentence is clear: 'If you inquire into my family name (= Apollonius), I lost it at sea'. This may mean that *RB* is going back to an ancient Greek wordplay Ἀπόλλων ~ ἀπόλλυμι/ἀπολλύω in the double sense of 'to destroy' and 'to lose'. This etymology harks back to Aeschyl., *Agam.* 1080-82 and enjoyed great popularity among the Greeks (cf. E. Fraenkel, *Aeschylus Agamemnon* III, Oxford 1950, p.492). Traces of it can even be detected in the NT, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. Ἀπολλύων. The pun was also favoured in Latin (cf. ThLL II 244,16), even in acts of martyrs (cf. Le Blant, *Actes des Martyrs*, p.202). Nevertheless, I do not believe that such a learned wordplay, possibly even retrieved from a Greek version, was in *RB*'s mind. The intervention is easy to explain from *RB*'s usual sophisticated approach. Instead of having Apollonius mention his name directly, as in *RA*, the name is withheld, because Apollonius was washed ashore as an anonymous castaway in Cyrene. He had already been forced to leave behind the second part of his title, i.e. *Rex Tyri*, on his hasty departure as an outlaw from Tarsus (c.11, RA/RB 3). The princess rightly asks for more information (*apertius indica*), upon which Apollonius explains his name and surname, so that the name *Apollonius* can now be mentioned in *RB* too (16, RB 6). As regards the philological details: for *nobilitatis* (sc. nomen), cf. 2, RA 10/RB 9 *nomen patris*. The reading *Tarsum* **b** should be retained, coming as it does from a leading manuscript within *RB*. It is a fossilized acc. esp. in place-names, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.* § 298. For the reading *Tarso* instead of the classical form *Tarsi* (loc.), cf. Ind. nom., ss.vv. T(h)arsus, Tyrus. For both readings, cf. Adams (1976), p.58. In this adaptation *RB* has not in fact made any use of *thesaurus* (RA): hence some manuscripts, esp. of the Misch groups, have a reading in tricolon like: *Regina, si proprium nomen quaeris, hic habes/hic est: Apollonius vocor; si nobilitas/nobilitatem* (*quaeris*), *Tharso reliqui*; *si opes, in mari/pelago perdidi*, cf. H. Hagen, *Philologischer Anzeiger* 3 (1871), p.539; W. Meyer, 'Zur lateinischen Text des Apollonius von Tyrus', *SBAW* 2 (1872) (pp. 3-28), p.16 in serious attempts at reconstruction!

15, RA 15-16	Puella ait: "Apertius indica mihi, ut intelligam." 'The girl said: "Explain to me more clearly, so that I can understand."'
15, RB 14	Puella ait: "Apertius indica, ut intelligam."

Apertius indica (RA/RB): This sentence is easily explained both from Latin (cf. ThLL II 224,66-76 s.v. *aperte*; ThLL VII 56 s.v. *indicare*) and from the language of the Greek Novel: Charit. 2,10,4 ὥστε σαφέστερον αὐτὸ δήλωσον 'tell me more clearly what you mean', cf. id., 6,5,6; Heliod. 1,27,2 τοῦ δὲ σαφέστερον ὅ τι λέγοι δηλοῦν ἱκετεύοντος 'when Theagenes appealed to him to say more clearly what he meant', cf. id., 10,36,1.

CHAPTER 16

16, RA 1-2	Apollonius vero universos casus suos exposuit et finito sermone lacrimas effúndere coépit (*pl.*). 'Then Apollonius recounted all his misfortunes, and when he had finished talking he began to weep.'
16, RB 1-2	Tunc ille universos casus suos exposuit. Finitoque sermonis conloquio fundere lácrimas cóepit (*pl.*).

universos (i.q. omnes) **casus suos exposuit** (RA/RB): For *universus/omnis* cf. 6, RB 12 (comm.), unnecessarily suspected by Klebs, p.284 n.1 ('Sowohl "nata dulcis" als "casus exponere" werden in der Historia von c.16 ab beständigt wiederholt, zum Teil aus offenbarer Interpolation'). The background figure is rather the omnipresent Odysseus, now with his stories at the court of the Phaiacians, cf. Hom., *Od.* 8,86.92.531; 9,1 ff.; for the formulation, cf. Xen. Eph. 3,4,4 διηγούμενος ἑκάστῳ τὴν συμφοράν 'describing for everyone his misfortune.'

lacrimas effundere (RA) ~ *fundere lacrimas* (RB): For *RA*, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐκχέω: 'δάκρυα, Plato, *Symp.* 215[e]; Plut., *Alcib.* 6.' For *RB*'s preference for simple verbs, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. verbum.

finito sermone (RA) ~ *Finitoque sermonis conloquio* (RB): See 2, RA 13/RB 12 *blando sermonis conloquio*.

16, RA/RB 3-4 Quem ut vidit rex flentem, respiciens filiam suam (RA: RB /) ait: 'When the king saw him weeping, he looked at his daughter and said:'

16, RA 3-4 "Nata dulcis, peccasti, quae, dum nomen et casus adolescentis agnosceres, veteres ei renovasti dolores. '"Sweet child, you have done wrong: wanting to know at all costs the name and misfortunes of this young man, you have renewed his old sorrows.'

16, RB 3-4 "Nata dulcis, peccasti. Dum vis nomen et casus adolescentis scire, veteres ei renovasti dolores.

Nata dulcis (RA/RB): A highly favoured poetic description for *filia* (*filius*), which can be traced back to original poetic usage: Lucret. 3,895 *nec dulces occurrent oscula nati praeripere*; Verg. *Aen.* 2,38 *dulces natos*, cf. 4,33 (Ps. Serv. *ad loc.*: *commune epitheton liberorum*); Hor., *Sat.* 2,3,199 *dulcem* <…> *natam*. For the *HA*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. nata dulcis. Likewise γλυκύς (γλυκύτατος), cf. LSJ, s.v. 'sweet' 'dear'; also in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. γλυκύς (III.b): Heliod. 4,8,7 ὦ γλυκεῖα καὶ μέχρις ὥρας θύγατερ 'My beloved, my daughter of an hour.'

peccasti (RA/RB), similarly ἁμαρτάνω, LSJ, s.v. (II) 'to do wrong'.

quae, dum nomen et casus adolescentis agnosceres, (RA) ~ *Dum vis nomen et casus adolescentis scire* (RB). *RA*'s redaction is based on the emendation by Schmeling (1994), 143 (**P** reads: dum e' [i.q. eius] nomen) (for other proposed emendations, see ed. m. [1984], ad loc.). *Agnoscere* is apt as a translation of ἀναγι(γ)νώσκω, LSJ, s.v. (I) 'to know well' 'to know clearly', because it also preserves much of the Greek form. *RB*'s rendering is shorter (*quae* omitted: beginning of the main clause) and crisper. For *scire* (RB), cf. 15, RB 8 *si scire vis*.

veteres ei renovasti dolores (RA/RB): Commentators (Klebs, p.285) have rightly pointed to a similar phraseology and situation in Verg., *Aen.* 2,3 *infandum, regina, iubes renovare dolorem* <…> *(6) sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros*. This *cognoscere* in Virgil may also have influenced *agnoscere* (RA) (cf. Löfstedt, *Coniectanea*, p.123). For the popularity of the image, see 41, RA 21 *recentem enim mihi renovasti dolorem*.

16, RA 4-6 Ergo, dulcis et sapiens filia, ex quo agnovisti veritatem, iustum est, ut ei liberalitatem tuam quasi regina ostendas." 'Therefore, my sweet

	and clever daughter, from the very moment you learned the truth, it is only just that like a real queen you should show your generosity towards him."'
16, RB 4-5	Peto itaque, domina, ut quicquid vis, iuveni dones."

A somewhat poetic, roundabout approach in *RA*, with Greek features, has been reduced by *RB* to a prosaic, direct request.

dulcis et sapiens filia (RA) ~ *domina* (RB): Probably for reasons of variation and abridgement, *RB* has replaced the context-embedded apostrophe (cf. *RA* 3 *dulcissima*; 15, RA 9 *filia sapientissima*) with the respectful address *domina*, cf. 50, RB 14 (in the solemn evocation scene) *Domina Tharsia, nata dulcis*. Apollonius also uses *domina* to address his wife. Even in the *lupanar* the ladies are called *domina*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. domina. This preference agrees with Christian language for terms of endearment (cf. Blaise, *Dict.* s.v. *domina*; id., *Manuel* § 43, p.63). The usage coincides with the use of κυρία in Late Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. κύριος, κυρία: in voc. 'madame': 'applied to women from fourteen years upwards (Epict., *Encheirid.* 40).' So the *RB* reading does mesh with Greek usage, but is probably independent here and primarily a reflection of wider reading. (Schmeling [1988], p.55,7 reads *unica* instead of *domina* **βMπ**,; id. *Notes*, p.389, an argument for this 'correction' drawn from RC [p.93,26].)

ex quo agnovisti veritatem (RA) ~ (RB /): Many commentators and translators connect *ei* (in the same line) as antecedent with *ex quo* 'from whom' (cf. Peters, loc. cit. p.116; Konstan, p.67; Sandy, pp.746-7). It seems better to take *ex quo* as a direct translation of ἐξ οὗ, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐκ (II): 'of time "since"', cf. 22, RA 9 *ex quo eum vidi* (RB /).

iustum est, ut ei liberalitatem tuam quasi regina ostendas (RA) ~ *Peto itaque* <...> *ut quicquid vis, iuveni dones* (RB): *RA* sounds Greek: *iustum est*, cf. LSJ, s.v. δίκαιος 'right': Herod. 1,39 δίκαιόν ἐστι 'it is just'; Aeschyl., *Prom.* 611, etc.; *liberalitatem*, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐλευθεριότης: 'esp. "freeness in giving" "liberality" (Plato, Arist.)' [also in the Glossaria, cf. GGL II 295,2]; *quasi*, cf. ὡσεί (both disyllabic) LSJ, s.v. 'like' 'just as'; *regina*, cf. LSJ, s.v. βασιλίς 'queen' 'princess'; *ostendas*, cf. LSJ, s.v. φαίνω, ἀναφαίνω 'to display'. The answer in the *RB* version is no more than a down-to-earth (*liberalitas* = *quicquid*) summary.

16, RA 6 Puella vero respiciens Apollonium ait: 'The girl looked at Apollonius and said:'

16, RB 5-6 Puella ut vidit sibi a patre ultro permissum, quod ipsa praestare volebat, respiciens iuvenem ait:

ultro (RB): Against his habit of abridgement, *RB* has a somewhat longer version, leading up to the *patris indulgentia*: the father is ultimately the owner of all; he must grant permission. Hence the legal wordplay *ultro permissum* ~ *ipsa praestare*. *RB* has taken the expression itself from 17, RA 6 *quod ipsa ultro praestare volebat*. This *ultro* 'of his own notion' is very frequent with verbs like *dare, offerre*, cf. Cic., *Planc.* 10,26 *ultro aliquid offerre*; Liv. 1,17,8 *offerendum ultro rati*; id. 27,46,3 *offerentibus ultro sese militibus*; Caes., *bell. gall.* 1,42 *cum id, quod antea petenti denegasset, ultro polliceretur*; Quint. 5,10,111 *has* (tabulas) *donavit his ultro*. The addition suits *RB*, who is keen in other legal matters too, see Introd., VII.2.1.

16, RA 6-8 "Iam noster es, iuvenis, depone maerorem; et quia permittit indulgentia patris mei, locupletabo te." '"Now you are one of us, young man; lay down your grief and because my father's permission enables me, I shall make you rich."'

16, RB 6-8 "Apolloni, noster es: depone maerorem et, quia patris mei indulgentia permittit, locupletabo te."

noster es (RA/RB): Klebs, p.287: 'Das ist eine in der Palliata öfter in demselben Sinne vorkommende Wendung.' He refers to Plaut., *Truc.* 953 *noster esto*; id., *Truc.* 207 *noster es*; id., *Miles* 350 *noster est*, cf. Terent., *Adelph.* 951. Many places can be added to this list, e.g. Verg., *Aen.* 2,148-149 *Quisquis es, amissos hinc iam obliviscere Graios: noster eris* (according to Servius words with which Roman generals received defectors). But the same turn of phrase exists in Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἡμέτερος: Plat., *Rep.* 556^{d} ἄνδρες ἡμέτεροι 'they are ours' (cf. J. Adam, Cambridge 1902); Xen., *Cyr.* 2,3,2 οἱ τε πολέμιοι ἡμέτεροι. The Greek Novel provides evidence too: Charit. 2,2,1 ἀλλὰ καλῶς καὶ ἐνθάδε νόμιζε σούς 'but on good grounds you must retain the people here too as yours', cf. id., 1,12,3 Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους φοβοῦμαι 'I am afraid of our own band as well'; Heliod. 6,13,3 οἱ ἡμέτεροι 'The men of our village here'. For a specific meaning of οἱ ἡμέτεροι 'our co-religionists', cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ἡμέτερος. A late example from the opposite camp: Moschus, *Pratum*

spirituale no. 161,19 ’Αληθῶς σύ με ἠνάγκασας ὧδε ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἐμὸς εἶ ‘In reality you have forced me (sc. the daemon of envy) to come here and now you are mine.’

indulgentia patris mei (RA) ~ *patris mei indulgentia* (RB): The fuller expression is found in 20, RA 15/RB 12 *clementiae <tuae> indulgentia*. This is the technical term as used in the codes of Constantine, Theodosius, Justinian for ‘permission of the Emperor’, as equivalent of: ‘the goodness of the Emperor’. The two terms *indulgentia* and *clementia* are combined in *Cod. Theod.* 2,6,1 *per indulgentiam clementiae nostrae* (ibid. 12,12,4) in a description of a decree by Emperor Constantine from 316 (cf. ThLL VII,1 1247,46; Klebs, p.236 [adding little support for his **Hi** theory]).

locupletabo te (RA/RB), cf. (?) πλουτίζω/πλουτοποιέω τινά ‘to make wealthy’ ‘to enrich’, cf. LSJ (Suppl.). The Glossaria suggest πλουτῶ, cf. GGL VI 653.

16, RA/RB 8	Apollonius vero (RA: RB /) cum gemitu (RA/RB: et verecundia *add.* RB) egit gratias (RA: grátias égit RB [*pl.*]). ‘Apollonius for his part sighed and thanked her.’

verecundia (RB): See 15, RA 11 *verecundissimo sermone*/RB *verecundo sermone*.

16, RA 9-10	Rex vero videns tantam bonitatem filiae suae valde gavisus est et ait ad eam: ‘The king was delighted to see his daughter being so kind, and said to her:’
16, RB 9-10	Rex gavisus tantam filiae suae benignitatem ait:

A good example of *RB*’s systematic and stylistic abridgement (*tantam* <…> *benignitatem*: hyperbaton; the popular *bonitas* [cf. Romance languages] is replaced with the more dignified *benignitas*; even *ait ad eam* is smoothed away).

16, RA 10-11 "Nata dulcis, me salvum habeas. Iube tibi afferre lyram et aufer iuveni lacrimas et exhilara ad convivium." '"Dear child, by my prosperity! Send for your lyre, take away from the young man his tears and cheer him up for the feast."'

16, RB 9-10 "Nata dulcissima, salvum habeas. Defer lyram et aufer iuveni lacrimas: exhilara convivium."

Nata dulcis (RA) ~ *Nata dulcissima* (RB): A justified use of the superlative in *RB*, who elsewheres like to 'correct' to the positive, cf. 15, RA 11 *verecundissimo* (RB *verecundo*) *sermone*.

me salvum habeas (RA) ~ *salvum habeas* (RB): A curious statement which has posed many problems to translators (Peters, loc. cit. p.106: Teures Kind, habe mich lieb!; Sandy, p.747: Sweet daughter, bless you!). In fact it is probably a solemn oath which the king swears by himself to reinforce a 'brilliant' idea: νὴ τὴν ἐμὴν σοι σωτηρίαν 'by my health' (σοι = eth. dat.), cf. Sophocles, s.v. σωτηρία: 'in obtestations: Arr., *Epict.* 3,23,11 τὴν ἐμὴν σοι σωτηρίαν (= *ita salvus sim*); id. 3,23,26 μὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν σωτηρίαν' (for further references, see there). So the construction and sentence are: 'as truly as you may have/preserve me in all health, send for your lyre' (cf. 14, RA 2-3 where the king also swears by his own, supreme well-being). By omitting *me*, *RB* thought he was creating a more general and obvious greeting: the expression *saluum habeas* is likely to have been understood, but a more specific grammatical explanation is difficult. Konstan's construction (loc. cit., p.67) '*habeo* with an adverb (*saluum* is adverbial accusative) is the equivalent of *sum* with an adjective' is very attractive, cf. 21, RA 5 *salvus sis* and Löfstedt, *Synt.* II, p.262 ff. on *salvum venisse*; Garvin, *Vit. Patr. Em.*, p.286. Perhaps we should also consider a Byzantine hortatory formula, cf. L. Rydén, 'A Misinterpreted Formula of Appeal in Byzantine Hagiography', *Eranos* 72 (1974), pp.101-5. The hortation might have been e.g.: οὕτως με σῶν (Hel. 9,8,4: σῶον Achill. Tat. 4,7,15) ἔχοις (*cf.* Xen., *An.* 7,6,32 ἐκεῖνο σῶον ἔχετε). The introductory adverb can be left out, cf. Rydén, loc. cit., p.104.

Iube tibi afferre lyram et aufer iuveni lacrimas (RA) ~ *Defer lyram et aufer iuveni lacrimas:* (RB): *RA* does not know and is deaf to the classical distinction *iubere aliquem afferre aliquid* and *iubere afferri*, cf. 16, RA 12 *iussit sibi afferri*: 16, RA 19 *iube mihi dari lyram*, but he is alive to the wordplay *afferre* and *aufer* (cf. Klebs, p.285). This pun is even tauter in *RB*: *defer* – *aufer*, since the lyre/cithara was hung on a hook from the earliest times (Hom., *Od.* 8,67 ἐκ πασσαλόφι κρέμασεν φόρμιγγα 'he hung his cither up on a hook'): a detail that does not escape *RB*'s notice. For *lyram* (RA/RB), see 16, RA 11-12.

et exhilara ad convivium (RA) ~ *exhilara convivium* (RB): By eliminating two words (*et, ad*), *RB* raises the sentence to a higher stylistic level. *RA*'s constructie is: *exhilara* (sc. eum) *ad convivium*, perhaps from Gr. (?) πρὸς τὸ σύνδειπνον. *RB* normalizes, cf. ThLL V,2 1437,16; Schmeling, *Notes*, p.143 (on 12,6 ad).

16, RA 11-12 Puella vero (RA:RB /) iussit sibi afferri lyram (RA: lýram adférri [*pl.*] RB). 'The girl sent for her lyre.'

The following scene of recital, music and dance is conceivable both in a Hellenistic environment and in Roman high society. Klebs, p.208 is too partisan in his enumeration of only Latin sources.

lyram (RA/RB): The probable substrate here is λύρα. This was a simple stringed instrument whose sound-box was formed by the carapace of a tortoise (or a wooden body of the same form) with ox-hide stretched over it. There were seven strings, which were usually plucked with the fingers or with a *plectrum* 'striker', cf. 16, RA 25/RB 22; 36, RA/RB 2. In the surviving Greek Novel the word λύρα itself occurs only once, in combination with κιθάρα (*cithara*), a later, evolved form of the lyre: Long. 3,23,2 Ἠχὼ <...> παιδεύεται δὲ ὑπὸ Μουσῶν συρίττειν, αὐλεῖν, τὰ πρὸς λύραν, τὰ πρὸς κιθάραν, πᾶσαν ᾠδήν. 'She <...> was taught by the Muses to play the pipes, the flute, the lyre and the cithara, and to sing songs of every kind.' For a similar combination, see *HA* 23, RA 13 (RB /). The κιθάρα is the musical instrument of choice in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less*, s.v. κιθάρα (Charit. 1x; Achill. Tat. 5x; Long. 4x; Heliod. 2x); κιθαρίζω (Achill. Tat. 1x), κιθάρισμα (Achill. Tat. 2x). In sculpture, too, Ἀπόλλων κιθαρῳδός is often represented leaning on this sturdier type of cithara, cf. 16, RA 23/RB 21.

16, RA 12-13 At ubi accedens <ac>cepit, cum nimia dulcedine vocis chordarum sonos, melos cum voce miscebat. 'When approaching she received it, she mingled the sound of the strings with her very sweet voice, tune with song.'

16, RB 11-12 At ubi accepit eam, nimia dulcedine chordarum miscuit sonum.

At ubi (RA/RB): This conjunction is used just a few times in the *HA*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. In these cases **A**, if present (**A** is lacking at this point), prefers *Ad*. Though the reading *Ad* (i.q. *At*) is defensible (cf. Löfstedt

[1911] p.287), the more general form has been retained in the text, cf. Introd. II.d; Adams (1976), pp.75-6.

cum nimia dulcedine vocis chordarum sonos, melos cum voce miscebat (RA) ~ *dulcedine chordarum miscuit sonum* (RB): *RA* chiastically describes the varied nature of a musical recital, in which song was intermixed with playing on the cithara/lyre, before, during, and in conclusion of the singing. Such recitals are of course frequent in the Greek Novel: Achill. Tat. 1,5,4 πλήκτρῳ τὰς χορδὰς ἔκρουε καὶ ὀλίγον ὅσον κιθαρίσας συνῇδε τοῖς κρούμασι 'He (sc. a servant) picked with his plectrum on the strings and after playing a while he added lyrics to the melody of his chords'; Heliod., 1,11,3 ψάλλειν τε πρὸς κιθάραν ἐπιστάμενον '(a slave girl) who could sing to the lyre'; id. 2,8,5 γλαφυρὸν τῇ κιθάρᾳ προσᾴδουσα 'her stylish singing to the lyre'. *RA* probably goes back to χορδή. For *melos* = τὸ μέλος, cf. LSJ, s.v. μέλος (3): 'melody of an instrument': Theogn. 761 φόρμιγξ δ'αὖ φθέγγοιθ' ἱερὸν μέλος ἠδὲ καὶ αὐλός 'And might the lyre for its part again resound the sacred melody as well as the flute.' *RB* has shortened this balanced play of language (*chordarum sonos* = *melos*) using the same words but in a different arrangement. As regards the strict grammatical form of *melos*, it could theoretically be masc. plur. acc., as archaic writers have it. Lewis & Short quote Cato on *Non.* 213,17 *quosdam melos*. A better option seems neut. sing. acc., cf. Aug., *Conf.* 10,33,5 *melos omne cantilenarum suavium*. The word in this form allowed *RA* to link up directly with μέλος 'melody', probably offered by **R(Gr).** (Garbugino, p.45 n.71 doubts the authenticity: 'soltanto in RA'.)

cum (RA) ~ (RB /): This abridgement by *RB* is based on knowledge of classical Latin. *Miscere* can be used both abs. (Cic., *Rep.* 2,1,1 *gravitate mixtus lepos*) and with prepositions, e.g. *cum* (Ov., *ex Ponto* 1,9,20 *cumque meis lacrimis miscuit usque suas*), *de* (Iuv. 14,322 *misce ergo aliquid de nostris moribus*), *ex* (Cic., *Off.* 3,33,119 *ex dissimillimis rebus misceri*). In his pursuit of brevity *RB* likes to omit prepositions.

nimia (RA/RB): *Nimius* is used sparingly in the *HA*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. It does not mean *magnus*, as Riese (1893), *Index* s.v. *nimius* suggests, but rather *maximus*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.* s.v. *nimius*: 'extrêmement grand', with a long list of references to indicate its popular nature, esp. in the Church Fathers.

miscebat (RA) ~ *miscuit* (RB): *RA*'s descriptive imperfect is merely an event for *RB*. (The above shows that there is not the slightest reason to delete *melos cum voce*, as Ring proposes, followed by many, cf. Schmeling [1988], ad loc. On the contrary, it should be kept in the text with Riese [1893], Praef. V [Klebs ignores this place as far as I can see].)

16, RA 13-15	Omnes convivae coeperunt mirari dicentes: "Non potest esse melius, non dulcius plus isto, quod audivimus!" 'All present at the dinner began to marvel and said: "Nothing could be better, nothing could be sweeter than this which we have heard!"'
16, RB 12-13	Omnes laudare coeperunt et dicere: "Non potest melius! Non potest dulcius!"

coeperunt mirari dicentes (RA) ~ *laudare coeperunt et dicere* (RB): *mirari* (RA) suggests the equivalent θαυμάζω, cf. LSJ, (2.c): 'to say with astonishment'.

Non potest esse melius (RA) ~ *Non potest melius* (RB): For the short form without *esse*, cf. below *RA* 27 *Non potest melius*, and 34, RA 16/RB 18 alongside e.g. Cic., *De orat.* 3,101 *quamquam illa ipsa exclamatio 'non potest melius' sit velim crebra* (Schmeling, *Notes*, p.143 [on 12,9 esse] normalizes).

non dulcius (RA): Actually a conjecture (Schmeling [1988]) for *non est dulcius* **P**. Another option is *non esse dulcius* (Riese [1893]).

plus isto, quod audivimus (RA) ~ (RB /): *RB*'s omission is probably deliberate: *plus* combined with the comparative, and the statement itself is moreover dispensable. But *plus* + comp. occurs elsewhere too in less polished language, cf. Blaise, *Dict.* s.v. *plus*: Eccl. 23,28 *oculi Domini multo plus lucidiores sunt super solem*. For a discussion of the broader context: Löfstedt, *Beiträge* p.31, *Spätlatein. Stud.* 27, *Peregr.* 59.95. The development of μᾶλλον in Greek runs parallel, cf. Kühner-Gerth I, p.26; LSJ, s.v. μάλα: II μᾶλλον (2): 'sts with a second Comp.'; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. μᾶλλον (1). Examples are found particularly in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. μᾶλλον (δ). For the theory that **R(Gr)** was written in Koine Greek following on from Late Greek popular, esp. hagiographical writings, see Tabachovitz (1926), p.43; Linnér (1943), p.80, where several examples of comp. + μᾶλλον are given. For the expression as a whole, cf. Achill. Tat. 8,14,1 καὶ ἐλέγετο μηδεπώποτε λιγυρώτερον οὕτως ἀκουσθῆναι 'and it was said that never before had such delicate music been heard.' For other, similar exclamations (usually doubled, as here: βαβαί, βαβαί; εὖγε, εὖγε; καλῶς, καλῶς), see H. Schmeck on Petron., *Cena Trim.* 37,10.

16, RA 15-16 Inter quos solus tacebat Apollonius. Ad quem rex ait: 'Among them Apollonius alone said nothing. The king said to him:'

16, RB 13 Apollonius tacebat. Rex ait:

The reduction requires no commentary.

16, RA 16-17/RB 13-15 "Apolloni, foedam rem facis. Omnes filiam meam in arte musica laudant. Quare (RA:RB /) tu solus tacendo vituperas?" '"Apollonius, your behaviour is disgraceful. Everyone is praising my daughter's musical skill; why do you alone criticize her by your silence?"'

tacendo vituperas (RA/RB): A correct use of the gerund, as Klebs, p.265 n.1 observes, cf. 19, RA 7/RB 6.

16, RA 17-19 Apollonius ait: "Domine rex, si permittis, dicam, quid sentio: filia enim tua in arte musica incidit, <*sed non didicit*>. 'Apollonius replied: "My lord king, with your permission I will say what I think: your daughter has stumbled on the art of music, but she has not learned it.'

16, RB 15-16 Apollonius ait: "Bone rex, si permittis, dicam, quod sentio. Filia tua in arte musica incidit, sed non didicit.

Si permittis (RA/RB), cf. 21, RA 13/RB 11.

quid sentio (RA) ~ *quod sentio* (RB): The reading *quid* **P** has been retained as an indirect question; for *RB* cf. Apul., *Met.* 5,10 *dicam enim libere quod sentio*.

in arte musica incidit (RA/RB), *sed non didicit* (RB): In view of the uncertainty in Late Latin regarding *in* + acc. or *in* + abl. with verbs of motion, the abl. has been retained as handed down by the main manuscripts of *RA* and *RB* (**P** and **bM** respectively). Following Riese (1893) most editors normalize here, cf. ed. m. (1984). He is also responsible for the addition *sed non didicit* (Rα[LGAtr]/RB), which editors, commentators and translators have unanimously accepted, cf. ThLL VII 902,33. The argument is that this could involve a Latin wordplay based on letter substitution,

cf. Klebs, p.285. The second part may have dropped out through homoioteleuton, cf. 13, RA/RB 5-6. On the other hand the *RA* reading (with ellipsis) can perhaps be explained from the Greek. As an equivalent of *incido*, CGL VI 556 offers e.g. περιπίπτω, cf. LSJ, s.v. (II): 'to fall in with'. They refer to Pl. *Leges* 682^{E} περιπεσόντες μουσικῇ τε καὶ ταῖς μέθαις 'when we fell upon the subject of Music and drinking-bouts' (transl. E.B. England, *The Laws of Plato*, vol. I, Manchester U.P. etc. 1921, p.359). In that case no further addition would be necessary: Apollonius merely remarks: 'Your daughter has fallen in with music', with the tacit message: 'she has far from mastered it'. For the fairly crude expression, cf. 20, RA 4-6/RB 3-5. But on the principle of an immediately understandable text and given the scanty evidence, I have set my doubts aside and followed the accepted reading, cf. 3, RA 9 (app. crit.). In any case readers will have caught the drift of the expression: Sen., *Ad Helv. matr.* 17,3-4 *omnes bonas artes non quidem comprendisti, attigisti tamen. Utinam* <…> *pater meus* <…> *voluisset te praeceptis sapientiae erudiri potius quam imbui!*

16, RA 19-20	Denique iube mihi dari lyram et statim scias, quod ante nesciebas." 'Now have the lyre given to me and you will find out at once what you did not know before."'
16, RB 16-17	Denique iube mihi tradi lyram et scies, quod nescis."

scias, quod <…> **nesciebas** (RA) ~ *scies, quod nescis* (RB): This expression occurs in countless variants in Latin literature, cf. Otto, *Sprichwörter*, p.312. Klebs, p.282 n.8 refers to other places: Plaut., *Trin.* 221 *qui sciant, quod nesciunt*; id., *Asin.* 300 *scibam ego te nescire*, cf. id., *Pseud.* 12; Terent., *Adelph.* 857 *ut illa quae te scisse credas, nescias*. The phrase is also favoured in the Church Fathers: Hier., *Epist.* 53,7 *ne hoc quidem scire, quod nescias*. But a similar turn of phrase exists in Greek. Thus Headlam (on Herondas 3,13) refers to Aristid. 2,573 πρότερον μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε οὐκ ᾔδειν πρὸς τί ποτ' εἴη τὸ <…>, νυνὶ δέ μοι δοκῶ γιγνώσκειν 'earlier I did not know what it might mean, now I believe I know it'; Aesch. 33,24 πρότερον μὲν οὐκ ᾔδειν – νῦν δε μεμάθηκα 'Formerly I did not know – now I have learnt'; LSJ, s.v. ἔνδοξος: *Erot. Fr.* 60 οὐκ ἔνδοξοι πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν, ἃ μὴ ἴσμεν 'not too proud to learn things we do not know.'

Apollonius' rather boorish behaviour in asking for Archistratis' lyre and thus humiliating her left a deep impression on medieval literature. To touch on just a few authors:

1. *Tristansage*, in the version by the poet 'Thomas', cf. E. Faral, *Romania* 43, 1914, pp.443-4; R.S. Loomis, *The romance of Tristan and Ysolt by*

Thomas of Britain, 1931; J. Bédier, *Le roman de Tristan par Thomas* (1905), I p.94; Archibald, cf. General Index, p.250.
2. *Philomena*, Provençal troubadour song, cf. Delbouille, *Apollonius de Tyr et les débuts du roman français*, loc. cit. p.1189; Archibald, cf. General Index, s.v. Chrétien de Troyes, p.246.
3. *Ruodlieb*, fr. IX 25 ff., cf. K. Dahinten, loc. cit. p.507.

For a further discussion on the repercussions in literature, cf. Archibald, pp.75-7.

16, RA 20-21 Rex Arc<hi>strates dixit: "Apolloni, ut intelligo, in omnibus es locuples." 'The King said: "Apollonius, I realize that you are richly gifted in every way."'

16, RB 17-18 Rex Archistrates ait: "Apolloni, intelligo te in omnibus locupletem."

locuples (RA) ~ *locupletem* (RB): Riese (1893), Ind., s.v. *locuples* rightly interprets this adjective here as 'talented' (locuples = ingeniosus). For the normal meaning 'rich', cf. 4, RA 2/RB 3; 6, RB 18. The probable substrate is πλούσιος 'rich', but also 'endowed', cf. LSJ, s.v.; a favourite term in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.* s.v. Incidentally, *RB* uses a Greek construction here and in 33, RB 5, cf. Riese (1893) Ind., s.v. *intelligo*. It is therefore often found in translation literature as well, cf. Hoppe (1938), pp.142-3. He quotes e.g. Rufin., *Adamant.* 1,6 p.13,18 *probo <...> eum dicentem* (δείκνυμι λέγοντα). *RB* is probably using a turn of expression common in translators' circles. To conclude on these grounds that *RB* relies on a Greek model here seems to me a bold hypothesis.

16, RA 21-22 Et <ind>uit stat<u>m et corona caput coronavit, et accipiens lyram introivit triclinium. 'Apollonius put on the (well-known) costume and crowned his head with a garland; he took the lyre and entered the banquet hall.'

16, RB 18-20 Et iussit ei tradi lyram. Egressus foras Apollonius induit statum, corona caput decoravit. Et accipiens lyram introivit triclinium.

Et iussit ei tradi lyram. Egressus foras (RB): *RB* carefully observes the logical order of events and the proprieties.

Et <ind>uit stat<u>m (RA) ~ *Apollonius induit statum* (RB): Depending on the starting-point, Latin or Greek, this passage has been the object of widely diverging interpretations. In connection with 16, RA 28 *ingreditur in comico habitu* (RB 24 *induit statum comicum*) and 16, RA/RB 29 *induit tragicum* Klebs (p.129 n.3; 208 n.8; 216 n.1; 278) argues that *lyricum* or *citharoedicum* has dropped out across the board (RA and RB). His proposal to interpret *status* as 'bearing' 'pose' is accepted by e.g. ThLL VII 1263,11 (J.B. Hofmann). But it seems more logical to take *status* in the sense of *habitus*, as here (l.28) and elsewhere in the *HA*, cf. 14, RA 12/RB 10, where *habitus* is synonymous with *vestis*, see also J.M. Hunt, 'Apollonius Citharoedus' *HSCPh* 91 (1987) pp.283-7. The κιθαρῳδός was famous for his long, usually purple robe, trailing on the floor, in combination with a wreath on his head (see note below). W. Schmid (in Rohde [1914], p.437 n.2) has emphasized that the equation of *status* and *vestis* may easily follow from τὸ σχῆμα 'attitude', but also 'vestment' 'dress', esp. in later prose, cf. σχῆμα μοναστικόν 'monk's habit': see also LSJ, s.v. (4 b); Lampe, s.v. (8). The phrase *induit statum* could therefore go back to ἐνέδυ τὸ σχῆμα (sc. κιθαρῳδικόν) 'he put on the costume (of the cithern-player)', cf. Introd. IV.1. A good parallel is offered by Gow, *Theocr.* X,38 referring to Lucian., *Pisc.* X 35: τὸν (sc. actor) <...> τὸ σχῆμα αὐτῶν (sc. deorum) ἐνδεδυκότα 'the actor <...> dressed in the clothing of the gods'. For this use of σχῆμα = *vestis*, see also below RA 28 *comico habitu*. Such a use of σχῆμα should probably be attributed to **R(Gr)**: the normal word is σκευή, cf. LSJ, 'especially of the dress of a singer or actor': Herod. 1,24 (Arion) ἐνδύντα τε πᾶσαν τὴν σκευὴν 'after having put on his full costume'.

corona caput coronavit (RA: *decoravit* RB) (RA/RB): A precious, often purple robe, a golden wreath and other jewels formed the σκευή of a κιθαρῳδός (cf. Herod. 1,24 on Arion). See also Plato, Ion 535[D] κεκοσμημένος ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ καὶ χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις, cf. Edmonds, *The fragments of Attic Comedy*, p.492 n.10. A failure to grasp this antique custom surrounding robe and wreath led to many misunderstandings, esp. in *Libro de Apollonio* (Klebs, p.388). For other variants, see Singer, p.47. The **P** reading: *et corona eum capite coronavit* probably goes back to the custom of awarding wreaths to triumphant cythara players, e.g. Suet., *Nero* 22,3: Dio 61,21,2.

16, RA 22-23 Et ita fecit, ut discumbentes non Apollonium, sed Apollinem existimarent. 'And he played in such a way that the guests thought him not Apollonius, but Apollo.'

16, RB 20-21 Et ita stetit, ut omnes non Apollonium, sed Apóllinem aestimárent (*v.*).

fecit (RA) ~ *stetit* (RB): In itself a splendid 'emendation' by *RB*, using the standard verb to represent the impressive pose of a κιθαρῳδός, cf. Herod. I,24 (on Arion) στάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἑδωλίοις <…> ἀεῖσαι 'having taken position on the quarter-deck <…> he raised his voice'; Ov., *Met.* 11,165 *artificis status ipse fuit*. Moreover, much of the word picture is preserved, cf. Introd. I. Yet everything argues for *fecit* (RA), which is not used here in the sense of the everyday verb, but corresponds exactly to the activity of poets, singers, reciters, cf. LSJ, s.v. ποιέω (4): think of words like ποιητής, ποίημα, ποιέω (cf. Plato, *Ion.* 534^{D} ἐποίησεν ποίημα, said of a reciter). We can therefore say: *fecit* = ἐποίησε. It seems unnecessary to assume that *RB* has based his emendation on a Greek original or version.

non Apollonium, sed Apollinem (RA/RB): A pun (paronomasia) in Latin, but one that would work equally well in Greek. It is curious therefore that Klebs, p.187 ascribes it one-sidedly to 'Die lateinische Urform der Historia Apollonii'.
existimarent (RA) ~ *aestimarent* (RB): This change is probably due to both the cursus and *RB*'s preference for simple verbs, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. verbum. For a fine description of the overwhelming impression made by the entrance and performance of a *citharoedus*, cf. Apul., *Florida* 15,6.

16, RA 23-25/RB 21-22 Atque ita facto silentio "arripuit plectrum a<n>imumque accomoda<t> arti." 'And so there was silence; "then he took the plectrum and devoted his mind to his art."'

For this kind of prelude with a πλῆκτρον, see the wonderful description in Achill. Tat. 1,5,4. The verse itself has not been identified so far, cf. W. Peek, *Griechische Versinschriften* (U.B. TA 1-46); T. Kock, *Comicorum Att. Fragmenta* II, p.141: Anaxandrides Comicus 15,3 λαβὼν τὸ μελετητήριον εἶτ' ἐσχεδίασε δριμέως 'he took his instrument and then improvised penetratingly.'

arripuit (RA/RB): The *plectrum*, sometimes made of very precious material, was usually suspended from a cord at the side of the lyre/cithara, cf. Headlam on Herond. 6,51.

animumque accommodat arti (RA/RB): Cf. ThLL I 332,34-50: The strictest parallel cited is Vulg. Sir. 6:33 *fili, si attenderis mihi, disces: et si accommodaveris animum tuum, sapiens eris*. Perhaps *accomodare animum arti* can be translated 'he put his soul into his art' = 'he played with heart and soul'. The Greek text may have read something like 'πλῆκτρον δ' αἶψα λαβὼν τέχνῃ ψυχὴν προσέθηκε (cf. Gow on Theocr. 15,37). The Romans rendered προσέθηκε as *accomodat* (a kind suggestion from D.A. van Krevelen, Leeuwarden, 1960 [per litteras]). R. Scarcia (2002), p.259 is too harsh on the metrical defects of the verse. See also 17, RA/RB 1 (comm.) and ch. 18 (comm.).

16, RA 26-28	Miscetur vox cantu modulata chordis. Discumbentes una cum rege in laude clamare coeperunt et dicere: "Non potest melius, non potest dulcius!" 'His voice is mingled with singing, harmoniously blended with the strings. The banqueters together with the king began to call out in praise and said: "Nothing could be better, nothing could be sweeter!"'
16, RB 23-24	Miscetur vox cantu modulata cum chordis. Discumbentes una cum rege magna voce clamoris laudare coeperunt.

Miscetur vox cantu modulatā chordis (RA: *cum chordis* RB): Though the translation is perhaps a little dubious, *modulata* must be connected with *vox*.

in laude (RA): Cf. (?) ἐπ' ἐπαίνῳ, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐν.

(in laude) clamare et dicere (RA), cf. Blaise, *Dict.* s.v. *dico*: 'redondance fréq. dans le style pastoral'. This expression may come directly from Greek, cf. John 7:37 ἔκραξεν λέγων; ibid. 12:44 ἔκραξεν καὶ εἶπεν, see Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. κράζω (2). In his pursuit of brevity *RB* uses a biblical phrase, cf. 1 Kgs. 4:6 *vocem clamoris* (= 1 Esdr. 3:13). The two examples adduced by Klebs can be multiplied: Isa. 30:19; 65:19; Jer. 8:19; 48:3; 49:21; 51:54; Soph. 1,10; etc. Obviously *vox clamoris* should not be deleted, as Klebs, p.273 proposes.

non potest melius! non potest dulcius! (RA): Almost the same expression as just before (RA 14/RB 12-13), and as such omitted by *RB*.

16, RA 28-29 Post haec deponens lyram ingreditur in comico habitu et mirabili manu et saltu inauditas actiones expressit. 'After this Apollonius put down the lyre, came in dressed in comic costume, and acted out diverse unheard-of mime shows with remarkable hand movements and leaps.'

16, RB 24-25 Post haec deponens lyram induit statum comicum et inauditas actiones expressit.

deponens lyram (RA/RB): Pres. part. with aorist value: *deposita lyra*. Greek has the same expression: Achill. Tat. 2,7,2 ἡ δὲ παῖς <…> καταθεμένη τὴν κιθάραν 'The maiden <…> putting aside her lyre'.

ingreditur in comico habitu (RA) ~ *induit statum comicum* (RB): *Ingredi* could be taken literally, i.e. *ingreditur in triclinium*; but here it probably overlies εἰσέρχομαι LSJ, s.v. (II): 'to come upon the stage', 'to enter'; they compare Plato, *Rep.* 580^{b}; Xen., *Anab.* 6,1,9. The phrase *in comicu habitu* 'in the garb of comedy' requires explanation. The preposition *in* used separately (without a verb) in connection with clothing (cf. 42, RA 19/RB 12) is found both in Latin (cf. ThLL VII 770,9-14; LSJ, s.v. in [36.a]) and in Greek (cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ἐν I.4.6). A good example is Acts 1:10 *in vestibus albis* (Gr. ἐν ἐσθήσεσι λευκαῖς). For *habitus* as clothing, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. A Greek substrate text is very uncertain. For *comicus* (RA/RB), cf. LSJ, s.v. κωμικός '*of* or *for comedy*'. The foundation of *habitus* could be both ἐσθής and σχῆμα. I would argue for σχῆμα, cf. above RA 21/RB 18. The words which follow in RA 29 *mirabili manu et saltu* clearly show that Apollonius performs here in the role of παντόμιμος 'pantomime' (in Antiquity usually called ὀρχηστής 'dancer'). Like the *comoedus* and the *tragoedus* (cf. RA 29/RB 25), the pantomime had a more or less fixed costume in this period, cf. Lucian., *De saltu* 29 Τὸ δὲ τοῦ ὀρχηστοῦ σχῆμα ὡς μὲν κόσμιον καὶ εὐπρεπὲς οὐκ ἐμὲ χρὴ λέγειν, δῆλα γὰρ τοῖς μὴ τυφλοῖς ταῦτα 'That the clothing of the dancer is seemly and becoming needs no assertion on my part, for it is patent to all who are not blind.' So if the term σχῆμα 'costume' functions as substrate term here too (rendered by *status* in RA 21, here by *habitus*), we could point to a similar procedure in 12, RA 8 and 12, RA 12, where *saccus* and *tribunarium* translate τριβωνάριον 'small cloak'. The upshot is that King Archistrates and his company must have recognized Apollonius by his outward appearance, without a word being necessary. The rendering in *RB* is only a pale imitation of *RA*. His change can probably be explained as an attempt at normalization (16, RA 21/RB 19 *status citharoedicus*; RB 25 *status comicus*; RB 26 *status tragicus*).

et mirabili manu et saltu et (RA) ~ (RB /): Skilful description of the pantomime's art, cf. Anthol. Lat. 1,1 *De pantomimo: mirabilis ars est*. Books and articles discuss at length the overwhelming impression made by the combination of σχήματα 'dance figures' and χειρονομία 'gesticulation', cf. *RE* XVIII,2 col.852; M.E. Molloy, *Libanius and the Dancers*, Hildesheim.Zürich.New York, 1996, p.49. The aspect of dancing is particularly emphasized, cf. LSJ, s.v. κωμικός: 'Arist., *Polit.* 1276[b] 5 κωμικὴ ὄρχησις'; LSJ, s.v. ὄρχησις: 'especially pantomimic dancing'; Iulian., *Misop.* 351[d] παντόμιμος ὀρχηστής. Only *et*[3] is redundant in the text. *RB*'s omission follows from the aversion to dancing among both Greeks and Romans, cf. R. Ussher (on Theoph., *Char.* 12,14 and 15,10) and from a desire to shorten the text. (Klebs, p.208 n.6 wrongly wants to delete the phrase *et mirabili manu et saltu*, passed down only in **P**: Apollonius gives a sample of his all-round musical training.)

inauditas actiones (RA/RB): The probable meaning is: 'artful gesticulations, never yet heard of or seen', cf. LSJ, s.v. πρᾶξις: 'doing' 'transaction', but also (ibid. II.2): 'action' 'exercise', cf. Plato, *Lach.* 192[a] ἐν ταῖς τῶν χειρῶν πράξεσιν ἢ σκελῶν 'in the movement of hands or legs'. In that case *actiones* like (21) *status* is based on a translation error, cf. Introd. IV.1. The combination *actio* = πρᾶξις occurs 4 times in the Glossaria, cf. CGL VI 19; the required meaning of πρᾶξις does not occur in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. For *inauditus* CGL VI 554 gives ἄρρητος '*that cannot be spoken* or *expressed*'. This makes excellent sense, cf. 23, RA 16/RB 19 *inaudita laetitia* (*aliter* Archibald, 76).

expressit (RA/RB): Cf.(?) σχηματίζω, LSJ, s.v.: 'of actors "gesticulate", Xen. *Symp.* 1,9'; LSJ, s.v. σχῆμα (7) 'posture'.

16, RA 29-31	Post haec induit tragicum et nihilominus admirabiliter complacuit ita, ut omnes amici regis et hoc se numquam audisse testantur nec vidisse. 'Then he put on a tragic costume and delighted them no less admirably so that all the King's friends declared that they had never heard or seen anything like this either.'
16, RB 25-26	Deinde induit tragicum. Nihilominus mirabiliter placet.

induit tragicum (RA/RB): Tragedy requires its own attire too, cf. Plato, *Rep.* 577[b] τραγικὴ σκευή; Arist., *Oec.* 1344[a] 21 ἡ τῶν τραγῳδῶν ἐν τῇ σκευῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμιλία 'the conversation among themselves of the

performers of tragedy in full costume'; this costume in particular was impressive, cf. Antiph. 36 στολαὶ τετραγῳδημέναι 'extravagant, flaunting robes'.

nihilominus (RA/RB): Esp. in Late Latin this word has the simplified sense of *pariter, aeque*, cf. Linderbauer, *Regula Ben.*, p.679; Garvin, *Vit. Patr. Em.* p.116.

complacuit (RA) ~ *placet* (RB): Perhaps *RA* is a direct rendering, in tense too, of συνηρέσκε 'he pleased them all'. The verb συναρέσκω/ἀρέσκω is standard in the achievement of success, cf. L. Robert, 'Pantomimen im griechischen Orient', *Hermes* 65, 1930, p.118. CGL II 111,23 also suggests συναρέσκει; *RB* is probably driven by his preference for simple verbs, cf. above (RA 23) *existimarent* ~ (RB 21) *aestimarent*.

ita, ut omnes <…> **et hoc se numquam audisse testantur nec vidisse** (RA): Omitted by *RB* probably for reasons of grammar and content. For consec. *ut* with indic., cf. Bonnet, p.679; Löfstedt, *Per.*, 254. The sentence could result directly from a Greek text. Voor *ita, ut* + ind., cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ὥστε 2.a.: 'οὕτως <…> ὥστε + Ind.'. For *testantur*, cf. μαρτυρέω, LSJ, s.v. (5) 'to testify'.

omnes amici regis (RA), cf. 14, RA/RB 1.

CHAPTER 17

17, RA 1-2 Inter haec filia regis, ut vidit iuvenem omnium artium studiorumque esse cumulatum, vulner<is> saevo capitur igne. 'Meanwhile, when the princess saw that the young man was full of every kind of talent and learning, she was wounded by a fiercely burning passion.'

17, RB 1 Puella ut vidit iuvenem omnium artium studiorumque cumulatum,

ut vidit (RA/RB) <…> *capitur igne* (RA): For all the stock elements, this and the next chapters display profound psychological insight into the burgeoning love of a 14-15-year-old princess for a shipwrecked stranger. Characters in the Greek Novel fall in love with each other at first sight: Charit. 1,1,6; Xen. Eph. 1,3,1; Achill. Tat. 1,4,4; Heliod. 3,5,4; the dominant role of the eye is particularly emphasized: Xen. Eph. 1,3,1; Achill. Tat. 1,4,4; 1,9,4; 2,13,1; Heliod. 3,7,3-5. As J. Maillon notes regarding Heliod. 4,4,4 (Héliodore, *Les Éthiopiques*, texte R.M. Rattenbury ~ T.W. Lumb, Paris, 1960[2], p.6), the view may derive from Plato's account in *Phaedr.* 251[b]. This spontaneous love is the overriding characteristic of novelistic literature in Antiquity, cf. Rohde[3], p.158; Kerényi, p.213; Söder, p.129; Billault, p.48. The *HA* certainly forms no exception, though *vidit* takes place here on a more spiritual level.

cumulatum (RA/RB) + gen. 'endowed with': This construction is not uncommon in Latin. ThLL IV 1382,62 quotes e.g.: Plaut., *Aul.* 825 *scelerum cumulatissime*; Caecil., *comm.* 61 *qui homo ineptitudinis cumulatus cultum oblitus est*; Verec., *in cant.* 7,14 *qui peccatorum cumulantur*. Yet we may assume influence here from Gr. μεστός/πλήρης + *gen. habundantiae* (τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστημῶν?).

vulneris saevo capitur igne (RA, after emending from *vulnere* **P**; *ignem* **P**) ~ (RB /): Though a comparison with Verg., *Aen.* 4,1, *caeco carpitur igni* urges itself (Schmeling [1988]; Garbugino, p.117 n.134 therefore writes *ca<r>pitur*), we should be very cautious: the phrase *capitur (igne)* may go back directly to *RA*, as *capere* and *carpere* are used interchangeably (cf. 13, RB 1). Also the entire expression may be a faithful translation from the Greek, cf. *Less.* s.v. αἱρέω (3) 'fare innamorare': Achill. Tat. 8,7,14 ὥστε καὶ αὐτὴν ᾑρήκει τὴν κόρην ἤδη 'As a result, he had by now captured her

heart'; Heliod., 4,10,5 καὶ φανείς σε Θεαγένης ᾕρηκε 'and Theagenes has captured your heart at first sight'. For the term *igne* 'fire of love', cf. e.g. Long. 2,8,2 καθεύδειν οὐ δύνανται, τοῦτο μὲν [καὶ] νῦν πάσχομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς; κάεσθαι δοκοῦσι, καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν τὸ πῦρ '(Lovers) cannot sleep, and that is happening to us at this moment; they seem to be burning up —- inside us too there is a fire.' *RB*'s omission may be due to the fact that *saevo capitur igne* is part of the description of Dido's sorrow in love, incorporated in 18, RA/RB 1-3, and so can be regarded as a duplication here. Perhaps *RB* took exception to the formulation with *saevus* instead of *caecus* (Verg.), *capere* instead of *carpere* (Verg.). For *saevus* (RA) Klebs, p.287 n.3 refers to collocations with *pectus* (Verg., *Aen.* 12,888), *ignis* (Hor., *Carm.* 1,16,11), esp. in Ov. For a defence of *capitur* (RA) as a gloss on an original *carpitur*, see Scarcia (2002), pp.259-61. See also comm. on 18, RA/RB 1-3.

17, RA 2-3	Incidit in amorem. Et finito convivio sic ait puella ad patrem suum: 'She fell very deeply in love. When the feast was over the girl said to her father:'
17, RB 2	incidit in amorem. Finito convivio puella respiciens patrem ait:

Incidit in amorem (RA/RB): A typically Greek turn of phrase, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐμπίπτω (4 b): Antiph. 235 εἰς ἔρωτα; see also comm. on 1, RA 8 *incidit in amorem filiae suae* / RB 8 *incidit in filiae suae amorem*. The same expressions have been deliberately chosen to draw a contrast.

amorem infinitum P: There is no objection to this expression as such, cf. Val. Max. 5,7 ext. 1 *Seleuci regis filius Antiochus novercae Stratonices infinito amore correptus*. (For the supposed connection with the *HA*, cf. Introd. VI.1.) But since Riese (1893) *infinitum* is rightly rejected as having crept in due to the adjacent *Et finito convivio*. Another argument is that the combination does not occur in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less*, s.v. ἀπέραντος 'infinite'.

Et finito convivio (RA) ~ *Finito convivio* (RB): For the omission of *et*, cf. 17, RA 11 *Peractoque convivio* (RA) ~ 17, RB 10 *Peracto convivio*.
The further abridgement (grammatical en stylistic) shows *RB* at his best.

17, RA 3-5	"Permiseras mihi paulo ante, ut si quid voluissem, de tuo tamen, Apollonio darem, rex et

pater optime." '"A little earlier you gave me permission, king and best father, to give Apollonius whatever I wanted, – of yours, that is."'

17, RB 2-3 "Care genitor, permiseras mihi paulo ante, ut quicquid voluissem, de tuo tamen, Apollonio darem."

Care genitor (RB) ~ (RA /): The term of address is not forgotten by *RB*. In effect he moves *rex et pater optime* (RA) to the beginning of the sentence.

permiseras (RA/RB): I.q. *permisisti* (so-called shifted pluperfect instead of the grammatically required perfect), cf. Ind. gr., s.v. tempora verborum (4).

si quid voluissem (RA) ~ *quicquid voluissem* (RB): This difference has a possible basis in both Latin and Greek. For Latin, cf. e.g. Verg., *Ecl.* 4,13 *si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri* (si qua = quaecumque); id., *Aen.* 4,520 *si quod* <...> *numen* (quod = quodcumque). Esp. Greek offers an explanation, cf. LSJ, s.v. τι (II): 'especially after εἴ or ἤν τις/τι' 'anyone concerned' 'every one'; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. εἰ (VI): εἴ τις, εἴ τι 'jeder, der' 'alles, was'; Ljungvik, *Zur Syntax der spätgr. Volkssprache*, p.11: a good example is e.g. Matt. 18:28 ἀπόδος, εἴ τι ὀφείλεις 'pay what you owe' (Vulg. *Redde quod debes*). In connection with a possible dating of **R(Gr)** we can refer to Pall., *Hist. Laus.* (ed. Bartelink), ch. 22, l.20 (comm. p.348). Esp. favoured are combinations with θέλω 'to wish', sometimes with subjunct., cf. Rev. 11:5 εἴ τις θέλει (v.l. θελήσῃ); Theoph. 325,24 (quoted by Tabachovitz, (1926) p.23 [with further lit.]) γράψον μοι <...> εἴ τι θέλεις 'write me what you want'; *Doctr. Jac.* 158,13 εἴ τι θέλεις, ποίησον 'do what you wish' (εἴ τι = ὅσον); *Acta Pilati* (quoted by G. Ghedini, *La lingua dei vangeli apocrifi greci*, p.470) A 6,1 εἴ τι θέλεις εἰπεῖν, εἰπέ; PS I 825,7 εἴ τι δέ ποτε θέλεις, σοὶ πέμψω 'I shall send you whatever you wish'. The Greek Novel has examples too: Xen. Eph. 4,1,1 Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἱππόθοον <...> πᾶν εἴ τι ἐμποδὼν λάβοιεν ὑποχείριον ποιούμενοι 'Meanwhile Hippothous' band <...> forcing any opposition in their path to submit', cf. Heliod. 10,32,4. In sum we can say that *RA* goes directly back to **R(Gr)** and that *RB*, probably without recourse to a Greek text, changed on the basis of grammatical knowledge. For the tense: *voluissem* (RA/RB) = *vellem*, cf. 48, RA 31 *ut meruissem* (RB *mererer*); for the phenomenon, cf. Hoppenbrouwers (1960), p.87 n.3; Adams (1976), p.68.

de tuo tamen (RA/RB): This restrictive formula, too, occurs both in Latin and in Greek, cf. *de tuo* (Plin., *Paneg.* 26,3; ibid. 27,3); *de suo* (Sen., *De benef.* 7,4,1.2); *de nostro* (Mart., *Epigr.* 7,46,4); *de vestro* (Liv. 6,15,10); *de suo*

is esp. found in epigraphs (CIL 10,444 = Dessau 5637[a]). The corresponding element in Greek is παρά, cf. LSJ, s.v. παρά (II,2): τὰ παρά τινος 'all that issues from anyone <…> promises, gifts, presents': Herod. 2,129 παρ' ἑωυτοῦ διδόντα 'from one's own means'; id. 8,5 ὡς παρ' ἑωυτοῦ δῆθεν (cf. *tamen* [RA/RB] διδούς 'as giving naturally from his own means', cf. id. 7,29).

17, RA 5	Cui dixit: "Et permisi et permitto et opto." 'He replied: "I did give permission; I do give permission; I wish it."'
17, RB 4	Rex ait: "Et permisi et permitto".

permisi <…> **permitto** (RA/RB), cf. 50, RA 8-9 *diximus* <…> *dicimus*; *optavimus* <…> *optamus* (RB 8-9 *diximus* <…> *optavimus*). This precise wording occurs mainly in legal (or quasi-legal) texts: Novat., *De trin.* (PL 3) 8 *cucurrit aut currit*; 22 *praestitit pariter ac praestat*; 26 *qui oboedierit* <…> *et oboediat*; Orig., *De ss. scripturis* p.177,17 *vidit et videt*; *Epist. 8* (ad Cyprianum), 2 *et fecimus et facimus*; ibid. *cohortati sumus et hortamur*, cf. LHS II 708[4]. From hagiographical literature: Febronia (Mombr. I 536,55): *non permisi neque permitto eam cum saecularibus colloqui*.

17, RA 5-6	Permisso sibi a patre, quod ipsa ultro praestare volebat, intuens Apollonium ait: 'With her father's permission for what she herself wanted to give, she looked at Apollonius and said:'
17, RB 4-5	Puella intuens Apollonium ait:

quod ipsa ultro praestare volebat (RA) ~ (RB /): Naturally *RB* omits this sentence, which he had already inserted in 16, RB 5 (RA /).

17, RA 7-8	"Apolloni magister, accipe indulgentia patris mei ducenta talenta auri, argenti pondera XL, servos XX et vestem copiosissimam." '"Master Apollonius, through the generosity of my father receive two hundred talents, forty pounds of silver, twenty servants and most lavish clothing."'
17, RB 5-7	"Apolloni magister, accipe ex indulgentia patris mei auri talenta ducenta, argenti pondus XL et vestem copiosam, servos XX."

magister (RA/RB): Many in the past have quibbled over this term since, strictly speaking, Apollonius does not formally become Archistratis' teacher until 18, RA 12/RB 11, cf. Thielman, p.56; Klebs, p.38,2 and 221. This problem was probably also recognized by *RB*, who omits *magister* in many places (cf. 19, RA 15 ~ RB /; 21, RA 8.12 ~ RB /). Yet the term must stand: *RA* is probably going along with the *sermo cotidianus*, which is sometimes careless in assigning names, 4, RA 5. The name *magister* is aptly chosen here, cf. Ital. *Maestro*, and agrees with classical Latin usage, e.g. Verg., *Ecl.* 5,48 *Nec calamis solum aequiparas, sed voce magistrum*. In cc.26-27 the *medicus* from Ephesis is also referred to by this term, again in accordance with classical usage, cf. R.S. Conway (*Aeneidos liber primus. P. Vergilius Maro*, Cambridge 1935) on Verg., *Aen.* 1,115. Of course it remains unclear what term was used in Greek and whether its imprecise use can be attributed to **R(Gr)**: a likely guess is παιδευτής 'teacher' 'instructor', cf. LSJ (+ Suppl.), s.v.; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v.; Zimmermann, p.54 Anm. 6 (in connection with the Metiochus-Parthenope fragment). But a term like μάγιστρος cannot be ruled out either, cf. LSJ (Suppl.), s.v. Sophocles, s.v.; Lampe, s.v.: 'as honorary title'. Perhaps the term even goes back directly to μάγιστερ, cf. LSJ (Suppl.). In that case there can be no question of any interpolation or improper use of the word.

indulgentia (RA) ~ *ex indulgentia* (RB): A small but elegant improvement: for the legal expression itself, cf. 16, RA/RB 7 comm.

ducenta ‹...› **XL** ‹...› **XX** (RA/RB): Both recensions have a great preference for large numbers without bothering about the real monetary value.

ducenta talenta auri, argenti pondera XL (RA) ~ *auri talenta ducenta, argenti pondus XL* (RB): *RA*'s chiastic arrangement is abandoned by *RB*, probably to underline the normal order of possession in Antiquity: gold, silver, clothes, and then any possession of slaves, cf. 6, RA 19-20 en 22, RA 13 (RB /).

argenti pondera XL (RA) ~ *argenti pondus* (**b**: *pondo* **βπ**, *pondera* **M**) *XL* (RB): The usual form is *pondera*: Mart. 7,53,12 *quanto commodius nullo mihi ferre labore | argenti potuit pondera quinque puer!* In Late Latin *pondus* is indeclinable (Niermeyer, *Lexicon minus* cites Fredeg. 4,73); *pondus* **b** could thus be either original in relation to *pondo* **βπ** or a corruption. For *pondo* **βπ**, cf. 47, RB 8 (**βMπ**).

servos XX et vestem copiosissimam (RA) ~ *vestem copiosam, servos XX* (RB): For the normal order envisaged by *RB*, see the description of the 'army train' of the Persian king: Charit. 6,9,6 ἐπάγεσθαι καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ

τέκνα καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ ἐσθῆτα καὶ εὐνούχους καὶ παλλακίδας καὶ κύνας καὶ τραπέζας καὶ πλοῦτον πολυτελῆ καὶ τρυφήν 'to take along with them their wives and children and gold and silver and clothing and eunuchs and concubines and dogs and dining-room furniture and their costly treasures and luxuries'. Ultimately the series of presents goes back to the gifts which Odysseus receives from Alcinous, king of the Phaiacians: Hom., *Od.* 8,392 φᾶρος εὐπλυνὲς ἠδὲ χιτῶνα 'a mantle well-washed and a chiton'; 393 καὶ χρυσοῖο τάλαντον 'a golden talent'; 406 ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον 'a silver-studded sword', cf. Hom., *Od.* 13,135-137; Verg., *Aen.* 5,110-112. Later sources include slaves in the list, also in hagiography: *Prosdocimus* (Mombr. II p.402,22): *Quae cum aeterni sponsi delicias adamasset et culturam, quae de terreno sponso promittebatur, aurum argentum servos et ancillas* (cf. Rα: servos XX, X ancillas) *pro nihilo duceret, diversis poenis cruciata est.* It is natural to assume, though, that the later versions of the *HA*, especially in the vernaculars, found this element of slaves hard to accept (cf. Nillson, p.98: 'antike Lokalfärbung').

vestem copiosissimam (RA) ~ *vestem copiosam* (RB): The superlative, in Late Latin often without specific superlative meaning, is sometimes reduced to the positive by *RB*, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. gradus comparationum.

17, RA 8-10	Et intuens famulos, quos donaverat, dixit: "Afferte quaeque promisi, et praesentibus omnibus exponite in triclinio." 'Then looking at the servants whom she had given to him, she said: "Bring everything that I have promised, and display it in the dining room in front of all who are present."'
17, RB 7-8	Et ait ad famulos: "Adferte praesentibus amicis, quae Apollonio magistro meo promisi et in triclínio pónite." (*t.*)

famulos (RA/RB): **P** reads *A* (= Apollonii) *famulos*, but the letter *A* has been scored through, perhaps by the writer himself, cf. Klebs, p.19 n.2; ed. m. (1984), ad loc.

quaeque (RA) ~ *quae* (RB): **P** reads *queque* i.q. *quaecumque*. Landgraf, *Neue Philol. Rundschau*, 1888, p.121 proposes to introduce the rather rare neutr. plur. *quaequae* (Ring; Riese; Konstan; Schmeling, [1988] ad loc.). This seems contrived for Late Latin, but not impossible; cf. Wölfflin, *Gemination*, p.448; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *quisque* (3) (rel.) (Pl., Liv., Cypr., Cass.).

magistro meo (RB): *RB*'s addition is curious, cf. above 17, RA 7/RB 5 comm. Perhaps the aim is to clarify the relationship. (Klebs, p.38 n.2 proposes to delete of course.)

praesentibus omnibus (RA) ~ *praesentibus amicis* (RB): *RB*'s alteration and transposition may be dictated by the closed nature of court life.

exponite (RA) ~ *ponite* (RB): *RA* is certainly to be preferred: the point is to exhibit the (astonishingly lavish) presents (Gr. ἐκτίθημι). On account of its spaciousness the *triclinium* (τὸ τρικλίν[ι]ον 'dining-room with three couches') was often used for this kind of exposition, cf. e.g. *Vita S. Melaniae* (Sources chrét.), c.17 (p.160). For *RB*'s reduction, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. verbum.

17, RA 10 Laudant omnes liberalitatem puellae. Peractoque convivio levaverunt se universi; valedicentes regi et reginae discesserunt. 'Everyone praised the generosity of the girl. And when the banquet was over, they all got up, said goodbye to the king and the princess, and left.'

17, RB 9-11 Iussu reginae inlata sunt omnia. Laudant omnes liberalitatem puellae. Peracto convivio levaverunt se omnes; valedicentes regi et reginae discessi sunt.

Iussu reginae inlata sunt omnia (RB) ~ (RA /): In theory this sentence could have dropped out in *RA*. More probably, though, *RB* has considered that it is hard to praise *liberalitas* if the haul of presents has not been viewed.

reginae: Both *RA* and *RB* repeatedly write *regina* for princess in chs. 17-21, in conformity with Late Latin usage, see Greg. Tur., *Hist. Francorum*, MGH I, index Levison. In Greek, too, ἡ βασίλεια/βασιλίς can denote 'princess', cf. LSJ, s.v. βασίλεια 'queen' but also 'princess'.

levaverunt se (RA, **b**) **universi** (RA: *omnes* RB) (RA/RB): Standing formula, cf. *Excidium Troiae* 33,20 *Quid multa? Dum cena* (v.l. cenam) *perfecta fuisset, levaverunt se omnes amici et 'vale' reginae dixerunt. Et dum amici discederent, petiit Dido Enean, ut iterato sibi utrique fialas propinarent*; also in Heliod. 3,11,4 καὶ τότε μὲν εἰς ταῦτα ἔληξε τὸ συμπόσιον καὶ ἀπηλλαττόμεθα ἐπ' οἶκον τὸν ἴδιον ἕκαστος 'With this the party came to an end and we all departed to our own homes.' A possible Greek substrate

could be ἀνίστημι ἐμαυτὸν (ἐκ τῆς κλίνης), cf. Zimmermann, p.91,11, alongside ἀνίσταμαι, cf. *Less.*, s.v. ἀνίστημι (II).

levaverunt omnes β(M)**π**: Active verbs often become reflexive in Late Latin, cf. Svennung, *Wortstudien* p.94 n.4; Norberg, *Syntakt. Forschungen*, p.180; id., *Manuel* p.161.

universi (RA) ~ *omnes* (RB): For a similar change, cf. 35, RA 22/RB 18; for the extended use of *universus*, cf. 7, RA 22/RB 21 (comm.).

valedicentes (*RA*/*RB*): For taking leave Greek has ὑγίαινε 'goodbye' or 'goodnight' (see Headham on Herond., 6,97), σῴζου (σῴζεο) LSJ, s.v. σῴζω (also pl. σῴζοισθε) or simply χαῖρε 'farewell', χαίρετε, cf. LSJ, s.v. χαίρω (III,c).

discesserunt (RA) ~ *discessi sunt* b; *discesserunt* βMπ: *RB*'s exact reading can no longer be determined. I have retained *discessi sunt*, cf. Vet. Lat., *Luc.* 7,24 (cod. f) *cum discessi essent* (see also 15, RB 3 *Redita*); Vulg. *cum discessisent*. It may be that **βMπ** is not a correction but original.

17, RA 12/RB 11-12 Ipse quoque Apollonius ait: "Bone rex, miserorum misericors, et tu, regina, amatrix studiorum, valete." 'Apollonius too said: "Noble king, who takes pity on the wretched, and you, princess who loves learning, goodbye.'

miserorum misericors (RA/RB): 'compassionate to the wretched' (Konstan): a striking formulation. ThLL VIII has no direct parallel. It quotes Publil. A 44 *ubi misericors miserum adspicit*; Sen., *benef.* 4,37,5 *commiserat, propter quod nemo misereri misericors posset*. Perhaps Augustine was an influence through words like *Conf.* 1,6 *deus* <...> *misericors misero tuo*; 6,12 *miseratus miseros*; 10,28 *misericors es, ego miser sum*. Added to the equal number of syllables, the expression must have made an impression. Was there Greek influence too, e.g. τῶν δυστυχῶν ἐλεήμων? Cf. C. Spicq, *Le Philantropie hellénistique, vertu divine et royale*, Studia Theologica, XII,2 Lund 1958, pp.169-91; H. Hunger, *Philanthropia*. Eine griechische Wortprägung auf ihrem Wege von Aischylos bis Theodoros Metochites, Graz 1963.

amatrix studiorum (RA/RB): Riese rightly insisted on the importance of this expression (Riese [1872], *Praef.* XII; [1893], *Praef.* XVII), with reference to φιλομαθής, cf. LSJ, s.v. 'fond of learning' 'eager after knowledge', cf. Introd. IV.2.1. In fact Latin is unable to offer exact parallels, cf. ThLL

I 1830,3-20. The closest analogue is Aug., *Epist.* 211,16 *spiritualis pulchritudinis amatrices*. The term does have a vital tradition in Greek. E. Bowie, *The ancient readers of the Greek novels*, p.103 (in: Schmeling, *The Novel* [1996]) refers to e.g. Antonius Diogenes, Τὰ ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἄπιστα, dedicated to his sister Isidora φιλομαθῶς ἔχουσα 'being fond of learning'. The basic idea φιλομάθεια 'love of learning' seems to stem from Plato, *Phaedr.* 67^{b}, 82^{d} *al.*, whose ideas have left marks in other places in the novel (cf. 17, RA/RB 1 comm.). For a more general view, cf. L. Robert, 'Φιλόλογος dans les épitaphes, le goût de la culture grecque', *Hellenica* XIII, pp.239-52, who particularly points to Asia Minor (Lyconia). The idiom of **R(Gr)** warrants a reference to Pall., *Hist. Laus.* (ed. Bartelink), *Prol.*, l.46 φιλομαθέστατε θεοῦ ἄνθρωπε 'you man of God, most avid of learning'; *Vita S. Melaniae* (ed. Gorce), Prol. (p.128) τὰ λοιπὰ τῇ σῇ φιλομαθείᾳ καταλείψω ἐρευνᾶν 'The rest I shall leave for you to inquire, eager for learning'.

17, RA 13-14 Et haec dicens respiciens famulos, quos illi puella donaverat, ait: 'After this speech he looked at the servants whom the girl had given to him, and said:'

17, RB 12-13 Et respiciens famulos, quos sibi puella donaverat, ait:

illi (RA) ~ *sibi* (RB): In itself a fine, grammatical emendation, but *illi* may simply be a rendering of αὐτῷ, cf. LSJ, s.v. αὐτός (II).

17, RA 14 "Tollite, famuli, h<aec>, qu<ae> mihi regina donavit: aurum, argentum et vestem: et eamus hospitalia quaerentes." '"Servants, pick up these things which the princess has given me, gold, silver and clothes, and let us go and look for lodgings."'

17, RB 13-14 "Tollite, famuli, haec, quae mihi regina donavit, et eamus: hospitália requirámus." (*v.*)

Tollite (RA/RB): *Tollere* is simply a synonym of *portare, ferre, gerere*, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 143; here for *sumite*, cf. 12, RA 20 *Tolle hoc, quod habeo* (comm.).

h<aec>, qu<ae> (RA): The reading *hos, quos* **P** is perhaps due to the influence of 17, RA 8 *servos*: both **Rα** *hec, que* **(L.G.)** and *RB* suggest the reading *haec, quae*.

aurum, argentum et vestem (RA) ~ (RB /): The (sometimes repeated) enumeration of gifts is epic: Hom., *Od.* 4,589-590; ibid. 8,389-393; Verg., *Aen. 7,243-248;* ibid. 274-28; Curt. 8,12,15; 9,8,1; 10,1,24.

eamus hospitalia quaerentes (RA) ~ *eamus: hospitália requirámus* (RB): The construction in *RA* is not entirely clear (though perfectly comprehensible). Is the meaning: let us leave (*eamus* = *abeamus*), looking for lodgings (= and look for lodgings) or let us go to look for (class. *eamus quaerere* [fin. inf.]/*quaesitu*)? *RB* has solved the dilemma by means of his punctuation (and has added rhythm and an end rhyme with *eamus*). For obselescent *eo, ire*, cf. 12, RA 20/RB 23 (comm.).

hospitalia (RA/RB): A clear precursor of the Romance languages: Fr. hôpital, Ital. ospedale, cf. Klebs, p.250. Romans will have been struck by the use of the word (pl. where sing. is expected). As an example of sing.: *De sancto Bonefacio* (sic) *et Aglae* (Mombr. I p.262,11): *dixit ad eos, qui erant cum eo: Euntes requirite nobis hospitium*. For pl. instead of sing. ThLL VI,2 p.3035,7 lists this place as the only reference. Further material is offered by Blaise, s.v. *hospitale*: Greg. Tur., *Hist. Fr.* 6,10; Paul. Diac., *vita Greg. Magni*, c.29. From hagiography we can add *Passio S. Anastasiae* (ed. Delehaye, *Le legendier romain* p.233) c.16 *Quarum corpora missis occulte ab Anastasia hominibus furtim abrepta ad eius sunt hospitalia perducta*. Linguistically the form *hospitalia* is interesting: the disappearance of the neuter led to quite a few words becoming fem. sing., with a changeover to the first declension, e.g. *folia* (feuille), *fortia* (force), *gaudia* (joie), *Gesta* (geste), etc., cf. Väänänen., *Introd.*, § 215. The most likely Greek substrate is of course ξενοδοχεῖον, cf. LSJ, s.v.: 'place for strangers to lodge in' 'inn' and Gloss. II 377,59. But we cannot rule out ξενών 'guest chamber', cf. LSJ, s.v.; ξενών: the last word leads to Syria, cf. OGI 609,21 (Syria, 3rd c. AD). In Late Greek theologians and hagiographers like Leontios of Neapolis we also find ξενία, cf. Gelzer (1893), p.181. Finally, a Late Greek candidate is ὁσπίτιον (N.Gr. σπίτι), cf. LSJ (Suppl.), s.v.; Lampe, s.v.; (2,3): 'lodging', 'building' 'house', but the references are late and do not square with the time of **R(Gr)**. For the atmosphere in Greek and Latin inns, see note to 17, RA/RB 19 *a malis hominibus rapiatur*.

17, RA 16-17/RB 14-15 Puella vero (RA: RB /) timens, ne amatum non videns torqueretur, respexit patrem suum et ait (RA: RB respiciens patrem ait): 'But the girl, fearing it would be torture if she could not see her beloved, looked at her father and said:'

timens, ne amatum non videns (RA/RB): This sophisticated psychological motivation is also found in e.g. Xen. Eph. 2,10,4 ἐλύπουν δὲ αὐτοὺς (viz. the faithful slaves) ᾿Ανθία καὶ ῾Αβροκόμης οὐχ ὁρώμενοι 'They were in deep anguish because they did not see Anthia and Habrocomes'; Lucian., *Toxaris* 15 ῾Ο δ' οὐκέτι οἷός τε ἦν φέρειν τὸ πρᾶγμα, οὐδὲ ἠνείχετο μὴ ὁρῶν αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ἐδάκρυε 'Deinias was now unable to bear the situation and could not endure not seeing her. He wept.'

amatum (RA/RB): May derive directly from Gr. τὸν ἐρώμενον: the participles ὁ ἐρώμενος /ἡ ἐρωμένη have become nouns, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐράω 'love'. For [ὁ] ἐρώμενος, see Xen. *Symp.* 8,36; Plato, *Phaedr.* 239[a], etc.; for ἡ ἐρωμένη 'the beloved one', see Herod. 3,31; Sext. Emp., Πυρρ. ὑποτυπ. 3,196; Theoph. *Charact.* 12,3,4. Both forms are very common in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. ἐράω (2). Another possibility is ὁ ποθούμενος 'the beloved one', cf. LSJ, s.v. ποθέω (III): 'to love with fond regret', but in the Greek Novel this is only attested for Heliod. 4,7,7 ὁ ποθούμενος.

17, RA 17	"Bone rex, pater optime, placet tibi, ut hodie Apollonius a nobis locupletatus abscedat, et quod illi dedisti, a malis hominibus ei rapiatur?" '"Good king, best of fathers, is it your wish that Apollonius, who has been made rich by us today, should leave, and that your gifts may be stolen from him by wicked men?"'
17, RB 15-17	"Bone rex et pater optime, placet tibi, ut Apollonius hodie a nobis ditátus abscedat (*pl.*), et, quod illi donasti, a malis hominibus rapiatur?"

By means of this clever ruse Archistratis, like the wife of Alcinous (Hom., *Od.* 8,443), makes sure that nobody steals the presents from the guest, cf. Garin, p.203 n.1. For the acommodation of a protagonist of a novel in a royal palace, cf. Heliod. 8,1,7 τὸν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια τοῦ Θεαγένους εἰσοικισμόν 'how Theagenes had been brought to live in the palace'. A good parallel is offered by Ps. Callisthenes 1,6 in a description how Olympias, the future mother of Alexander the Great, manages to procure a room for the Egyptian magician Nectanebo, one immediately adjacent to her bed chamber! (I thank Prof. W.J. Aerts for the reference.)

Bone rex, pater optime (RA/RB): Cf. 15, RA 4/RB 4-5.

placet (RA/**b**): *placetne* **(βMπ)**: Classical Latin would have used *num*, or more informally *numquid*, cf. Plaut. *Pseud.* 1329 *numquid iratus es?* But

even without interrogative particle a question may be marked by simple pitch, cf. Plaut. *Aul.* 773 *dic bona fide: tu id aurum non surripuisti?*, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 348. In ordinary spoken Greek, too, a question is often indicated only by intonation of voice. The Latin formulation therefore coincides completely with ἀρέσκει σοι; see Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ἀρέσκω (3) *unpers.* The change to *-ne* **(βMπ)** occurs frequently in mss.

locupletatus (RA) ~ *ditatus* (RB): *Locupletare* is standard in *HA*, as is *locuples*, cf. 4, RA 2/RB 3. *Ditare* as a more or less poetic equivalent of *donare* is used by Stat., Claudianus, Sidonius (ThLL V,1 1556, 27-33). Late authors use the two verbs interchangeably: *Vit. Patr. Emer.* 5,3,3 *monasteria multa fundavit, praediis magnis locupletavit*; 5,3,4 *Deinde xenodochium fabricavit magnisque patrimoniis ditavit*.

a malis hominibus ei (RA: RB /) **rapiatur**: Inns often had a bad reputation in Antiquity, not only because of the *caupones maligni (Hor.,* Sat. 1,5,4; ibid. 1,1,29), but also on account of the guests (cf. R. Ussher, on Theophr., *Charakt.*, London 1960, p.75; P. Steinmetz, *Theophrast Charaktere*, München 1962, p.93). More substantial people therefore availed themselves of the extensive system of *hospites*, ξεῖνοι.

17, RA 19-21	Cui rex ait: "Bene dicis, domina: iube ergo ei dari unam zetam, ubi digne quiescat." 'The king replied: "You are right, lady: so order that he be given a suitable room to rest in."'
17, RB 17-21	Rex ait: "Bene dicis, domina" et confestim iubet ei adsignari zetam, ubi digne quiesceret.

bene dicis (RA/RB): Automatically suggests Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. λέγω (III,6) εὖ λέγεις 'that is well' of καλῶς, ὀρθῶς λέγεις 'you are right'; cf. *Less.*, s.v. εὖ (λέγειν).

domina (RA/RB): κυρία 'madam', cf. LSJ, s.v.: 'applied to women from fourteen years upwards, Epict., *Ench.* 40', cf. 16, RB 4 comm.

dari unam zetam (RA) ~ *adsignari zetam* (RB) 'to assign a room': *dari* (RA) ~ *adsignari* (RB): The technical term *assignare* suits a king. In the reading *unam* (RA) ~ (RB /) *unam* clearly has the value of an indef. art., cf. Introd. II.1: it is therefore eliminated by *RB*. For *zetam* (RA/RB) 'room', i.q. diaetam, cf. LSJ, s.v. δίαιτα (II). But this is also a common Latin word. The spelling with *z-* is based on pronunciation and is not uncommon. Thus Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 95 refers to words like *zabolus* (= *diabolus*); *zaco-*

nus (= *diaconus*); *zebus* (= *diebus*), cf. Isid., *Orig.* 20,9,4 sicut solent Itali dicere *ozie* pro *hodie*. Despite the fact that word and spelling were familiar to a Roman readership, *RA* has wanted to make the term more explicit in the next line by means of the word *mansio* 'lodging' according to the standard procedure: first the difficult word, then the translation (or sometimes the other way round), cf. 12, RA 9 *sacco sordido* ~ *RA* 18 *tribunarium* (τριβωνάριον); 16, RA 21 *statum* (i.q. σχῆμα): *RA* 28 *habitu*. Did he want to preserve the Greek colouring in this way?

17, RA 21-22 Accepta igitur mansione Apollonius bene acceptus requievit, agens deo gratias, qui ei non denegavit regem consolationem. 'Apollonius was given lodging for the night: he was well received and lay down to rest, thanking God, who had not denied him a king to be his consolation.'

Without stating his reasons Klebs, p.218 n.3 regards this entire sentence as an interpolation. At first sight the reader will agree, because of a phrase like '*deo gratias agens*' and all the more because there is no trace of the sentence in *RB*. Yet much, if not everything, argues for *RA*: perhaps the entire formulation can be ascribed to **R(Gr)**, the actual content to **HA(Gr)**. Since the sentence adds little of substance to the story, it is clear that RB abridged here.

Accepta mansione <…> **bene acceptus** (RA): A wordplay in a chiastic arrangement. Any possible Greek model is purely speculative (δέχομαι 'to accept' 'to receive' ~ ὑποδέχομαι 'to receive into one's house' 'to welcome', cf. LSJ, s.v.).

mansio (RA): A common term, cf. ThLL VIII 325,15-31, probably in relation to *zeta* (RA 20). (For a special meaning of *mansio*, cf. 43, RB 15-18.) Greek uses μονή or καταγωγή in the same way, cf. *Less.* s.v.

agens deo gratias (RA): In the context of the *HA* this undoubtedly refers to the 'God of the Christians'. Perhaps the expression goes back to τῷ θεῷ εὐχαριστῶν 'thanking God', cf. Bauer, s.v. εὐχαριστέω (2). The interpretation of the term θεός need not be specifically Christian, cf. Charit. 2,2,1 εὐτυχῶς σε ἤγαγεν εἰς ἀγαθὴν ὁ θεός οἰκίαν 'you are lucky: the god has brought you to a good home' (see K. Plepelitz, *Kallirhoe*, Stuttgart 1976, Anm. 59); Liban., *Epist.* 1242 Ἀεὶ μὲν ἔγωγε τὴν σὴν εὔνοιαν ἠγάσθην εἰς ἐμὲ καὶ οὐκ εἶχον πεισθῆναι ὅτι σὺ τοῦτο ποιεῖς οὐχὶ θεῶν τινος

κινοῦντος 'Personally I always admired your benevolence towards me and I could not be persuaded that you are acting in this manner without one of the gods moving you' (see J. Misson, *Recherches sur le Paganisme de Libanios,* Louvain-Bruxelles-Paris 1914, p.94, p.127). Of course these expressions are contiguous to those in Christian texts, cf. *Acta Andreae* (ed. Prieur, p.731,1): ἀνελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτῶν (sc. the citizens of Patrai) ἐκραύγαζεν· Εὐχαριστῶ σοι, θεέ, τῷ πέμψαντί μοι τὸν σὸν ἄνθρωπον 'after ascending to their marketplace he cried: "I thank you, God, who has sent me your man"' (namely Andrew). 'Night thoughts' like these are familiar to paganism as well (cf. Misson, loc. cit. p.117, 128), also in the Greek Novel, cf. J. Maillon on Heliod. 3,5,1 [Budé, I, p.105 n.1]).

regem consolationem (RA): 'A king for consolation': *abstractum pro concreto,* i.q. *consolatorem,* cf. Löfstedt, *Per.*, p.114. As such the Greek Novel likes to use terms like παραμυθία, παραψυχή, παρηγορία (cf. *Less.* s.v.): Charit. 2,1,1 μεγάλην οἰόμενος αὐτῷ φέρειν τοῦ πένθους παραμυθίαν 'thinking it would help a great deal in consoling his grief'; Heliod. 10,7,5 πολλὴν ἂν ἔσχον παραψυχὴν διακονουμένης μοι τοιαύτης 'It would be a great comfort for me to have one such as her to wait on me.' For the train of thought, cf. Charit. 1,12,10 "Θεός μοι τις" εἶπεν "εὐεργέτην σε κατέπεμψεν." 'Some god', he said, 'has delivered you to me to be my benefactor.' In Late Latin *consolatio/consolari* tends towards the meaning 'help'/'to help', cf. Adams (1976), p.101.

CHAPTER 18

18, RA/RB 1-3 Sed ‘regina’ sui <…> <cura> quietem (RA) ~ Sed puella Archistrat<i>s <…> non sustinet amorem (RB)

To many modern readers, like Roman readers, *RA* is clearly an adaptation of the most famous description of love-sickness ever produced in Latin literature: the description of Dido in Verg., *Aen.* 4,1-12. These verses were already acclaimed in Virgil’s time: Ov., *Trist.* 2,535 *Nec legitur pars ulla magis de corpore toto / quam non legitimo foedere iunctus amor*. At the time that *RA* originated, Virgil’s style was highly popular too, witness Aug., *Conf.* 1,13,21 *flebam Didonem extinctam ferroque extrema secutam,* a popularity which, with a few exceptions (e.g. Greg. Tur., *Lib. Miraculorum* 715 [PL 71, p.705]), has endured (cf. E. Stampini, *Alcune osservazioni sulla leggenda di Enea e Didone*, Messina 1893, p.36; Guilelmus Konopka, *De Aenea post-vergiliano,* Regimonti 1913, p.64). So there is no need for further comment on the fact that the redactor of *RA* turned to precisely this description (cf. Klebs, p.283, but recourse to **Hi** is unnecessary). He himself will have thought the adaptation splendid, cf. Hier., *Epist.* 108,7 in the vein of a *Vergiliocento*. *RA*’s most inspired idea was probably *‘regina’*, which he could both use for Archistratis as princess (cf. 17, RA 12-13) and retain in the quotation from Virgil on Dido. For the rest there are individual lines, fragmentary words: *sui* (Verg. *gravi*); *Apollonii* (Apolonio P), adaptation to the situation; *figit* (Verg. *haerent infixi*); *vulnus* (Verg., *Aen.* 4,2 *vulnus*; 4,4 *vultus*); *verba* (Verg. *verbaque*); *cantusque memor* addition; *credit* (Verg. 4,12 *credo*); *genus esse deorum* (= Verg.); *nec somnum oculis* addition; *nec membris dat <c>ura quietem* (= Verg.). R. Scarcia (2002), loc. cit. regards the changes in relation to Virgil as the work of a glossator, not as original text.

18, RA 1 Sed ‘regina’ sui ‘iamdudum saucia cura’ Apollonii ‘But “the princess, who had long since been wounded by love” for her dear Apollonius’

18, RB 1 Sed puella Archistrat<i>s ab amore incensa inquietam habuit noctem;

Love-sickness, insomnia: τόπος in the Latin (*insomnia*) and Greek Novel (ἀγρυπνία ‘sleeplessness), cf. Rohde, *Rom.*^{3}, p.172 ff; Trenkner, p.66; Bremmer (1996), p.41. To mention but a few highlights: Ov., *Her.* 6,27;

Verg., *Aen.* 4,65.300 ff.; Apul, *Met.* 10,2. Particularly in the Greek Novel people in love languish in solitude and silence; the description of sleepless nights spent tossing and turning is one of the principal themes of the Novel in the first to the fourth centuries AD (Charit. 1,1,8; 2,4; 4,1.4.6.7; Xen. Eph. 1,4; 3,10; Achill. Tat. 1,6; 3,10; 6,18; Long. 1,22; 2,9; 3,4; Heliod. 1,1; 5,2; 8,10). Authors are not afraid to provide psychological explanations: Achill. Tat. 1,6,2-3 οὐδὲ ὕπνου τυχεῖν ἠδυνάμην. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ φύσει καὶ τὰ ἄλλα νοσήματα καὶ τὰ τοῦ σώματος τραύματα ἐν νυκτὶ χαλεπώτερα καὶ ἐπανίσταται μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἡσυχάζουσι καὶ ἐρεθίζει τὰς ἀλγηδόνας· ὅταν γὰρ ἀναπαύηται τὸ σῶμα, τότε σχολάζει τὸ ἕλκος νοσεῖν 'I was unable to fall asleep. For all diseases and wounds are usually more severe at night; they attack us more at our rest and increase our pain. When the body is relaxed, then a wound is free to fester', cf. Heliod. 1,8,1. Of course we do not know to what extent **HA(Gr)** addressed this problem (also dealt with by renowned physicians like Galen [vol. XVIII,2 p.40 Kühn] and Soranus [Corp. Med. Gr. IV p.176,4]). Many places (cf. cc.25-27) show that **HA(Gr)** did in fact have some interest in medical aspects.

Yet the Virgil quotation has found little favour in the eyes of *RB*. *Sed* (RA) has been left unchanged (Verg., *At*). The biggest change is *regina* (RA), replaced with *puella Archistrat‹i›s*, cf. Klebs 30: '"*puella Archistratis*": so richtig **rpq** (= Recensio Erfurt, see *Sigla recensionum et codicum, Rec. B*); *Archistrates* **b**; *Archistratis filia* **βπ** interpoliert, weil der Schreiber die Form nicht verstand.' But the question is where *RB* (so **b** in particular) gets this name from in this crucial place, corresponding with Ἀρχιστρατίς cf. 15, RA 1-2 (comm.). Klebs fails to deal with this extremely important question. Since it is almost impossible to assume that *RB* supplied this name *ex ingenio*, I believe that, as in the suppletion of many other names, *RB* has fallen back here on **R(Gr)**, cf. Introd. VII.2.2.2. (The spelling *-es* instead of *-is* is a question of pronunciation.)

sui ‹...› **cura Apollonii** (RA) ~ (RB /): 'wounded by love for her dear Apollonius': *sui*: deleted by Klebs, p.283 n.1 as 'Glossem' without any reasons given. (Schmeling, *Notes*, p.144 [on ed. 13,19] retracts his earlier conjecture *gravi* [Verg.] and accepts *sui* **P**.) '*Cura* is a technical term in love poetry for the anxiety of love.' (Konstan) *RB* probably thought these words too strong (see also the rest of this note). In itself the dat. *Apollonio* would be possible alongside a gen. *sui* (Blatt, *Acta Andreae et Matthiae*, p.71,10). But the reading *Apollonii* Rα seems preferable.

iamdudum saucia cura (RA [= Verg.]) ~ *ab amóre incénsa* (RB [*pl.*]): *RB*'s reason for changing probably lies in *iamdudum*: this term is also hard to interpret for modern commentators, cf. Pease on Verg., *Aen.* 4,1, pp.83-4.

inquietam hábuit nóctem (RB [*pl.*]): An addition with a view to the term *insomnia*.

18, RA 1-2 ‘figit in pectore vulnus, verba’ cantusque memor ‘credit genus esse deorum’, ‘“fixed in her heart love’s wound, words” and songs remembering “she believed that he was descended from the gods”,’

18, RB 2 ‘figit in pectore vulnus, verba’ cantusque memor.

figit in pectore vulnus (RA/RB): A very popular combination, cf. Verg., *Aen.* 4,67 *vivit sub pectore vulnus*, cf. Pease ad loc. For *vulnus* (RA/RB), cf. 18, RA/RB 14 *vulnus*. (Garbugino, p.117 reads *figit in ‘pectore vultus, verba<que>’*.)

vulnus, verba (RA/RB): The construction is not entirely clear: *verba* together with *cantusque* can be connected with *memor* as acc. pl.: ‘remembering words and songs’. For *memor* + acc., see 29, RB 28 *cives <…> memores patris tui beneficia*; ThLL VIII 659,65-660,5; Löfstedt, *Synt.*[2] I, p.256; Linderbauer (on *Reg. Ben.* 4,42), p.196. A less likely construction is: *figit vulnus, verba*, followed by *memor* + gen., here *memor cantus* (Konstan).

credit genus esse deorum (RA [= Verg.]) ~ (RB /): *genus* means either: son of gods or: family tree, cf. Austin on Verg., *Aen.* 4,12. *RB*, cautious in matters of faith, thought this pagan characterization completely superfluous, cf. Introd. III.3

18, RA 2-3 nec somnum oculis nec ‘membris dat <c>ura quietem’. ‘love’s care did not give sleep to her eyes nor “to her limbs any rest”.’

18, RB 2-3 Quaerit Apollonium et non sustinet amorem.

nec somnum oculis nec membris dat <c>ura quietem (RA) ~ (RB /): Already replaced by *RB* with *inquietam habuit noctem*.

Quaerit Apollonium et non sustinet amorem (RB): Stately language, cf. Hier., *Epist.* 17 *impatientia <…> desiderium non sustinet*. For *sustinere* (RB), cf. 9, RA 9/RB 10 (comm.).

18, RA 3-4	Vigilans primo mane irrumpit cubiculum patris. Pater videns filiam ait: 'She lay awake, and at the crack of dawn she rushed into her father's bedroom. When he saw his daughter he said:'
18, RB 3	Prima luce vigilat, irrupit cubiculum patris, sedet super thorum. Pater videns filiam ait:

Vigilans (RA) ~ *vigilat* (RB): The meaning of *Vigilans* must be: '*postquam per totam noctem vigilavit*'. The underlying Greek word here is uncertain: ἀγρυπνέω (?), ἀΰπνέω (?), νυκτερεύω (?), διανυκτερεύω (?) (cf. *Less.* s.v.). *RB*'s change seems based on the tricolon (*vigilat, irrupit, sedet*) with variation in the tenses (cf. below 18, RA 16/RB 17).

primo mane (RA) ~ *prima luce* (RB), cf. (5) *tam mane* (RA) ~ (5) *mane* (RB): This *mane* (originally an adverb) was extremely successful throughout Latinity and even becomes a neuter noun: the combination *de mane* produces Fr. demain, Ital. domani. The collocation *primo mane* is found in the whole of Latin literature, cf. ThLL VIII 279,69 (with references from Varro to Sidon.). Perhaps its popular character led *RB* (cf. Löfstedt, *Per.* 297; Linderbauer on *Reg. Ben.* 48,6, p.333) to switch to the more poetic form *prima luce*. Perhaps variatio was a motive too, cf. 1.5. The Greek probably had something like πρωΐ 'early in the day'.

sedet super thorum (RB), cf. 29, RA 5 *sedens* (sc. Tharsia) *iuxta eam* (sc. nutricem morientem) ~ RB 4 *sedens iuxta eam super thorum*; this kind of detail is not uncommon in the Greek Novel, cf. Heliod. 3,17,1 τὸν δὲ Θεαγένην ἐπειδήπερ εἰσῆλθεν ἀσπασάμενον ἀμειψάμενος ἐμαυτοῦ τε πλησίον ἐπὶ τῆς εὐνῆς ἐκάθιζον καὶ «τί χρέος ὄρθριόν σε ἄγει παρ' ἡμᾶς;» ἠρώτων 'Theagenes entered, and, having exchanged courtesies, I (sc. Kalasiris) made him sit next to me on the bed. "What brings you here so early in the morning?" I asked.' (cf. Heliod. 4,5,2; 10,4,3). Though situation and wording are similar (early in the morning Theagenes goes to Kalasiris to confess that he is in love with his daughter), *RB*'s addition seems to flow less from knowledge of the original or a proximate version and more from his wide reading. It is striking how consistently **π** carries through his prudish correction *tronum* in the parallel place 29, RB 4.

18, RA 4-5	"Filia dulcis, quid est, quod tam mane praeter consuetudinem vigilasti?" '"Sweet daughter, why are you still awake so early in the morning contrary to your habit?"'

18, RB 4-5 "Cara dulcis, quid est hoc, quod praeter consuetudinem tuam mane vigilasti?"

Filia dulcis (RA) ~ *Cara dulcis* (RB): *cari* means 'loved ones': Plaut., *Menachmi* 105 *cum caris meis*; Lact. 3,28,8 *amissio carorum*; Sen., *ad Marc.* 7,1 *carissimi*; ThLL III 505,22 notes as fem. noun: Ps. Ambr., *Paenit.* 20 *caras pariter ac vicinas* (sc. mulier) *invitat ad gaudium inventae drachmae* (in the original text Luke 15:9 *convocat amicas et vicinas*). The combination *Cara dulcis*, though uncommon, is therefore possible. Perhaps the two adjectives should be separated by a comma. An argument for *RA* is the use of γλυκύς 'sweet' with personal names, cf. *Less.*, s.v. (b): e.g. Heliod. 4,8,7 'Αλλ' ὦ γλυκεῖα <…> θύγατερ 'But you <…> my sweet daughter', cf. Heliod. 1,9,4; 1,14,6; 8,11,5.

quid est, quod (RA) ~ *quid est hoc, quod* (RB): The *HA* uses interchangeably the short form *quid est, quod* and the longer form *quid est hoc, quod*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. quid; Klebs, p.247. The short form gave rise to Fr. *qu'est ce que*. Of course there may be a Greek substrate here too: Luke 2:49 τί ὅτι ἐζητεῖτέ με 'Why did you search me'; Acts 5:4 τί ὅτι ἔθου ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο 'What in your heart made you think of doing such a thing?' (Page, ad loc. notes: 'The form of question expresses some astonishment or indignation' [exactly as here in HA]), cf. ibid. 5:9. Esp. in papyri we find the form τί ὅτι, alternating with τί ἐστιν ὅτι;. (There is no reason to follow Garbugino [p.86; p.107, n.80] in regarding the phrase *quid est hoc quod* as a Gallicism and advancing it as a decisive argument for the position that the Christianization of the *HA* took place in Gaul. Consultation of the *Concordans*, s.v. *quid* shows that this phrase, in both its short and long form, occurs e.g. more than 20x in the Vet. Lat. The correspondng forms there are τί; τί ὅτε; τί τοῦτο; τί τοῦτό ἐστιν; τί ἐστιν τοῦτο; τί ἐστιν ὅ; τί ἐστιν ὅτι. For a refutation of his other arguments with regard to the textual genesis of *HA*, see 12, RA 19/RB 22 [comm.] and 31, RA 9/RB 6 [comm.].)

tam mane (RA) ~ *mane* (RB): ThLL VIII 277,35 gives the following parallel places for *RA*: Terent., *Haut.* 67 *tam mane* <…> *tam vesperi*; Cic., *Respl.* 1,14; Sulp. Sev., *Dial.* 3,1,5.

praeter consuetudinem (RA) ~ *praeter consuetudinem tuam* (RB): The expression is usually written without an adjective, as in *RA*, cf. ThLL IV 557,27. Perhaps from Gr. (?) παρὰ συνήθειαν, cf. LSJ, s.v. συνήθεια (II): 'habit', 'custom'.

vigilasti (RA/RB): Probably in the sense of (OLD, s.v. 1): 'to stay awake (often implying alertness or engagement in nocturnal pursuits)', pains of love clearly being the reason here. For this the Greek Novel likes to use (δι)ορθρεύω 'to lie awake before dawn', cf. Hel. 3,17,1 (also in a love affair) «τί χρέος ὄρθριόν σε ἄγει παρ' ἡμᾶς;» ἠρώτων '"What brings you here so early in the morning?" I asked.' In this passionate view the Greek Novel links up with high Greek lyricism (Eurip., Theocr.).

18, RA/RB 5-7 Puella ait: "Hesterna studia me excitaverunt. Peto itaque, pater, ut me tradas (RA: RB /) hospiti nostro Apollonio (RA: RB /) studiorum percipiendorum gratia. (RB *add.* tradas.")" 'The girl said: "Yesterday's display of learning kept me awake. I beg you, father, send me to our guest Apollonius to take lessons."'

Externa P,Rα(F): This way of writing *Hesterna* **Rα(L,G,Atr.)** is not uncommon, e.g. Verg., *Aen.* 8,543 *hesternumque larem* (externumque **MR**, *agnoscit Serv.*); *Actus Petri cum Simone*, c.4 (Bonnet-Lipsius) *externa autem die rogabatur*. Underlying *hesterna studia* is perhaps τὰ χθὲς σπουδάσματα, cf. LSJ, s.v. σπούδασμα: '"things" or "work" done with zeal'.

excitaverunt (RA/RB): *RA*'s reading is based on **Rα** (Riese): **P** reads *ex̃citaverunt = exercitaverunt*, which could possibly be retained, cf. ThLL V,2 1387,38 (with 3 examples *exercito = excito*). (Compare the discussion in Schmeling, *Notes*, p.144 on ed. 13,24 *exercitaverunt*.)

tradas (RA/RB): *RB*'s transposition is based both on the general rule for end-placed verbs (cf. 18, RB 17) and on the cursus (*pl.*). The motivation, with all the consequences it entails, is not unknown in the Greek Novel: Xen. Eph. 3,2,8 ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ δίδωσι τὸν Ὑπεράνθην προφάσει διδασκαλίας 'And he (i.q. the father) made over Hyperanthes to Aristomachus (a previously unknown man from Byzance) on the pretext of private tuition, for he claimed to be a teacher of rhetoric.'

18, RA 7-8 Rex vero gaudio plenus iussit ad se iuvenem vocari. Cui sic ait: 'The king was delighted; he sent for the young man. He said to him:'

18, RB 7-8 Rex gaudio plenus iussit ad se iuvenem rogari. Cui ait:

vero (RA) ~ (RB /): *vero* in *RA*, as usually in Late Latin, is little more than a continuative particle: it is therefore often omitted by *RB*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. vero.

gaudio (RA/RB): The spelling *gaudia* **β (a. corr.)**, expunged for -ạ̊, is highly instructive, illustrating as it does the transition from neut. pl. to fem. noun 1st decl. (la joie, la gioia), cf. 17, RA 16 *hospitalia* and Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 223.

vocari (RA) ~ *rogari* (RB): *RB* has a preference for *rogare*, cf. 15, RA 8 *invitavi* ~ RB 7 *rogavi* **bβ**.

18, RA 8-11

"Apolloni, studiorum tuorum felicitatem filia mea a te discere concupivit. Peto itaque et iuro tibi per regni mei vires, ut, <si> desiderio natae meae parueris, quicquid tibi iratum abstulit mare, ego in terris restituam." '"Apollonius, my daughter has conceived a desire to be taught the abundance of your learning by you. This is my request, and I swear to you by my royal power, that if you will comply with my child's wish, I will restore to you on land whatever the hostile sea took away from you."'

18, RB 8

"Apolloni, studiorum tuorum felicitatem filia mea a te discere concupivit. Itaque si desiderio natae meae parueris, iuro te per regni mei vires, quia quicquid tibi mare abstulit, ego in terris restituam."

felicitatem (RA/RB): No doubt everyone understood this expression, cf. 'Apollonius, my daughter greatly desires to learn the happy fruit of your studies from you.' (Sandy) As Riese (1893), Index s.v. *felicitas* suggests, the word may go back to εὐδαιμονία = i.e. *copia* 'fullness'. The Glossaria suggest εὐτυχία 'abundance', cf. CGL VI, 442. On the other hand the image does agree with Latin usage, cf. ThLL VI,1 432,17.

peto itaque et iuro <…> **ut** (RA) ~ *iuro* (RB): The sentence construction in *RA* is somewhat confused, but completely understandable in the consternation of the moment.

iuro tibi (RA): *iuro te* (RB): The dat. *tibi* is perfectly understandable from the viewpoint of Greek, where it often functions as an ethical dat., cf. LSJ,

s.v. ὄμνυμι 'to swear': Hom., *Il.* 1,76 καί μοι ὄμοσσον ἦ μέν μοι <...> ἀρρήξειν 'And swear to me <...> to help me', cf. ibid. 14,271; Theocr., *Adon.* 22 ὄμνυμί σοι <...> οὐκ ἤθελον 'I swear to you <...>, I did not wish'; see also Herond., *Mim.*3,82 ὄμνυμί σοι, Λαμπρίσκε, τὰς φίλας Μούσας 'I swear to you, Lampriscus, by our beloved Muses'; Demosth. 890,24 καὶ πάντας ὑμῖν ὄνυμι τοὺς θεοὺς ἦ μὴν ἐρεῖν τἀληθῆ 'And I swear to you by all the gods that I will speak the whole truth'. The Greek Novel has it too, e.g. Xen. Eph. 1,11,5 Ὡς ὀμνύω τέ σοι τὴν πάτριον ἡμῖν θεόν 'As I swear to you by the goddess of our fathers.' *RB*'s correction *te* is pedantic.

per mei regni (RA: *regni mei* RB) **vires** (RA/RB): This expression occurs a few times in the *HA*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. vis. It must be conceded to Klebs, p.279 that the phrase is not unusual, esp. in Late Latin. In particular Heraeus, *GGA* 1915, p.479 added a wealth of material to Löfstedt, *Per.*, p.113: *Per. Eg.* 25,9 *in quantum vires regni sui habuit* (i.q. 'inasmuch as he had the financial resources'), *fabricam ornavit auro*; Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* 2,33,5; *Paneg.* 4,11,2; Script. Hist. Aug., *Vita Comm.* 7,8; ibid. 3,7. The usage probably also includes phrases like Apul., *Met.* 9,13 *totis patrimonii viribus*; Tacit., *Ann.* 15,42 *viribus principis illudere*, cf. Blaise, Souter, s.v. *vis*. So the phrase means: 'I swear by the finances of my realm' (that I will compensate Apollonius for his losses). The expression may come directly from Greek, cf. Lampe, s.v. κρατός (B): 'imperial majesty' 'sovereign power'.

ut <si> (RA) ~ *Itaque si* (RB): For the correction in *RA*, see Klebs, p.36 n.9: 'si (fehlt **P**)'. For further argumentation, see Hunt (1980) p.29; Schmeling (1988), ad loc.; both refer to 22, RA 15 *ut si* and the parallel place 18, RB 9. The sentence construction *Peto <...> iuro, ut* (RA) is completely plausible in terms of Greek: for ὄμνυμι/ὀμνύω followed by ὅτι, ὡς, see *Less.* s.v. ὄμνυμι, esp. Xen. Eph. (1,11,4.5; 2,7,5; 5,14,4). *RB*'s transposition to the beginning of the sentence is a forced effort to save the Latin syntax.

iratum abstulit mare (RA) ~ *mare abstulit* (RB): Romans like to talk about an enraged sea: Hor., *Epod.* 2,6 *iratum mare*; Petron., 81,3 *Non iratum etiam innocentibus mare?*; 114,11 *iratos fluctus*; Plin., *Panegyr.* 35 *iratosque fluctus sequi*. Perhaps we can stipulate a translation from κεχολωμένος 'provoked to anger', cf. CGL VI, 604; LSJ, s.v. χολόω [II] ; ibid. (Suppl.), s.v. χολιάζω 'to make angry'. For that matter, such personifications in imagery drawn from the sea also occur in Greek, in particular in Late Greek authors, cf. L. Thurmayer, *Sprachliche Studien zu dem Kirchenhistoriker Euagrios*, Eichstätt 1910, pp. 35-6.It is unclear why *RB* has removed the personification.

mare (RA/RB) ~ **in terris** (RA/RB) i.q. *in possessionibus* (Riese, 1893, Index s.v. *terra*), chosen for the antithesis.

18, RA 12/RB 11-12 Apollonius hoc audito docet puellam, sicuti et (RA: sicut RB) ipse d<i>dic<e>rat (RA: didicerat RB). 'After this conversation Apollonius began to teach the girl, just as he himself had been taught.'

dedicarat P: How the word came to be mangled is hard to explain palaeographically.

sicuti (RA)/**sicut** (RB), cf. καθώς, i.e. to the same high degree.

18, RA 13-15 Interposito brevi tempor<is> spatio, cum non posset puella ulla ratione vulnus amoris tollerare, in multa infirmitate membra prostravit flux<a, et> coepit iacere imbecillis in thoro. 'After a little time, when the girl could not bear the wound of love in any way, she became very ill; her feeble limbs gave way and she lay helpless in bed.'

18, RB 13-14 Interposito pauci temporis spatio, cum non possit puella ulla ratione amoris sui vulnus tolerare, simulata infirmitate coepit iacere. 'She pretended to be ill and began to lie in bed.'

posset (RA) ~ *possit* **b**: *posset* **βπ**: The reading *posset* (equivalent in sound to *possit*) would be possible in *RB* too.

vulnus (RA/RB), cf. 18, RA/RB 2.

in multa infirmitate (RA) ~ *simulata infirmitate* (RB): Two τόποι are opposed here: real love-sickness (RA) ~ feigned love-sickness (RB). This distinction plays an important role in the *HA* generally (see 20, RA 5 *male habes* ~ RB 4 *mala*). To which category Archistratis' love belongs – real or feigned – , can hardly be a serious problem: the princess is 'mortally' in love, with all its consequences, cf. 18, RA 1-3. She shares this fate with countless characters in world literature (cf. Singer, p.30 n.1), sometimes together with the other party, cf. Headlam op. cit. p.45 on Herond. 1,60 καὶ ποθέων ἀποθνήσκει 'and even he dies for love'. In particular the Greek Novel (as well as other literature) likes to dwell on the subject, cf. e.g. Xen. Eph. 1,5,9 Ἔκειντο μὲν δὴ ἑκάτεροι νοσοῦντες, πάνυ ἐπισφαλῶς διακείμενοι, ὅσον οὐδέπω τεθνήξεσθαι προσδοκώμενοι, κατειπεῖν αὐτῶν

τὴν συμφορὰν μὴ δυνάμενοι 'Both, then, lay ill; their condition was critical; they were expected to die at any moment, unable to confess what was wrong.' Often physicians are seriously consulted – this occurs in many stories, in countless variations (cf. e.g. Heliod. 4,7,3-4) – but they too are unable to discover the real cause. This sincere love contrasts with feigned love, also in countless variations, in both Greek and Latin: Charit. 5,10,6 προσποιησάμενος οὖν νοσεῖν '(Chareas was in the grip of inconsolable grief.) So he pretended to be ill'; 5,7,4 ἐμιμεῖτο τοὺς νοσοῦντας τὴν ἐκ θεῶν καλουμένην νόσον '(Anthia) pretended to be afflicted with the divine disease (= epilepsy)'; Achill. Tat. 2,16,1 σκηψαμένη <…> νοσεῖν 'She (sc. Leukippe) pretended to be sick'; Heliod. 1,10,3 οὐδὲ διανέστη τότε τῆς εὐνῆς <…> μαλακῶς τε ἔχειν ἐσκήπτετο 'Her first step was not to leave her bed that morning <…> she pretended to be unwell.' Esp. Latin is fond of such excuses: Tibull. 1,6,35 *te tenet, absentes alios suspirat amores et simulat subito condoluisse caput* ('I suddenly have a headache'); see also Ov., *amor.* 1,8,73; Iuven. 6,235. Unsurprisingly, the τόπος also entered Latin hagiography: *Vita Eugeniae* (PL 21, p.1113[D]) (Melanthia in love with Eugenia) *aegritudinem simulans*; *Passio S. Anastasiae* (ed. Delehaye, *Le Legendier romain*, p.223) *Interea dum haec ageret atque a mariti consortio simulata infirmitate cessaret, pervenit ad notitiam zelantis viri hanc plebeo cultu circuire carceres*. It even becomes a principal motif in hagiography for breaking the pagan marriage (Mombr. I 355,29 *simulata infirmitate*; 355,46 *mentita infirmitate*; II 394,41 *simulatur infirmitas*; 472,18 *simulans aegritudinem*). The following conclusions can now be drawn:

1. There is no reason to reject *in multa infirmitate* (RA): Klebs' argument (p.288 n.3: 'Die weitere Erzählung zeigt daß an eine wirkliche Krankheit nicht zu denken ist') lacks any real foundation and does great injustice to the figure of Archistratis;
2. Klebs overpraises the parallel with Apul., *Met.* 10,2-3 *mulier <…> languore simulato vulnus animi mentitur* (Klebs, pp.288-9; Schmeling [1988], p.14,5-6; Garbugino, p.119), since the feigned love in Apuleius is that of an older woman: it merely proves how easily *RB* can introduce changes to add refinement to the story. His intervention *in multa* → *simul<a>ta* is minimal, and this proves his quality, cf. Introd. IV.3.
3. The very frequency of the 'feigned love' τόπος in literature with Christian overtones will have enhanced the appreciation of *RB*'s readership for his alteration. It seems unlikely that *RB* based himself on a Greek model here. His only source, as so often, was his wider reading in the subject matter.

membra prostravit fluxa (*fluxie* **P**) (RA) ~ (RB /): A most peculiar expression in Latin, cf. ThLL VI 983,39: (i.q. dissolutus: de membris) Stat., *Achill.* 2,108 *durata <…> sole geluque cutis, tenero nec fluxa cubili membra*. The phra-

se may go back to διαλύω 'to resolve', cf. LSJ, s.v. διαλύω (II): 'to weaken' as present tense in Hipp., *Aph.* 3,17 τὸ σῶμα, 'esp. of the result of hunger'. Such a translation is consistent with the Glossaria, cf. CGL VI, 459 (s.v. *fluxus*); VII, 203 (s.v. *resolvo*). The image *membra fluxa* agrees with Plato, *Phaedr.* 87[D] εἰ γὰρ ῥέοι τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἀπολλύοιτο ἔτι ζῶντος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου 'even when the body wastes away and perishes during man's lifetime'.

coepit iacere imbecillis in thoro (RA) ~ *coepit iacere* (RB): *iacere* (RA/RB) in the sense of 'to lie ill' 'to be sick' is found in the best Latinity: Cic., *Fam.* 9,20 *cura ut valeas, ne ego te iacente bona tua comedam*; Tibull. 1,5,9 *cum tristi morbo defessa iaceres*. In this sense *RB* could confine himself to *coepit iacere*. But this elimination has probably removed a number of Graecisms: the equivalent of *iacere* is κεῖσθαι, cf. LSJ, s.v. κεῖμαι (3): 'to lie sick'; *imbecillis* is a very common variant of *imbecillus*, cf. ThLL VII 416, 45-60. It probably renders ἀσθενής, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀσθενής (1): 'feeble' 'sickly'; s.v. ἀσθενέω: Eurip., *Orest.* 228 (1) ἀσθενέω μέλη 'to be weak in limbs'. Perhaps *in thoro* goes back to ἐν κλίνῃ (cf. LSJ, s.v. κλίνη: Andoc. 1,64 ἐκ κλίνης ἀνίστασθαι, after illness). In sum, *RA* could conjecturally be a translation of ἤρξατο κεῖσθαι ἀσθενὴς ἐν κλίνῃ.

18, RA 15-16/RB 14-16 Rex ut vidit filiam suam subitaneam valitudinem incurrisse, sollicitus (RA: sollicite RB) adhibet (RA: adhibuit RB) medicos. 'When the king saw that his daughter had caught a sudden illness, he was worried and summoned doctors.'

filiam suam subitaneam valitudinem incurisse (RA/RB): Though *valitudinem* could theoretically be connected as 'accusative subject' with *filiam* as 'accusative object' (Archibald translates: When the king saw that a sudden illness had attacked his daughter), it is better to retain the word order with *filiam* as subject and *valitudinem* as object of *incurrisse*. For *incurrere* + acc., cf. Blaise, s.v. (2-3): Optat. 5,10 *incurrere latrones*; Aug., *Civ.* 22,8 *daemonem incurrit*; (fig.) Mamert., *Stat. an.* 1,2 *incurrere librum*; ibid. 2,3 *incurrere veritatem*; see also Linderb. (on *Reg. Bened.* 5,35), p.206; for an analogous construction *incidere aliquid*, cf. *HA* 32, RA 33 *naufragium incidit* (RB /).

subitaneam valitudinem (RA/RB): A euphemism for: *repentinam infirmitatem*; the phrase is not unusual in Late Latin, cf. Aug., *serm.* 232,8,8 *et mortem subitaneam non timetis*; Caes. Arel., *serm.* 41,4 *quare non timet ne eum subitanea febricula superveniens rapiat*; Greg. Tur., *Virt. Mart.* 3,10 *erat enim subitaneus* (dolor).

sollicitus (RA) ~ *sollicite* (RB): For *sollicitus* (RA) used predicatively, cf. 13, RA 22/RB 18. On the authority of CGL VII 278, this *sollicitus* could be derived directly from Greek: ἐμμέριμνος 'in anxiety'; μεριμνητικός 'anxious'.

adhibet medicos (RA): In Heliod. 4,7,3-4 (a rather close parallel, cf. Garin, p.199 n.1) Charikles also summons physicians, to diagnose the mysterious illness of his enamoured sister Charikleia: τοὺς γὰρ εὐδοκίμους τῶν ἰατρῶν <…> παρακαλέσας ἦγον εἰς τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν 'I called in the most eminent physicians <…> and took them to examine her.' Access to these physicians was easier if they were attached to the court, the so-called βασιλικοὶ ἰατροί, cf. Cumont, p.30 n.2. The plural may also suggest specializations, cf. Herod. 2,84 μιῆς νούσου ἕκαστος ἰητρός ἐστι καὶ οὐ πλεόνων. Πάντα δ' ἰητρῶν ἐστι πλέα· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὀφθαλμῶν ἰητροὶ κατεστέασι, οἱ δὲ κεφαλῆς, οἱ δὲ ὀδόντων, οἱ δὲ τῶν κατὰ νηδήν, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀφανέων νούσων. 'Every physician is doctor of one malady and not of more. All is filled up with physicians. There are specialists of eyes, of the heart, teeth, stomach and internal, mental maladies.' Physicians play an important role in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. ἰατρός. Authors like to mock their self-importance and greed, cf. Achill. Tat. 4,4,8 ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ἰατρὸς ἀλαζὼν καὶ τὸν μισθὸν πρῶτος αἰτεῖ 'but he is like a quack doctor and insists on prior payment.'

18, RA 16-18 Qui venientes medici temptant venas, tangunt singulas corporis partes, nec omnino inveniunt aegritudinis causas. 'When the doctors came, they took her pulse and examined each part of her body, but they did not discover any cause at all of the illness.'

18, RB 16-17 At illi temptant venas, tangunt singulas partes corporis: aegritudinis nullam causam inveniunt.

Qui venientes medici (RA) ~ *At illi* (RB): The complete relative, here moreover separated by a participle, should be retained in accordance with Late Latin usage, cf. LHS II, 563; Löfstedt, *Peregr.* 81; Corbett (on *Reg. Magistri*, Prol. 22 *Duas vias, in quibus duabus viis*), p.75; Blatt, *Acta Andreae et Matthiae* p.34 n.9: *die, in quo die; lacu, quo lacu*. Of course we cannot tell to what extent this complete relative has been adopted from **R(Gr)** or even **HA(Gr)**. It is a fact that Greek uses it sparingly (Kühner-Gerth II 434,2), with some increase in Byzantine Greek, cf. D. Tabachovitz, 'In Historiam Lausiacam observationes', *Eranos* 30

(1932), p.99. For the Greek Novel, cf. Xen. Eph. 2,11,11; 2,13,4 (app. crit.).

venientes (RA) ~ (RB /): This detail often emerges in the Greek Novel: Xen. Eph. 1,5,6-7 εἰσάγουσι παρὰ τὴν ʼΑνθίαν μάντεις καὶ ἱερέας ὡς εὑρήσοντας λύσιν τοῦ δεινοῦ. Οἱ δὲ ἐλθόντες ἔθυόν τε ἱερεῖα ‘They brought in diviners and priests to Anthia to find a remedy to her plight. They came and performed sacrifices’; Heliod. 4,7,3 τοὺς <…> εὐδοκίμους τῶν ἰατρῶν <…>. Οἱ δε ὡς τάχιστα εἰσῆλθον, ἠρώτων ὅ τι πάσχοι ‘The most famous of the doctors <…>. As soon as they entered her room, they asked her what the matter was.’ *At illi* (RB): stylistic removal of a long Graecism.

temptant venas (RA/RB): The manuscript reading *temptantes* **P** is probably due to the influence of *venientes*; *temptant* (RB), together with *tangunt* (RA/RB) and *inveniunt* (RA/RB), forms a tricolon. As regards content: the pulse plays an insignificant role in the earlier writings of the Hippocratics. Alexandrian medicine showed increased attentiveness. Extremely subtle observation plays a particularly important role in Herophilos of Chalcedon. The pulse rate was measured by means of a water-clock and connected with various syndromes. This development culminated in Galen, 2nd c. AD. His work *De pulsu* offers a precise observation and assessment of the various pulse rates (A. Lesky, *Aristaenetus' Erotische Briefe*, Artemis-Verlag 1951, p.153). So the activity of the physicians in the *HA* is normal in this respect. The closest parallel in the Greek Novel is provided by Heliod. 4,7,3, also on account of the end result: ὁ λόγιος ʼΑκεσῖνος <…> τῷ καρπῷ τὴν χεῖρα <…> ἐπιβαλὼν ἀνακρίνειν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρτηρίας ἐῴκει τὸ πάθος ὥσπερ οἶμαι τὰ καρδίας κινήματα μηνυούσης <…> «ʼΩ Χαρίκλεις» ἔφη «περιττῶς ἡμᾶς ἐνθάδε εἰσκέκληκας· ἰατρικὴ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἂν οὐδαμῶς ἀνύσειε πρὸς ταύτην.» ‘The learned physician Akesinos <…> seized her wrist <…> and appeared to diagnose her complaint from the pulse; I suppose because it indicates the movements of the heart. (Then he said) “It was a waste of time bringing us here, Charikles. There is nothing at all that medicine can do for her.” This place makes it clear that medicine is powerless when it comes to love-sickness, a rewarding τόπος, cf. *Acta Andreae* (ed. Macdonald, 1990, p.308) Μεθʼ ἡμέρας δέ τινας ἠσθένησε Μαξιμίλλα, ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου, καὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἀποκαμόντων ἀπογνωσθεῖσα ‘After some days Maximilla, the wife of the proconsul, fell sick and, the physicians failing utterly, she was given up.’ (All this shows that Klebs's comparison, pp.288-9 with Apul., *Met.* 10,2 *heu medicorum ignarae mentes! Quid venae pulsus —- iuvenis rogat praesentis causas aegritudinis* is irrelevant to the **Hi** theory.) Nor does it seem necessary, given that it was common to feel the pulse for signs of nascent love, to hypothesize

a close link between the *HA* in its present form and the romantic story, famed in Antiquity, of King Seleucus of Antioch, who gives up his concubine Stratonice to his son Antiochus, because the physician Erasistratus observed that the young man had an accelerated pulse whenever he noticed Stratonice, cf. Introd. VI.1.

nec omnino (RA) ~ *nullam* (RB): *RA* means 'and not in any way': for its popular character, cf. J.B. Hofmann, Beiträge, p.103; Linderbauer, p.318.

inveniunt aegritudinis causas (RA) ~ *aegritudinis (nullam) causam inveniunt* (RB): A fine stylistic transposition in *RB*, since the sing. is much more effective and the verb is preferably end-placed. For the combination of nouns, see Charit. 1,1,10 τὴν αἰτίαν ἔμαθον τῆς νόσου 'They learned the reason of his sickness'; Xen. Eph. 5,7,5 ἀνεπυνθάνετο τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς νόσου 'he asked her the cause of the disease', cf. id. 1,5,9.

For the τόπος 'the physician's art despairs', see O. Weinreich, *Antike Heilungswunder*. Untersuchungen zum Wunderglauben der Griechen und Römer. Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, VIII,1 Gießen 1909, pp.193-7; Betz, p.148. Hagiography abounds in this τόπος (Mombr. I 416,48; 417,8; 465,53; II 20,35; 107,23; 277,56).

CHAPTER 19

Chapters 19-21 offer a series of amusing scenes between king, daughter, Apollonius, suitors, completely in keeping with the Greek Novel.

19, RA 1-2	Rex autem post paucos dies tenens Apollonium manu forum petit et cum eo deambulavit. 'A few days later, the king took Apollonius by the hand, went to the forum and walked there with him.'
19, RB 1-2	Post paucos dies rex tenens manum Apollonii forum civitatis ingreditur. Et dum cum eo deambulabat,

tenens Apollonium manu (RA) ~ *tenens manum Apollonii* (RB): This kind of gesture is frequent in the Greek Novel (and elsewhere), also for the same sex (we are after all in Southern and Eastern countries): Charit. 1,14,3 Θήρων δὲ τῆς δεξιᾶς λαβόμενος τοῦ Λεωνᾶ 'and Theron took Leonas by the hand'; Achill. Tat. 5,8,2 καί μού τις κατόπιν βαδίζοντος ἐν ἀγορᾷ τῆς χειρὸς ἄφνω λαβόμενος 'As I (sc. Clitopho0n) was strolling in the agora someone behind me suddenly seized my arm.' Usually, as here, it is a gesture of intimacy, reassurance.

forum (RA/RB): Easy to reach from the palace on the acropolis via the Σκυρωτή (sc. ὁδός) 'the paved street' (cf. 3,RA/RB 3 *plateam*) on the left side. This ἀγορά, spacious and ringed by colonnades, served as a market-place (cf. 33, RA/RB 2) and was also a meeting place for the citizens, cf. Roques, loc. cit. n.33.

deambulavit (RA/RB): Like today, 'to walk to and fro'. In Greek usually περιπατέω, cf. *Less.*, s.v.;

19, RA 2-3 Iuvenes scholastici III nobilissimi, qui p<er> longum tempus filiam eius petebant in matrimonium, pariter omnes una voce salutaverunt eum. ‘Three educated and very aristocratic young men, who had long been seeking his daughter’s hand in marriage, all greeted him in unison.’

19, RB 2-4 iuvenes nobilissimi tres, qui per longum tempus filiam eius in matrimonio petierant, regem una voce pariter salutaverunt.

Iuvenes scholastici III nobilissimi (RA) ~ *iuvenes nobilissimi tres* (RB): A common novelistic motif: the father has the right to give away his daughter in marriage. So far he has deferred assent, making for further potential conflict. This mainly plays a role in the earlier Novel, cf. Zimmermann, p.59, examples being the Metiochos-Parthenope novel, Ninos novel, Chariton, Chione. As in Iamblichus’ *Babyloniaca* [75 a 36], there are three suitors, cf. Stephens, p.193. Though their discussion is less than elevating, there is certainly nothing to blame (Rohde[3], p.445 ‘in der hölzernen Darstellung des Lateiners’): it is exactly what readers have come to expect since Homer’s μνηστῆρες. The later literary development has reacted in very different ways to this scene. For instance Godfrey of Viterbo in his *Pantheon* leaves out the entire scene.

scholastici (RA) ~ (RB /): This term is hard to fathom and therefore translate. (Riese [1893], Index, s.v.: i.q. *vir doctus*; Archibald ‘scholarly’; Sandy, loc. cit. ‘students’.) The term goes back to σχολαστικός ‘learned man’ ‘scholar’, often used in a pejorative sense, cf. LSJ, s.v. (3): ‘pedant’ ‘learned simpleton’. Here it is used for young people, aged approx. 18-20, who have just finished their schooling, cf. 21, RA 6 *litteris eruditum* (RB /). The term is quite frequent in Asia Minor and may therefore be relevant to the provenance of the *HA*, cf. LSJ, s.v. σχολαστικός (1) (quotes CIG 2746 from Aphrodisias); H. Grégoire, *Recueil des Inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d’Asie Mineure,* I, Paris 1922, nos. 264 (Aphrodisias), 270 (Aphrodisias) combined with the title πατὴρ πατρίδος, cf. *HA* 50, RA 8 (comm.); MAMA VIII, no. 427 (Aphrodisias); C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*, London 1989, p.77: ‘it must have served the same function as the modern “Dr” or “M.A.”’ (lit. p.107); Martyrium S. Ariadnes (ed. Fr. de’ Cavalieri, p.126, col.I,13) τις σχολαστικὸς Νικάγορος. A more specific interpretation is offered by the formulation in Pall., *Hist. Laus.* (ed. Bartelink), ch. 21, l.17 Οὗτος ὁ Εὐλόγιος σχολαστικὸς ὑπῆρχεν ἐκ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων παιδευμάτων ‘Eulogius then was an educated man with an all-round schooling’, cf. 21, RB 4. It is uncertain why *RB* has not used the term here, but does use it in 40, RB 21 *est enim scholastica* (sc. Tharsia):

perhaps he thought the term overdone here. For further information, cf. A. Claus, ʻΟ σχολαστικός, Diss. Köln, 1965. For *RA* it is in any case a sign of Asian Minor provenance, cf. Introd. VI.2.

per longum tempus (RA/RB): For Latin we can obviously point to the obsolescence of *diu* (Klebs, p.269: Väänänen, § 159), but there is probably also influence from ἐπὶ πολύ 'for a long time', cf. *Less.*, s.v. πολύς (c.β). The reading *post* P (= *per*) is defensible both on 19, RB 3 *post* β (*a. corr.*), π and on Latinity, cf. ThLL X 2.1 175, 14-26 ('*audacius*'). Esp. medieval Latin provides interesting material, cf. CHRON. Fred. 4.42 *regnum Francorum* <…> *quod feliciter post sedecim annis tenuit*. The present reading often being merely a matter of abbreviation (p' = post; p̱ = *per*), the standard form *per* has been retained.

petebant in matrimonium (RA) ~ *in matrimonio petierant* (RB): This expression coincides with Greek, cf. Long. 3,25 πρὸς γάμον αἰτοῦντες αὐτήν; Heliod. 4,6,6 πρὸς γάμον αἰτῶμεν, cf. 1, RA 5 *multi eam in matrimonium petebant* (*in matrimonio postulabant* RB). Other words/constructions are of course possible, cf. *Less.*, s.v. μνάομαι 'court' / μνηστεύω; Zimmermann, p.43.

pariter omnes (RA) ~ *pariter* (RB): *Pariter* 'equally' is used often in the *HA*, esp. by *RA* (in the combination *omnes pariter*). Interestingly, *RB* almost always economizes, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. In doing so *RB* has probably abridged the Greek model in various places too, since the Greek Novel likes to use the collocation ὁμοῦ πάντες/πάντα, cf. *Less.*, s.v. ὁμοῦ 'insieme, contemporaneamente' (Achill. Tat. 6x; Charit. 2x; Heliod. 3x); ὁμοίως is also used frequently, cf. *Less.*, s.v. (Charit. 2x; Xen. Eph. 1x; Achill. Tat. 4x; Long. 1x; Heliod. 5x). *pariter* <…> *una voce* (RA/RB) 'all together with one voice': perhaps we can compare ὁμοφώνως 'with one voice (accord)', cf. LSJ, s.v.

salutaverunt (RA/RB): Cf. (?) προσαγορεύω 'to address' 'to greet'. On other occasions they quarrel, cf. 21, RA/RB. Now they have struck a bargain, cf. Charit. 1,2,1 ὡμονόησαν 'They were in common agreement'.

19, RA/RB 4-5

Quos videns (RA: ut vidit RB) rex subridens ait illis (RA: RB /): "Quid est hoc (RA: RB /), quod una voce me (RA: RB /) pariter salutastis?" Vnus ex ipsis (RA: illis RB) ait: 'On seeing them the king smiled and said to them: "Why have you all greeted me in unison?" One of them said:'

videns <…> **subridens** (RA) ~ *ut vidit* <…> *subridens* (RB): A combination of two present participles, the first prior in time to the second (from [?]

ἰδών <…> [ὑπο]μειδιῶν / [ὑπο]μειδιάσας). The combination was probably too much for *RB*. (Garbugino, p.207 with n.83 also refers to 49, RA 2 *clamans* <…> *dicens*; but this should probably be explained in a different way.)

quid est hoc, quod <…> **me** <…> **salutastis** (RA): An epic repetition shortened by *RB*. For the interrogative particle, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. quid.

19, RA 6-8 "Petentibus nobis filiam vestram in matrimonium tu saepius nos differendo fatigas: propter quod hodie una simul venimus. Elige ex nobis, quem vis habere generum." '"We seek your daughter's hand in marriage, and you keep tormenting us by putting us off so often; that is why we have all come together today. Choose which of us you want as a son-in-law."'

19, RB 5-8 "Petentibus nobis filiam tuam in matrimonio saepius differendo crucias; propter quod hodie simul venimus. Cives tui sumus, locupletes, bonis natalibus geniti. Itaque de tribus elige unum, quem vis habere generum."

Petentibus nobis <…> **nos fatigas; filiam vestram** <…> **tu** (RA): A severe disruption of classical syntax, probably due in part to Greek influence (**R[Gr]**), cf. Garbugino p. 108 with n.84. For Greek influence one may compare Luke 17:11 καὶ εἰσερχομένου αὐτοῦ εἴς τινα κώμην ὑπήντησαν αὐτῷ δέκα λεπροὶ ἄνδρες. The adjective *vestram* is the majestic plural (cf. Blaise, *Manuel* § 171), addressed, as elsewhere in the *HA* 37, RA 17 *ad aures vestras*, to one person, viz. Apollonius. As here, *RB* 37, RB 18 'saves' classical syntax with the 'correction': *ad aures tuas*. This *vestram* (RA) may derive directly from a Greek model: ὑμέτερος in the sense of σός, cf. LSJ, s.v. ὑμέτερος (II). Klebs, p.248 wrongly regards *vestram* as an interpolation ('eine spätere Änderung der Schreiber'). Rather the form argues for a Greek original and for the superiority of *RA*. *RB*'s change in both places (*vestram* ~ *tuam*; *tu* ~ RB /) is merely palliative: the fact is that *crucias* requires an object, whether expressed or not. (Schmeling [1988] incorrectly follows **Rα[F, G]** in reading *tuam* in both places [cf. p.14,12; p.29,10].)

saepius differendo (RA/RB): *saepius* has some comparative value: 'every time again'; *differendo* (sc. rem, matrimonium) is the technical term for this situation, cf. Long. 3,25,3 ἀνεβάλλετο τὴν ἀπόκρισιν καὶ εἶλκε χρόνον ἐκ χρόνου 'So he put off an answer and made delay after delay.'

fatigas (RA) ~ *crucias* (RB): In Late Latin *fatigare* often has the meaning 'to wear out with toil', elsewhere in the *HA* too, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. But it could be that *fatigare* here means 'to make a fool of', cf. ThLL VI.1 351, 76-84 'ludibrio habere'. *RB* probably thought the term too bland nonetheless.

propter quod (RA/RB): Cf. Adams (1976), p.73.

una simul (RA) ~ *simul* (RB): *RA*'s pleonastic expression, 'all together' (Konstan) is found elsewhere too: Plaut., *Most.* 1037: *mecum, opsecro, una simul*, cf. OLD, s.v. unā.

cives tui sumus, locupletes, bonis natalibus geniti (RB): A proper list of marital qualities, probably formulated by *RB* himself (progressive series) on the basis of his reading. For the phrase *bonis natalibus geniti*, see e.g. Plin., *Nat.* 18,37 *infima natalium humilitate*; Tac., *Agr.* 6,1 *Domitiam* <…> *splendidis natalibus ortam*; Salv., *Gub.* 5,21 *natalibus obscuris editi* (for *reddi natalibus*, see 12, RA 24).

Elige ex nobis (RA) ~ *Itaque de tribus élige únum* (*pl.*) (RB): *RB* seizes the opportunity to use the obvious rhetorical trope, which is also more precise and rhythmic. For *eligo de*, cf. Paneg. 11(3),15,4 *de omnibus primus electus est*.

19, RA 8-10 Rex ait: "Non apto tempore me (RA: RB /) interpellastis: filia enim mea studiis (RA: studio RB) vacat et prae (RA: pro RB) amore studiorum imbecillis (RA: in- RB) iacet. 'The king said: "This is not a good time to disturb me. For my daughter is devoting herself to study, and because of her love of learning she is lying ill.'

non apto tempore (RA/RB): Cf. Charit. 1,4,4 προσεφασίζετο μὴ εἶναι τὸν καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον τὸν παρόντα 'he held back, saying that the present moment was not suitable.'

interpellastis (RB): For *interpello* abs., cf. OLD, s.v. (1),(4).

studiis (RA) ~ *studio* (RB): *RA* is supported by 18, RA 5-6/RB 6-7. The *RB* reading emphasizes the *ars musica*.

prae amore (RA) ~ *pro amore* (RB): Thielmann (1881), p.56 already argued for *RA* 'indem *prae* besonders in der archaischen und spätern Latinität nicht bloss von dem hindernden, sondern auch von dem bewir-

kenden Grunde gebraucht wird.' He refers to 45, RA 2 *flens prae gaudio* **AP**; cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *prae* (2). For the reading *pro* (RB), cf. Ind. verb., s.v.; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *pro* (3): 'pour' 'à cause de' (with exx. from Vulg., Tert., Hier., Ben., Peregr., Greg. M.); Blatt, *Acta Andreae*, Index p.181 *pro = propter*.

imbecillis iacet (RA/RB): 'she lies in a state of collapse' (Konstan), cf. 18, RA/RB 15.

19, RA/RB 10-11 Sed ne videar vos diutius (RA: saepe RB) differre, scribite in codicellos (RA: -is RB) nomina vestra et dotis quantitatem, 'But so that I do not seem to be putting you off further, write your names on a tablet, and the amount of your marriage gifts,'

codicellus (RA/RB): A (small) wooden writing tablet covered in wax and framed with a wooden edge to prevent damage to the writing, sometimes in a set of two or three boards, connected by a thong. This writing tablet served as a pad for hasty notes/communications, the answer could be directly returned by the receiver. Contact between writer and receiver was usually maintained by a male (*puer*, παῖς, *tabellarius*) or female slave. Latin, as well as Greek, has various terms for the object: *codicelli, pugillares* (*pugillus* means a handful), *pugillaria, tabellae* (cf. Fordyce on Catull. 41,5). In Greek we have γράμμα, πίναξ, γραμματίδιον; the most usual form is γραμματεῖον/γραμματίδιον with the adj. δίθυρος as a combination of two boards: they could be inscribed on the inside and then sealed (see note 19, RA 14/RB 13). This means of communication was widespread, which is also reflected in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. δέλτος 'writing tablets', γραμματεῖον, γραμματίδιον, γραμμάτιον; Zimmermann, p.86,6 (on Anton. Diog.). This type of correspondence is described at greatest length in Xen. Eph. 2,5,1.3; 2,10,1; 2,13,1; the *HA* agrees in terms of facts and language (see notes on 19, RA 14; 20, RA 13-14, 17-18).

dotis quantitatem (RA/RB) : 'the amount of your προίξ (= bride-price)', see 1, RA/RB 6 *cum magna dotis pollicitatione*; for *quantitas*, cf. (?) ποσότης, LSJ, s.v. (II): '"amount", "sum of money" *IG* 14.956 *A* 11 (Rome, IV A.D.), *BGU* 412.12 (IV A.D.)'. Esp. in later Byzantine sources the term χρυσίου/ἀργυρίου ποσότης is frequent, cf. Gelzer (1893), p.186.

19, RA 11-12 et dirigo ipsos codicellos filiae meae, et illa sibi eligat, quem voluerit habere maritum." 'I will send the tablet to my daughter, and she may choose for herself, whom she wants as a husband."'

19, RB 11-12 mitto filiae meae, ut ipsa eligat, quem voluerit."

dirigo ipsos codicellos filiae meae (RA) ~ *mitto filiae meae* (RB): This place requires further discussion for two reasons. First, *mitto* is the classical term in combination with *epistulam* and the like, cf. OLD, s.v. *mitto* (17 d). But when *mittere* starts to assume the sense of 'to place' (cf. Fr. 'mettre'), *dirigere* emerges. The first references are debatable (cf. ThLL V,1 s.v. *dirigo* 1247,7), but in the 4th century *dirigere* has won the day, cf. Wölfflin, ALL IV, 1887, p.100; Linderbauer, pp.102-3. Occasionally *mitto* still occurs as a synonym, alternating with *dirigo* (ThLL, loc. cit. 1247,21 mentions Ennod., *Epist.* 2,13,6), but *mitto* should nevertheless be regarded as archaicizing. The fin. dat. *filiae meae* (RA/RB) is also striking here, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.* § 249. A second point of discussion is the use of tenses. Both *dirigo* (RA) and *mitto* (RB) should really be *futura* (cf. Klebs, p.262). This imprecise usage characterizes both recensions (here; also 39, RA/RB 11; 41, RA/RB 13 [*sinet* π]), but is quite often corrected by *RB*, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. tempora verborum (3). The *HA* shares this cavalier usage with other writers in the Late Latin period (cf. Heraeus, *GGA* [1915], p.483 [following on from Löfstedt, *Per.* p.212 ff.]; LHS II, pp.307-8; Salonius, p.276; Löfstedt, *Synt.* II, pp.49-50, Linderbauer, p.344; Garvin, p.70), probably in accordance with Late Greek, Byzantine parlance, cf. e.g. Leontius Neapolitanus (ed. Gelzer [1893], p.200 s.v. Tempora (5 examples); Jannaris, App. IV,2. It is impossible to determine a Greek substrate form for *dirigo*, cf. ThLL VI.1 1233, 51-67. Summing up, we can say that *RB* has realized only half of the classical emendation here.

et illa sibi eligat (RA) (jussive subj.) ~ *ut ipsa eligat* (RB): A most remarkable point of view in the Greek way of thinking and certainly in the Greek Novel: both ἐγγύησις 'betrothal' and the official ἔκδοσις 'giving in marriage' are the exclusive prerogative of the κύριος (legal guardian), usually her father, cf. A. Calderini, 'La ἐγγύησις matrimoniale nei romanzieri greci e nei papiri', *Aegyptus* 39 (1959), pp.29-39; B. Egger (in: Tatum, *The search* [1994], p.266). In all likelihood romantic ideas about a freer conception of love and an oriental court have made themselves felt here.

quem voluerit habere maritum (RA) ~ *quem voluerit* (RB): *RB*'s simplification is probably connected with *velle*: 'to like', cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *volo* (2): Ps. 21:9 *salvum faciat eum, quoniam vult eum* (cf. Matt. 27:43). Though

this usage also occurs in Greek (cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. θέλω [4.b]), influence from a Greek version (or original) seems implausible here.

19, RA 12-13	Illi tres itaque iuvenes scripserunt nomina sua et dotis quantitatem. 'So the three young men wrote down their names and the amount of their marriage gifts.'
19, RB 12	Scripserunt illi nomina sua et dotis quantitatem.

illi tres itaque iuvenes (RA) ~ *illi* (RB): For *itaque* in 3rd position, cf. OLD s.v. *itaque* (1.b). This usage agrees with Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. οὖν (III). It is all too much for *RB*.

19, RA/RB 13-14	Rex accepit codicellos anuloque (RA: et anulo RB) suo signavit datque (RA: et dat RB) Apollonio dicens: 'The king took the tablet, sealed it with his ring, and gave it to Apollonius, saying:'

Both word order and content agree with the usual procedure as described by Xen. Eph. 2,5,3 τοῦτο τὸ γράμμα λαβοῦσα (cf. *accepit codicellos*) καὶ κατασημηναμένη (cf. *anuloque suo signavit*) δίδωσι θεραπαίνῃ τινὶ <...> εἰποῦσα (cf. *datque Apollonio dicens*) Ἁβροκόμῃ κομίζειν (cf. *perfer discipulae tuae*)· ὁ δὲ ἔλαβε (cf. 20, RA 2 *tradiditque*) καὶ ἀνέγνω (cf. 20, RA 2 *agnovit*; 20, RA 6 *legit*). (4) ἦν δὲ τὰ γεγραμμένα <τοιάδε *add.* Locella> (cf. 20, RA 14 *rescripserat filia*) 'She took the letter and sealed it, then gave it to one of her <...> servants telling her to give it to Habrocomes. He took it and read it. The letter went like this.'

anuloque suo signavit (RA/RB): Higher-ranking persons used their own ring as signet ring, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. δακτύλιος 'zum Siegeln gebraucht' (Diod. Sic. 16,52,6; Appian, Hann. cc.50-51; Diog. Laert. 4,59: 7,45; LXX Esth. 8:8,10; Dan. 6:18; Jos., *bell.* 1,667: 2,24); LXX Bel 14 σφραγισάμενος τὸν ναὸν ἐκέλευσε σφραγίσαι τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως δακτυλίῳ 'after having sealed the temple himself, he ordered it to be sealed with the royal ring', cf. Charit. 4,5,6.8. This royal seal had its own characteristics, cf. 20, RA 2 *Puella patris agnovit signaculum* (RB /). Such a ring plays a particularly important role in Heliodorus, cf. Heliod. 5,13, 3-4; 5,14,1-4.

anuloque <…> **datque** (RA) ~ *et anulo* <…> *et dat* (RB): For these extremely minimal but systematically implemented changes, cf. 17, RA 2-3.

19, RA 14-16 “Tolle, magister, praeter tui contumeliam hos codicellos et perfer discipulae tuae: hic enim locus te desiderat!” ‘“Take this note, master, if you do not mind, and deliver it to your pupil. In fact, you are needed in this situation!”’

19, RB 14-15 “Sine contumelia tua hos codicellos perfer discipulae tuae: hic enim locus te desiderat!”

magister (RA): An interpolation according to Klebs, p.38,2, but see 17, RA 7 (comm.).

praeter tui contumeliam (RA) ‘with no offense to you’ ~ *sine contumelia tua* (RB): For *praeter = sine, absque*, cf. Blaise, s.v. (6): Vita Pachom. 39 (PL 73, c.257) *praeter aliquam psalmodiam sepeliri* (below: *sine psalmis*). For this unusual meaning, see LHS II, pp.244[3],272[4], with other examples. For *RB*’s change, cf. Lundström, *Übersetzungstechnische Untersuchungen*, p.171: ‘*praeter* stand, wo es überhaupt benutzt wurde, bisweilen dort, wo der korrekte Gebrauch ein *sine* verlangt hatte.’ The Greek may have had ἄνευ, ἐκτός, δίχα, χωρίς. In the combination *contumelia tui* (RA), *tui* is obj. gen., cf. ThLL IV 802,30; Blaise, *Manuel* § 80: Aug. *Bapt.* 2,1,2 *sine ulla sui contumelia*. This is a fairly unusual construction, perhaps prompted by Gr. ἀτιμία ‘dishonour’ ‘disgrace’, cf. LSJ, s.v.: Aeschyl., *Eum.* 796 οὐκ ἀτιμίᾳ σέθεν (obj. gen.); Eurip., *Heracl.* 72 θεῶν ἀτιμία ‘dishonour done to the gods’ (for *contumelia*: ἀτιμία, cf. CGL VI,272). *RB* switches to a poss. adj. construction with the function of obj. gen. Though this construction occurs elsewhere in the *HA* (cf. Ind. gr., s.v. adiect.) and can be traced back to an identical construction in Greek (cf. LSJ, ss.vv. σός and ὑμέτερος), I believe that *RB* is not going back here to a Greek model in whatever form, but is motivated by literary taste and erudition, cf. OLD, s.v. *contumelia*: Anton. in Cic., *Phil.* 13,42 *mihi* <…> *constat nec meam contumeliam nec meorum ferre*. As for content: Archistrates apologizes for assigning such a humble task, normally the work of slaves, to Apollonius as a go-between.

locus (RA/RB): ‘Occasion’ ‘situation’; for the idea, cf. Sen., *Medea* 749 *Danaides coite, vestras hic dies quaerit manus*.

CHAPTER 20

20, RA 1-2 Apollonius acceptis codicillis pergit domum regiam et introivit cubiculum traditque codicillos. 'Apollonius took the tablet, went to the palace, entered the bedroom, and delivered it.'

20, RB 1-2 Apollonius acceptis codicellis petiit domum regiam. Intravit cubiculum.

pergit (RA) ~ *petiit* (RB): The *RA* reading seems a poetic extension of the acc. of direction: Sal., *Cat.* 44,3 *priusquam domum pergerent*; Tacit., *Ann.* 14,33 *Suetonius <…> medios inter hostis Londinium perrexit*, cf. ThLL X 1,2 1429,67 - 1430,3; *petiit* (RB) is more standard, cf. 40, RA 24 *perge, puer* ~ RB 20 *vade, puer*.

traditque codicillos (RA): For *RB* a negligible detail, but see 19, RA 14 (comm.).

20, RA 2-3 Puella patris agnovit signaculum. Quae <ad a>mores suos sic ait: 'The girl recognized her father's seal. She said to her beloved:'

20, RB 2 Puella ut vidit amores suos ait:

Puella patris agnovit signaculum (RA) ~ (RB /): An important detail for Antiquity, cf. Heliod. 8,12,5 ἀλλὰ τουτὶ τὸ γράμμα ἀναγίνωσκε λαβὼν καὶ πρό γε τούτου τῆς σφραγῖδος τοὐπίσημον ἀναγνώριζε καὶ ὡς Ὀροονδάτης ἐστὶν ὁ κελεύων πίστευε 'Take this letter and read it, but before you open it, examine the device on the seal and satisfy yourself that these orders come from Oroondates', cf. ibid. 8,3,3; Charit. 4,5,8.

<**ad a**>**mores** (*corr.* Riese; *mores* **P**) <…> **ait** (RA) ~ *ut vidit amores, ait* (RB): The harsh construction *dicere ad* (cf. λέγειν πρός) has been eliminated. Classical Latin would have used dat. (*amoribus suis*) with a *verb. dicendi*. *RB*'s 'correction' is just as elegant, if not more.

amores (RA/RB): Latin and Greek meet on common ground in the expression 'her/his great love' (pl.); Klebs, p.287 n.1 rightly refers to e.g. Plaut., *Curc.* 357; *Mil.* 1377; *Poen.* 207,1165, *Stich.* 737; Lucil. 598; Ov., *Met.* 1,617; 4,137, cf. ThLL I 1970,9 (to which our place must be added);

Fordyce (on Catul. 10,1); G. Fridberg, p.49. It is often used as a term of address too, cf. Svennung, *Anredeformen*, p.64, p.67 Anm. 2. But in Greek ἔρωτες can be used in the same way, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἔρως (2) 'object of love' 'desire': Pind., *Nem. Od.* 11,48 ἀπρόσικτοι ἔρωτες 'unattainable love'; Lucian, *Tim.* 14; see also Alciphr. 2,4,20. The Greek Novel offers a rewarding parallel: Charit. 5,1,2 ὡς ἔσπευδεν (sc. Μιθριδάτης) ἀλλήλοις ἀποδοῦναι τοὺς ἔρωτας 'how (Mithridates) tried to restore the lovers to each other'. Later versions have understandably removed this wording: thus Red. Tegernsee, Welser (1595) and the *Gesta Romanorum* read: *quam diligebat* (cf. Singer, p.70).

20, RA 3-4/RB 2-3 "Quid est, magister, quod sic (RA: RB /) singularis cubiculum introisti?" '"What is the matter, master, that you enter my bedroom alone like this?"'

quid est, quod (RA/RB), cf. Ind. verb., s.v. quid.

sic singularis (RA) ~ *singularis* (RB): *Singularis* is often used in Church and Late Latin for class. *solus*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.* s.v. *singularis*: Vulg., Mark 4:10 *cum esset singularis* (ὅτε ἐγένετο κατὰ μόνας), *interrogaverunt eum, qui cum eo erant*. The princess's indignation is not feigned: a man alone did not enter a woman's chamber. So the word *sic* makes sense: cf. (?) οὕτως μόνος. The adaptation in cod. Bern 208, 13th c. (see ed. m. [1984] p.19) is too good not to publish: *Puella respiciens vidit iuvenem et sic ait: "Apolloni, foedam rem facis! quoniam scis patrem meum absentem, ideo venisti ad me opprimendam."*

20, RA 4-6 Cui Apollonius respondit: "Domina, e<s> nondum mulier et male habes! Sed potius accipe codicillos patris tui et lege trium nomina petitorum." 'Apollonius replied: "Lady, you are not yet a grown woman, and already love-sick! Take this note from your father instead, and read the names of your three suitors."'

20, RB 3-5 Apollonius ait: "Domina, nondum mulier et mala! Sume potius codicellos, quos tibi pater tuus misit, et lege."

es nondum mulier et male habes (RA) ~ *nondum mulier et mala* (RB): This remark by Apollonius has posed problems to editors, commentators

and translators: thus Ring proposes: *male aves*; Ziehen: *male me habes!* (both included in app. crit. Riese [1893]); Riese (1893), Ind., s.v. *male*: *male habes = vexas*. Translators generally think along the same lines: Harrington, p.454,8 / Archibald: 'you are offended'; Sandy, p.749: 'you take it amiss'; Konstan, p.72: 'you are peevish, ill-tempered'. In my view, the expression as a whole goes back to a Greek formulation. For *mulier* we should probably put 'γυνή' 'grown woman', cf. 35, RA 8 *si enim virgo* (παρθένος) *tantum adfert, quantum* (sc. adferet) *mulier* (γυνή)? The second part of the remark, *male habes*, is an exact translation of κακῶς ἔχεις 'you are sick (with love)', cf. LSJ, s.v. κακός, [D.] adv. κακῶς ἔχειν 'to be ill'; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. κακῶς; s.v. ἔχω (II,1); Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *habeo* (8). The translation *male habere* is standard for the sick, cf. Matt. 4:24 καὶ προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ πάντας τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας = Vulg. *et obtulerunt ei omnes male habentes*; Luke 5:31 οὐ χρείαν ἔχουσιν οἱ ὑγιαίνοντες ἰατροῦ, ἀλλ' οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες = Vulg. *Non egent qui sani sunt medico, sed qui male habent*. Of course we could consider all kinds of female complaints, but the most obvious explanation is 'love-sickness'. For this 'love-sickness' τόπος, very common in the Novel, see Bremmer (1996), p.41 with n.26. Hence the transition marked by the mildly reproachful '*potius*' (be realistic!). The reading *mala* (RB) follows on from 18, RB 14 *simulata infirmitate*. Though it is preferred by some critics (cf. E. Dias, *PhW* 33 [1913], p.799 'vielmehr ist *male habes* gleich bedeutend mit dem portugiesischen 'tens maldade' du bist (schon) maliziös'), this reading should be rejected. (Garbugino, p.45, n.71 doubts the authenticity: 'soltanto in RA'.)

accipe (RA) ~ **Sume** (RB): *RA* is preferable in the given situation. The antithesis 'receive' ~ 'take' seems harsh at first sight. To make it more acceptable, we can perhaps quote ThLL I 304,56-58 (in translation): 'in the 2nd/3rd c. transition there are several irrefutable places where *accipere* is said of the person who, spontaneously and of his own accord, takes or receives something for himself (*sibi capit vel sumit*).' This is followed by a series of references and an extensive bibliography, also regarding the *HA* (Garbugino, p.100, n.39 requires correction).

lege trium nomina petitorum (RA) ~ (RB /): It is in fact curious that Apollonius says what is written in the closed and sealed tablet! This strict logic leads *RB* to move the statement *trium nomina petitorum* after *legit* (sc. puella).

20, RA 6-7 Puella vero reserato codicillo legit, perlectoque nomen ibidem non legit, quem volebat et amabat. 'She unsealed the tablet and read it, but

when she had read it through, she did not see the name she wanted and loved.'

20, RB 5-6 Puella accepit et legit trium nomina petitorum, sed nomen non legit, quem volebat.

reserato codicillo <…> **perlectoque** (RA) 'unsealing and reading the note' ~ (RB /). A classically minded reader, as well as the well-educated Roman, tends to have serious problems with what is normal and generally accepted in Late Latin. This applies first of all to the abl. abs. *reserato codicillo*, where classical Latin would certainly have preferred an acc. But the looser construction is omnipresent in later authors, e.g. Greg. Tur., *Hist. Franc.*, Script. Rer. Merov. I^{2}, Index W. Levison, p.572; for the broader context, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.* §§ 382-383. Moreover, *RA* uses interchangeably both sing. *codicillus* (20, RA 6.13.14 *illum. In quibus!*; 21, RA 10) and pl. *codicilli* (19, RA 10.11, 14.15; 20, RA 1.2.5.12; 21, RA 1.3.9), the latter form being preferred in classical Latin, cf. OLD s.v. *codicillus* (2). This double occurrence has to do with the change of number in Late Latin. Thus *castrum, cuna, indutia, insidia* and *nuptia* indicate the tendency to eliminate *pluralia tantum*, but an opposite preference can be seen for plurals like *caeli, plebes* and *populi*. We should not be surprised to find the sing. *codicillus* in *RA*, since the distinct tablets do, in the end, form a single whole. *RB*, on the other hand, uses only the classical form *codicelli* (19, RB 11.13.14; 20, RB 1.4.6.10; 21, RB 1.6.8). In my view, these two reasons led *RB* to an almost complete elimination of the first part of *RA*'s sentence. (For *vero*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v.) Probably because of the vague formulation, *reserato* (RA) also disappeared. It means of course 'unsealing' 'breaking of the seal'. A term like *resignato* (cf. 20, RA 14 *resignavit*) would have been clearer, or possibly *resecato* (cf. Charit. 4,5,8 ἐντέμνω σφραγῖδας 'to cut the seals'). Yet we should retain the transmitted text with *reserare* as 'to open', cf. Blaise, s.v. *resero*. A translation error from the Greek? Compare CGL VII 202 *resero*: ἀνοίγω, aperio.

legit (RA): *legit trium nomina petitorum* (RB): For *RB*'s transposition of this term, see 19, RA 6 (comm.).

nomen, quem volebat et amabat (RA) ~ *nomen, quem volebat* (RB): This last peculiarity in an apparently fluent sentence does not seem to have offended *RB*: *nomen, quem* (RA/RB). Perhaps this has to do with the decline of the neuter in Late Latin and its replacement by the masculine (cf. Väänänen, *Introd.* § 214), perhaps also with Christian Latin and translation literature, where *nomen/ὄνομα* are simply equivalents of *persona*, cf. Blaise, s.v. *nomen*; LSJ, s.v. ὄνομα (IV.2); Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ὄνομα. A good example is Rev. 3:4 *sed habes pauca nomina in Sardis, qui non inquinaverunt*

vestimenta sua (Gr. ὀλίγα ὀνόματα <…> ἃ), alongside Acts 1:15 *turba hominum* (Gr. ὄχλος ὀνομάτων). The rest of the relative clause in *RA* is psychologically and linguistically sound: 'the name she wanted' and also 'the name of the person she loved', cf. LSJ, s.v. ὄνομα (IV,2): 'both of persons and things (cf. Latin *nomen*)'. A possible argument for *RB*'s reduction is that *velle* in itself covers both 'to want' and 'to love', cf. 19, RB 12. (There is no need whatsoever for any change [Ring wants to change *quem* to *quod*] or addition [Klebs, p.255 wants to supply *eius*, if only mentally].)

20, RA 7-9	Et respiciens Apollonium ait: "Magister Apolloni, ita tibi non dolet, quod ego nubam?" 'She looked at Apollonius and said: "Master Apollonius, are you not sorry that I am going to be married?"'
20, RB 6-7	Perlectis codicellis respiciens Apollonium ait: "Magister, ita tibi non dolet, quod ego nubo?"

dolet (RA/RB): An impersonal use, common in Latin, cf. OLD s.v.: Plaut., *Epid.* 147 *mihi dolet, quom ego vapulo*; Terent., *Phorm.* 1053 *quod tuo viro oculi dolent*; also figuratively: Plaut., *Merc.* 388 *nescioque animus mihi dolet*. Likewise in Late Greek, cf. L. Rydén, *Das Leben des Heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontius von Neapolis*, Uppsala 1983, Ind. p.199, s.v. πονέω: N.Gr. πονεῖ es schmerzt.

ita <…> **non** (RA/RB): Probably with the value *itane*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.* s.v. *ita*. But there also may be confusion here between οὐκοῦν (cf. LSJ, s.v.: 'in questions, inviting assent to an inference' e.g. Xen. *Cyr.* 2,4,15 οὐκοῦν δοκεῖ σοι; 'you think then, do you note, that') and οὔκουν (cf. LSJ, s.v.: 'in impassioned questions' = *nonne*). The latter would fit the context: 'Are you really not sorry that I am going to be married?' This confusion is rife in translations, cf. Sv. Lundström, *Lexicon errorum interpretum Latinorum*, Uppsala 1983, p.74, s.v. ergo.

nubam (RA) ~ *nubo* (RB): *RB* probably thought that the present makes the question more urgent (*nubam* [RA] could also be pres. subj.).

20, RA 9-11	Apollonius dixit: "Immo gratulor, quod habundantia horum studiorum docta et a me patefacta, deo volente et cui animus tuus desiderat, nubas." 'Apollonius said: "No, I am delighted that you, instructed by a wealth of learning,

skilled by myself, with the benevolence of God, will also marry your heart's desire."'

20, RB 7-8 Apollonius ait: "Immo gratulor, quod habundantia studiorum perita me volente nubes."

gratulor (RA/RB): As Thielmann, p.14 and Klebs, pp.238-9 observed, *gratulor* must have the meaning here of *gaudeo*, cf. ThLL VI.2 2258, 25-56. Perhaps *gratulor* was prompted by a Greek wordplay with λυπέω ~ χαίρω, ἥδομαι.

quod (RA/RB): *RA* gives four reasons to marry, *RB* two.

habundantiā horum studiorum doctă (RA) ~ *habundantiā studiorum perită* (RB), cf. 4, RB 3 *fidus habundantia litterarum*: Underlying the *RA* reading (with *docta*) is probably the term πολυμαθία 'much learning', cf. Riese (1872), Praef. XII. In 17, RA 13/RB 12 she is also called *amatrix studiorum* (φιλομαθής), cf. Introd. IV.B.1.

patefacta (Ring: patefactam **P**): Perhaps we can compare Ennod., *Epist.* 9,32 (p.256,17) *filius hic eruditione patefactus est*, cf. OLD, s.v. *patefacio* (3.c): Cic., *Div.* 1,86 *ante philosophiam patefactam*; Plin., *Nat.* 12,21 *orbe eo patefacto*. A possible Greek equivalent of this 'to shell', 'to husk', 'to civilize' could be ἀνοίγνυμι/διοίγνυμι, cf. LSJ, s.v. διοίγνυμι: 'metaph. Philo 1,442 τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα "to open the eye of the soul"'. It refers doubtless to Apollonius' brief period of instruction to Archistratis. In his author's copy Heraeus suggests *perfecta*. Konstan, p.72 sees the construction *habundantiā* <...> *doctā et patefactā* as an abl. abs. 'the wealth of these studies having been taught and revealed by me', but, as he adds, 'the Latin of the whole clause is barely satisfactory'. In view of the Ennodius quotation the proposed construction seems unnecessary. (ThLL X 1,1 655,42-5 doubts my interpretation [ed. m. (1984), Ind. s.v.] of *erudire*.)

deo volente (RA) ~ *me volente* (RB): Klebs, of course, wants to delete the *RA* reading (p.218): 'In c.20 ist aus "*me volente nubis*" (*nubis* sic) RB in *RA* gemacht "*deo volente*".' I firmly believe that the state of affairs is exactly the other way round: *RA* primary ~ *RB* secondary. The expression itself forms part of the larger group of ablative absolutes with *deo* as subject, cf. Introd. II.2.3 (*deo adnuente, deo favente, deo gubernante, deo iubente*). Though numerically the combination *deo volente* is infrequent (12, RB 4 [cf. app. crit.]; 13, RB 10; 20, RA 10), it occurs here at a cardinal point: a possible marriage between Apollonius and Archistratis, something which determines the entire further course of the *HA*. It is therefore striking that, in the only place where *RA* uses the expression, *RB* changes. His

change is most likely due to his purely juridical outlook, cf. Introd. VII.2.1. The phrase itself is sometimes found in pagan authors, cf. Verg., *Aen.* 1,302 *ponuntque ferocia Poeni | corda volente deo* (= Mercury), but is naturally very frequent in Christian authors like Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, through to the furthest and latest writings, deep into the Middle Ages. Of course this succinct, precise formulation also occurs in (partly) Christian Greek literature: Acts 18:21 πάλιν ἀνακάμψω πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοῦ θεοῦ θέλοντος (*Vulg. Iterum revertar ad vos Deo volente*), cf. Rom. 9:16 (Vulg. *aliter*). In particular popular writings, papyri etc. often contain this pious reservation, or this pious wish, either in pl. τῶν θεῶν θελόντων, or (obviously in the case of Christians) in sing. τοῦ θεοῦ θέλοντος, cf. Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, Marburg 1897, p.80; Ghedini, *Di alcuni elementi*, p.8, p.56; E. Visser, 'Briefe und Urkunden aus der Berliner Papyrussammlung', *Aegyptus* XV, 1935, p.269. But pagan authors, too, could use the phrase in sing. (cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. θέλω (2): Joseph., *Ant.* 7,373), or phrases like Plato, *Phaedo* 80D ἐὰν ὁ κύριος θελήσῃ or Demosth. 4,7 ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ. A curious fact here is that the phrase also occurs in Xen. Eph. 1,7,2 in connection with marriage (Riese [1893], Index, s.v. deus): Ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς πολλὰ βουλευομένοις παραμυθήσασθαι τὸν χρησμὸν ὡς οἷόν τε καὶ συζεῦξαι γάμῳ τοὺς παῖδας, ὡς τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλομένου, δι' ὧν ἐμαντεύσατο. 'So they decided after a great deal of deliberation to appease the oracle as far as they could and marry the pair, since the god implied by his prophecy that this was his will too.' The expression refers to Apollo, god of the oracle on Claros. Summing up, we can say that in *RA* we have a Christian phrase, introduced by **R(Gr)** within a digest of a pagan, more extensive novel (**HA[Gr]**): perhaps **R(Gr)** also borrowed an authentic Greek formulation. The reading *me volente* (RB) seems plausible in itself. But though it fits the context, it goes against the standard formulation as manifested in other places of the *HA*.

cui animus tuus desiderat, nubas (RA) ~ *nubes* (RB): The construction in *RA* is probably: *ei nubas, quem a.t. desiderat*. For a similar *attractio relativi*, see 32, RA 31. Blaise, *Manuel* § 186 says of this construction: 'Attraction du relatif à la manière des Grecs (très rare en latin classique'). He quotes Vulg. Ps. 9:23 *comprehendantur consiliis, quibus* (= quae) *cogitant*; Paul. Pell., *Euch.* (CSEL 16), 598 *vita in hac, qua* (= quam) *nunc ego dego, senili*; Tert., *Val.* 16 *quibus inde conceperat viribus* (= iis viribus, quas inde conceperat). Examples even in authors of repute are quoted by Hoppe (1938), p.143. Compare also the judgement of LHS, p.471[3]: '(bei) volkstümlichen Autoren zahlreiche Belege'. Attraction in Greek is sufficiently explained in the handbooks. For Late Greek authors, see e.g. Leontius Neapolitanus, ed. Gelzer (1893), p.200 Assimilation des

Relativums (5 exx.). (In theory another solution was conceivable, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.* § 286: 'Le datif *cui* persiste aussi et fait concurrence à *quem*: *Form. Senon. add.* 3 *cui amas, per omnia eius facis opera*; *Leg. Alam.* 12 *episcopum, de cui parrochia fuit*'.) But these examples are later, come from other regions and do not have a Greek background like the **HA(Gr)**.

20, RA 11-12 Cui puella ait: "Magister, si amares, utique doleres tuam doctrinam." 'The girl said: "Master, if you really loved, you would certainly be sorry for your teaching."'

20, RB 8-9 Puella ait: "Si amares, doleres."

Si amares, utique doleres tuam doctrinam (RA) ~ *Si amares, doleres* (RB): Archistratis is angered by Apollonius' purely formal answer: in her answer she, too, leaves out what she had expected to hear from Apollonius: *me*. She deflects her indignation by speaking about the loss of time and effort expended on the music lessons (RA). Her reproach is echoed in *utique*: 'at least'. (From [?] 'πάντως' 'δηλαδή'.) These subtleties have been eliminated in *RB*.

20, RA 12-13 Et scripsit codicellos et signato<s> sui anulo iuveni tradidit. Pertulit Apollonius in forum tradiditque regi. 'She wrote a note, and when she had sealed the tablet with her ring, she handed it to the young man. Apollonius carried it to the forum and delivered it to the king.'

20, RB 9-11 Haec dicens instante amoris audacia ('When she said this, love made her bold') scripsit et signatos codicellos iuveni tradidit. Pertulit Apollonius in foro et tradidit regi.

Haec dicens instante amoris audacia (RB) ~ (RA /): An independent addition by *RB* to clarify to the reader both the sharpness of Archistratis' answer and her response to write back. For the addition itself, cf. Ov., *Met.* 4,96 (the love story of Pyramus and Thisbe) *audacem faciebat amor* (cf. ibid. 6,469 *facundam faciebat amor*). This line is popular in the tradition, cf. Dracont., *Orestes* (ed. Vollmer, M.G.H., Auct. Antiq. XIV, p.203) 221 *audacem faciebat amor terrorque protervum*. Compare also Ov., *Her.* 4,9 ff. (letter from Phaedra to Hippolytus): *dicere quae puduit, scribere iussit amor*.

scripsit (RA/RB): In effect *rescripsit* (as some codd. have, including γ).

signatos sui anulo (RA) ~ *signatos* (RB): **P** reads: *sui anulo*, which is defensible. Classical Latin can already have *mei, tui, sui* instead of the poss. adj.: Catull., 62,50 *Patria o mei creatix*; *Aetna* 176 *venas* <…> *sui* (= venas suas); Plin., *Nat. hist.* 34,92 *Callimachus semper calumniator sui*. It becomes very common in Late Latin, cf. LHS II, p.61. Given the exceptional position of this place in relation to the *HA* as a whole, one could perhaps normalize, cf. 19, RA 14. For the gesture itself, cf. Charit. 8,4,7 σφραγίσασα δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν 'After having sealed the letter'.

Pertulit <…> **tradidit** <…> **accepto codicillo** <…> (14) **resignavit** <…> **aperuit** (RA): The standard word order in Greek too, cf. e.g. *Pratum Spirituale*, p.114 no.193,71 Λαβὼν οὖν τὸ γραμμάτιον ἀνέρχεται πρὸς τὸν ἁγιώτατον πάπαν καὶ ἐπιδίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὸ γραμμάτιον. Ὡς οὖν ἔλαβεν ὁ πάπας καὶ ἀνέγνω αὐτό … . 'The steward took the letter and went to the holy bishop (of Alexandria) and gave it to him. As the bishop received the letter and read it … .' For *tradere* Heliod. likes to use ἐγχειρίζω γράμμα, cf. *Less.*, s.v. ἐγχειρίζω.

20, RA 13-14 Accepto codicillo rex resignavit et aperuit illum. In quibus rescripserat filia sua: 'The king took the tablet, broke the seal and opened it. His daughter had written as follows:'

20, RB 11 Scripserat autem sic:

The long, epic series of actions was too much for *RB*. Another stumbling block was the abl. abs.: *accepto codicillo* taken up by *illum* and *quibus* (agreeing with the pl. *codicelli*). He probably also took exception to the incorrect use of *suus* in the clause *rescripserat filia sua*, but see 2, RA 14/RB *patris sui*. *RB*'s 'solution' is extremely radical. For both formulations, cf. Heliod. 2,10,1 καὶ ἦν τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα τοιάδε 'This is what was written there.'

20, RA 15-17 "Bone rex et pater optime, quoniam clementiae tuae indulgentia permittis mihi, dicam: illum volo coniugem naufragio patrimonio deceptum. '"Good king and best of fathers, since you graciously and indulgently give me permission, I will speak out: I want to marry the man who was cheated of his inheritance through shipwreck."'

20, RB 11 “Bone rex et pater optime, quoniam clementiae tuae indulgentia permittit mihi, ut dicam: Illum volo coniugem, naufragum a fortuna deceptum.

Bone rex et pater optime (RA/RB), cf. 14, RA 7 (comm.).

clementiae tuae indulgentiā (RA: *indulgentiă* RB), cf. 16, RA/RB 7 (comm.).

naufragio patrimonio deceptum (RA, cf. 22, RA 5-6 *patrimonio deceptum et naufragum*) ~ *naufragum a fortuna deceptum* (RB = 22, RB 5): The idea of both redactions in both places is the same: ‘robbed of his inheritance through shipwreck/as a castaway’, in other words *deceptum* = *privatum* + abl. of separation, cf. ThLL V.1 178, 60-78; OLD, s.v. *decipio* (2). *RB* has replaced the term *patrimonium* with classical *fortuna*, ‘fortune’, ‘material property’, cf. Cic., *Cat.* 2,10 *matrimonia sua profuderunt, fortunas suas obligaverunt*. For such an interpretation of *fortuna* in *RB*, cf. 11, RA 2 *premente fortuna* ~ RB 3 *eo quod ibi benignius agi adfirmaretur*. A reason for the substitution may be that *patrimonium* can have a specific meaning, cf. LSJ, s.v. *patrimonium* (b): ‘the private chest of the Roman Emperors’.

20, RA 17-18 Et si miraris, pater, quod tam pudica virgo tam impudenter scripserim: per ceram mandavi, quae pudorem non habet.” ‘And if you are surprised, father, that such a modest girl has written so immodestly, I have sent my message by wax, which has no sense of shame.”’

20, RB 13-15 Et si miraris, pater, quod pudica virgo tam impudenter scripserim: quia prae pudore indicare non potui, per ceram mandavi, quae ruborem non habet.” ‘which does not blush.’

Et (RA/RB): Has the value of *sed*, cf. 1, RA 6 (RB *Sed)*.

tam <…> **tam** (RA): *tam (impudenter)* (RB): Perhaps the *RA* reading is stylistically (and psychologically!) awkward, but it is clear. Following Riese (1893), Klebs, p.286, Schmeling (1984), many propose to delete *tam*[1].

pudica (virgo) <…> **impudenter** (RA/RB): *Pudica* is a standard *epitheton ornans*, both in Latin (cf. OLD, s.v. *pudicus*) and in Greek, including of course the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. αἰδώς; for the expression e.g. αἰδὼς

παρθενική/παρθένια, cf. Heliod. 10,18,3; 10,22,1; 10,38,1. The reading *imprudenter* **P** 'so imprudent' is not impossible, but *impudenter* 'shameless' is better on account of the antithesis. (Confusion between *imprudenter* and *impudenter* occurs quite frequently in manuscripts, cf. C. Zander, *Phaedrus solutus*, Lund 1921, p.LIII; O. Zwierlein, *Mittell. Jahrb.* 7, 1972, p.120 n.82.) Moreover, *impudenter* as such is also found in the Greek Novel: Ninos novel (ed. Kussl, p.20,36) ἀναιδῆ τάχα με ἐρεῖς περὶ τούτων διαλεγόμενον 'perhaps you will call me shameless, discussing these things (sc. a date for the wedding)' and esp., on account of the similar situation of a response by letter, Xen. Eph, 2,5,1 ἀπρεπὲς μὲν ἴσως παρθένῳ, ἀναγκαῖον δὲ φιλούσῃ 'improperly perhaps for a girl, but inevitably for a girl in love' (cf. id. 1,3,2; 1,4,6). Riese (1893, Index s.v. *impudenter*) had already pointed out this parallel. No reaction is found in Klebs (1899) (see the end of this note).

quia prae pudore indicare non potui (RB) ~ (RA /): An unnecessary excuse, to make the matter as clear as possible, cf. Ov., *Her.* 4,10 *dicere quae puduit, scribere iussit amor*.

per ceram (**Rα(F)**/RB): In effect **P** reads: *per certam licteram* (i.q. litt-) 'via a letter, from which there is no going back'. (In manuscripts *cetera*, etc. and *cera* 'wax' are quite often mixed up, cf. D. Kuyper, *Varia Dracontiana*, Diss. A'dam, 1958, p.24 n.11.) But the reading *ceram* is established as *lectio difficilior* (differently Schmeling [1984], ad loc., but see now Schmeling, *Notes*, p.144 [on ed. 15,6]). *Certam litteram* is merely a gloss on *ceram*, to be retained in the text according to Garbugino, p.36 n.40. Moreover, this *cera* 'waxed tablet' may go back directly to κήρωμα, cf. LSJ (3): '*waxed tablet* or *board Inscr. Graec.* 7.413.59 (S.C. de Orop.)'. Clearly such a figurative use of κήρωμα argues for a fairly high level of sophistication in **HA(Gr)**.

quae pudorem non habet (RA) 'who has no shame' ~ *quae ruborem non habet* (RB): *RA*'s reading is the best in all its simplicity: *pudica – impudenter – pudorem* form a single coherent series. (I am unfamiliar with a Greek equivalent of this expression, cf. R. Strömberg, *Greek Proverbs*, Göteborg, 1954.) The change *pudor* → *rubor* is not uncommon, cf. J.N. Bremmer, in connection with Sen., *Phaedra* 651-2, in *Mnem.* 4, vol.26 (1973), p.180. Also, *rubor* links up with proverbial sayings popular among the Romans: Cic., *Epist.* 5,12,1 *epistula enim non erubescit*; Plin., *Hist. nat.* 33,145 *erubescant annales, qui* <...> ; Ambros., *virg.* 1,1,1 *liber non erubescit*; cf. ThLL V,2 821,50; Otto, *Sprichwörter* 125. Rhetoricians recommend such an insertion of a proverb or proverbial phrase (Iul. Vict., *Rhet. min.*, ed. Halm, p.448,31; Uddholm, *Form. Marculfi*, p.21 with lit.). For the popularity of the metaphor 'for wax cannot blush' in the Middle Ages, cf. P. Dronke,

Women Writers of the Middle Ages, Cambridge, U.P. 1984, p.89. For the overall context, see K. Thraede, *Grundzüge griechisch-römischer Brieftopik* (Zetemata 48), München 1970.

(Quite incorrectly, Klebs, p.286 [if with some reservations 'einigermaßen'], followed by Garbugino, p.36, proposes to trace this entire scene back to Ov., *Met.* 9,450 ff., where Byblis wants to confide the incest with her father to *cera* (ibid. 522, 529, 565), cf. Garin, p.199,1: 'imitatio dubia'.)

CHAPTER 21

21, RA 1-3	Et perlectos codicillos rex ignorans, quem naufragum diceret, respiciens illos tres iuvenes, qui nomina sua scripserant vel qui dotem in illos codicillos designaverant, ait illis: 'When he had read the note, the king did not know whom she meant by the shipwrecked man. Looking at the three youths who had written their names and specified their marriage gifts in the note, he said to them:'
21, RB 1-2	Rex perlectis codicellis ignorans, quem naufragum diceret, respiciens tres iuvenes ait:

Et (RA) ~ (RB /): For *et* (καί) functional within a story, cf. 1, RA 6 *Et*/RB *Sed* (comm.).

perlectos codicillos (RA) ~ *perlectis codicellis* (RB): The *RA* reading (based on **P**) should be retained as acc. abs. This construction is infrequent in the *HA* (in RA only here; for RB, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. acc. abs.), but is attested too often for the time of *RA*'s and *RB*'s genesis for it to be normalized here (cf. 13, RB 1 comm.). Scribes like to alternate within manuscripts, cf. V. Bulhart, on Euseb. Vercell., Praef. XVII. It is highly uncertain to what extent Greek plays a role here, particularly for *RA*. For a late Greek author like Leontius Neapolitanus (600-670), see Gelzer (1893), p.200 III syntaktisches s.v. Acc. abs. (two exx.).

diceret (RA/RB): The reading *disceret* **P** is an error that probably goes back to the identical pronunciation of *sci* and *ci*, cf. Svennung, *Wortstudien,* pp.96-102, 134.

illos tres iuvenes (RA) ~ *tres iuvenes* (RB): Both *RA* and *RB* use *ille* as def. art., though it is sometimes impossible to distinguish it clearly from a demonstr. pron., cf. Ind. verb., s.v. The two recensions sometimes coincide, but *RB* often corrects in accordance with his more classical bent, cf. Introd. III.1. A remarkable instance is 21, RA 12 *eis iuvenibus* ~ RB 9 *illis iuvenibus*. For the phenomenon itself, see Löfstedt, *Syntactica*[2] I, Lund 1942, pp.358-382; Väänänen, §§ 273-4.

qui nomina sua scripserant vel qui dotem in illos codicillos designaverant (RA) ~ (RB /): Many have followed Klebs (p.38, with n.3, p.267) in proposing to apply the axe here, either to the entire sentence or to the second half *vel* <…> *designaverant* (Schmeling, 1988 ad loc.). I believe that *vel*, as repeatedly in the *HA* (cf. Ind. verb., s.v. vel), has the meaning *et* here (cf. 13, RA 18 comm.). The arguments marshalled for interpolation are less than convincing. The sentence as a whole should be regarded as an epic repetition, to bring home the situation to the reader, cf. the series of presents received by Apollonius 17, RA 7-8, repeated in 15-16. The fact that the sentence is entirely lacking in *RB* (Klebs, 38 'fehlen in RB' requires correction) does not say much about authenticity: precisely reduction of this kind of detail is common in *RB*, cf. the omission of the presents mentioned for the second time in 17, RB 13-14.

21, RA 3-4 "Quis vestrum naufragium fecit?" Vnus vero ex iis Ardalio nomine dixit: "Ego." '"Which of you has been shipwrecked?" One of them whose name was Ardalio said: "I have."'

21, RB 2-3 "Quis vestrum naufragium fecit?" Vnus ex his Ardaleo nomine ait: "Ego."

naufragium fecit (RA/RB): Cf. *Less.*, s.v. ναυαγέω: Achill. Tat. 4,17,6; ibid. 6,9,3.

vero (RA) ~ (RB /): Cf. 16, RA 1 *vero* ~ RB /, comm.

Ardalio (RA) ~ *Ardaleo* (RB): The *RA* reading is based on *exiens Sardalion nomine* **P**; the mutilation of the name is easy to explain palaeographically. The name also occurs in 39, RB 26 *unum de servis, nomine Ardalionem*, a recalcitrant slave. (Klebs [p.43, p.298 n.1] wrongly regards this last place as an interpolation, cf. comm.) For the name ῎Αρδαλος, cf. Fraser ~ Matthews (1987-), III^{A} (with reference to Plut., Paus., Plin.); LSJ (+ Suppl.), s.v. ἄρδαλος. The name, figuratively 'good-for-nothing' 'busybody', apparently appealed to Romans: Phaedr. 2,5,1 *est ardalionum quaedam Romae natio, trepide concursans, occupata in otio, gratis anhelans, multa agendo nil agens*; *Eph. epigr.* I, 179,21 (on a wall in Pompeii) *Aephebe, ardalio es*, cf. Väänänen, *Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompéiennes*, Berlin 1966^{3}, no. 4765; Mart. 2,7,7 *nil bene cum facias, facias tamen omnia belle, vis dicam quid sis? magnus es ardalio* (Friedländer: 'Zur Bezeichnung eines geschäftigen Müssiggängers'; Perry, *The Ancient Romances*, p.306 'Busy body'), cf. ibid. 4,78,9. The Glossaria modify the sense of the name to 'cunning' 'voracious' (cf. ThLL II 481, 27-31), a meaning foreign to our

place (lacking in ThLL, loc. cit.). The change to *-e-* (*RB*) is attested very early (cf. A. Guaglianone, *Phaedri Augusti Liberti, Liber fabularum*, Aug. Taurinorum [etc.] 1969, p.27: cod. Pithoeanus early 9th century). But it is clear that this name, despite its familiarity and use among the Romans, points to a Greek origin, *pace* Klebs, p.42,5; p.289,1.

As well as the name *Ardalio* (*Ardonius*), the later tradition is able to mention the other two names. Thus in the 1576 prose version by Lawrence Twine (see Archibald, pp.206-7): *Munditius* and *Camillus*, cf. Singer, 1895, p.11.

21, RA 4-7 Alius ait: "Tace, morbus te consumit nec salvus es, cum scio te coaetaneum meum et mecum litteris eruditum et portam civitatis numquam existi: ubi ergo naufragium fecisti?" 'One of the others said: "Be quiet, passion consumes you, you are just crazy. I know you, you are the same age as I am, you were educated with me, and you have never been outside the city gate. So where were you shipwrecked?"'

21, RB 3-5 Alius ait: "Tace, morbo te consumis! Mecum litteras didicisti, portam civitatis numquam existi: quando naufragium fecisti?"

morbus te consumit nec salvus es (RA) ~ *morbo te consumis* (**b**): *morbus te consumat* **βMπ**: The main witnesses (**P** for *RA*; **b** for *RB*) offer the indicative *consumit* alongside *es*. Since Riese (1893) editors have preferred to change to subjunctives *consumat/sis*, with the support of **Rα**. But the indic. can be retained in Latin with *morbus*/πάθος 'passion' as subj. For *morbus*, cf. OLD (2) (*of love*): Plaut., *Cist.* 71 *ad istam faciem est morbus, qui me* <...> *macerat; Catull. 76,25 taetrum hunc deponere morbum*; Blaise, *Dict.* s.v. *consumo* (4): '(fig.) consumer moralement: Greg. M., *Hom. eu. c.* 1088 D *invidia nos consumit*'. For Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. πάθος (II) 'emotion' 'passion': Plato, *Phaedr.* 265^{b} ἐρωτικὸν πάθος, combined with (?) e.g. διαφθείρω 'to corrupt' 'to ruin', cf. LSJ, s.v. III,2: 'τὸν λόγον διαφθείρειν "to ruin one's brains"'. This assumed, we can also make good sense of *nec salvus es* (RA) 'you are not all there', cf. OLD, s.v. *salvus* (1.a.); LSJ, s.v. σῶς 'safe and sound' (Hom., *Od.* 15,42 σῶς ἐσσι; ibid. 4,98 σόοι ἔμμεναι; Herod. 5,96 σόοι εἶναι). For the **b** reading, cf. Blaise, *Dict.* s.v. *consumo* (3): 'se consumer: Gelas., *Ep.*, p.318'. The translation would read:: 'you consume yourself in your passion'. The subjunctive in **βMπ** is plausible, cf. Riese (1893), Index, s.v. *morbus* = *pestis*. Many have adopted this suggestion: Schmeling (1988), ad loc.; Peters, p.114: 'Schweig <...> daß dich die Pest hole und du

nie wieder des Lebens froh werdest': Konstan/Archibald: 'May a plague take you and may you not be saved'; 'Plague take you!' (Sandy). Nevertheless, the reading of the principal manuscripts (**P**, **b**) should be retained. (The reference in Klebs, p.251 n.3 to Sen., *benef.* 4,39,2 *illud quod dici solet, in morbo consumat* [Georges, *Wörterb.*, s.v. *morbus*: 'möge er es in Krankheit aufzehren'] may support the subjunct., but is not a strict parallel place. Nor do the secondary manuscripts and manuscript groups prove anything about the expression '*nec sanus nec salvus es*', cf. Klebs, p.281.)

cum scio te coaetaneum meum et (RA) ~ (RB /): For *cum* in the sense of 'after all', cf. Blaise, *Dict.* s.v. *cum/quum* (II.I): 'avec indic.' (2) (au lieu du subj. cl.). The indic. is mainly found in colloquial language: August., *Epist.* 36,2,3 *cum eum argumenta deficiunt*.

coaetaneum: Cf. συνῆλιξ '*of like* or *equal age*', LSJ, s.v.: Aesch., *Pers.* 784 ἐμοὶ συνήλικες. Perhaps *RB* has left out this detail because the age was clear from the context.

mecum litteris eruditum (RA) ~ *Mecum litteras didicisti* (RB): For the entire expression, cf. *Passio Eugeniae* (PL 21, p.1108[B]) *Scio vos mecum litteris eruditum*. Perhaps *RB* is referring to the first stage of tuition, cf. OLD, s.v. *littera* (3): 'The elements of education, one's ABC (esp. in such phrases as *litteras scire, discere*)', cf. Sen., *Nat.* 6,23,4 *quisquis primas litteras didicit, scit* <...>; Hier., *Epist.* 50,5,2 *Et nos didicimus litteras et nos saepe manum ferulae subduximus*. The Latin expression has an exact parallel in Greek: γράμματα μαθεῖν 'to have learnt to read', cf. LSJ, s.v. γράμμα. It is therefore said of a holy but illiterate person (Migne, P.G. 26, col.944 B 4-6) γράμματα μὴ μαθών, ἀγχίνους ἦν 'without any elementary education, he was nevertheless shrewd'. But it is also possible that γράμματα μαθεῖν should be translated 'to receive a higher education', since the *iuvenes* are called σχολαστικοί (cf. 19, RA 2). For this interpretation, see Bartelink, comm. p.314 on Pall., c.4, ll.7-8.

portam civitatis numquam existi (RA/RB): For the *porta civitatis* in question, cf. 13, RA 2/RB 1; for *exire* + acc., cf. OLD, s.v. *exeo* (13). The expression may derive directly from Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐξέρχομαι (I.b): 'rarely c. acc.' (Herod. 5,104 ἐξελθόντα τὸ ἄστυ 'after leaving the city').

ubi (RA) ~ *quando* (RB): Perhaps the question with *ubi* is more sarcastic ('shipwreck on land') than with *quando*, which leaves open the possibility of shipwreck.

existi <...> **fecisti**: Klebs, p.282 rightly draws attention to the end rhyme.

21, RA 7-10 Et cum rex non inveniret, quis eorum naufragium f<e>c<iss>et, respiciens Apollonium ait: "Tolle, magister Apolloni, hos codicillos et lege. Potest enim fieri, <u>t quod ego non inveni, tu intelligas, quia praesens fuisti." 'Since the king could not discover which of them had been shipwrecked, he looked at Apollonius and said:' '"Master Apollonius, take the tablet and read it. Perhaps you who were on the spot will understand what I have not discovered."'

21, RB 5-7 Rex cum non invenisset, quis eorum naufragium fecisset, respiciens Apollonium ait: "Tolle codicellos et lege. Potest enim fieri, ut quod ego non intelligo, tu intelligas, qui interfuisti."

quis eorum (RA): Hagen (1871) 539 refers to RBern 2 (cf. ed. m. [1984], p.19), where the third suitor also gets a say: *Tertius ait: 'Ego, domine, ex quo filiam tuam amo, et cecus et naufragus et surdus et mutus factus sum. Rex ait: 'Ego non quero qui in terra naufragium fecit, sed in mari.'* Et cum non invenisset rex, quis eorum etc.

magister Apolloni (RA) ~ (RB /): Klebs, p.38 n.2 wants to delete *magister* because 'im Munde des Königs unangemessen'. This reason does not stand up to scrutiny, cf. below 21, RA 8 *magister Apollonii* (RA) ~ (RB /).

non inveni (RA) ~ *non intelligo* (RB): *RA* may derive directly from εὑρίσκω, cf. LSJ (II): 'to find out' 'to discover'. Compare Archimedes' famous exclamation 'εὕρηκα' in Plut. 2.1094^{c}. We do need to repeat here the remark made by J. Maillon (in: R.M. Rattenbury ~ T.W. Lumb, Heliodore, *Les Éthiopiques*, t.III, Paris 1960^{2}, p.100 n.2) in connection with Heliod. 10,18,3 καὶ ὁ Ὑδάσπης μὴ συλλαβὼν τὸν νοῦν τῶν εἰρημένων 'Hydaspes did not grasp the true sense of what was said' (cf. ibid. 10,20,1): 'Pour mener à bien l'intrigue du roman Heliodore a imaginé un roi idéale d'une incroyable niaiserie.'

praesens fuisti (RA) ~ *interfuisti* (RB): For the phrase in *RA*, see also 24, RA/RB 17. There is not much difference between the two expressions. The idea is: 'actually involved'.

21, RA 10-11 Apollonius accepto codicillo legit et ut sensit se a regina amari, erubuit. 'Apollonius took the

tablet and read it, and when he realized that the princess loved him, he blushed.'

21, RB 8-9 Apollonius acceptis codicellis velociter percurrit et, ut sensit se amari, erubuit.

accepto codicillo (RA) ~ *acceptis codicellis* (RB): A 'semi-correction' by *RB*, regarding only the plural, not the case (*aliter* Klebs, p.263).

legit (RA) ~ *velociter percurrit* (RB): A splendid psychological detail added by *RB*; for the expression, cf. OLD, s.v. *percurro* (3) 'to skim over': Hor., *Sat.* 2,5,55 veloci percurre oculo; ThLL X,1,2 1231,64 ff.

a regina (RA) ~ (RB /): Standard expression for: Princess Archistratis, cf. 18, RA 1 *regina* / RB 1 *puella*.

erubuit (RA/RB): This symptom 'to blush' is frequent in the Greek novel as a sign of burgeoning love, cf. *Less.*, s.v. κατερυθριάω 'to become red', πίμπλημι, πλήρης (Charit. 6,4,5 πρόσωπον ἐρυθήματος), ὑπερυθριάω 'to blush a little', ὑπέρυθρος, φοινίσσω/φοινίττω 'to make red'. It happens to men too, cf. Charit. 6,3,1 ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν 'Αρταξάτης ἐρυθήματος μεστὸν 'Artaxates saw that he was blushing deeply': ibid. 8,3,1 'Ηρυθρίασεν ὁ Χαιρέας 'Chaireas blushed' (said in a love affair).

21, RA 11-13 Et rex tenens ei manum paululum secessit ab eis iuvenibus et ait: "Quid est, magister Apolloni, invenisti naufragum?" 'The king took him by the hand, drew him a little away from the young men and said: "What is it, Master Apollonius? Have you found the shipwrecked man?"'

21, RB 9 Rex comprehendit Apollonii manum; paululum quidem ab illis iuvenibus secedens ait: "Apolloni, invenisti naufragum?"

tenens ei manum (RA) ~ *comprehendit Apollonii manum* (RB): The change in *RB* may have to do with the aorist notion in *tenens* 'after he had taken him by the hand'. The same change in 22, RA 1/RB 1. We also see replacement of *ei* (eth. dat.) in 22, RA 1 *genero, non hospiti* by the genitive RB 1: *non hospitis, sed generis sui*. Perhaps this is connected with the decline of the dative, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.* § 249.

paululum (RA) ~ *paululum quidem* **b**: The attestation of *quidem* is very weak in the tradition (*paululum* **M**; *et paululum* **π**; *pauculum* **β**), but

perhaps makes sense 'just a little bit'. The Greek Novel presents the gesture itself in many variations: Charit. 1,4,5 ὁ δὲ ἐμβαλὼν αὐτῷ τὴν δεξιὰν ἀπῆγεν εἴς τι χωρίον ἠρεμαῖον 'The other grasped his hand and took him off to a quiet spot', cf. ibid. 6,7,5; Achill. Tat. 2,27,1 Ὁ οὖν Κλεινίας τῆς χειρός μου λαβόμενος ἄγει τῆς Κλείους μακρὰν καὶ λέγει 'Kleinias took me by the hand and led me far from Kleio's hearing and said'; Heliod. 5,28,1 ὁ Τραχῖνος ἰδίᾳ με καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς ἀνήκοον παραλαβὼν «Ὦ πάτερ» ἔφη 'But Trachinos took me to one side, out of earshot of the others. "Father" he said <…>, cf. ibid. 5,29,1.

eis iuvenibus (RA) ~ *illis iuvenibus* (RB): Cf. 21, RA 2 (comm.).

magister Apolloni (RA) ~ (RB /): Cf. above *RA* 8.

21, RA 13/RB 10-11 Apollonius ait: "Bone rex, si permittis, inveni." 'Apollonius replied: "Good king, with your permission, I have."'

si permittis (RA/RB), cf. 16 *RA* 18/RB 15: Colloquial, cf. CGL III, 653 *si permittis, propino tibi*: ἐὰν ἐπιτρέπῃς, προπίνω σοι; cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐπιτρέπω (I.4) 'frequently in Attic' '*refer the matter* to a person': Arist., *Ach.* 1115; *Vesp.* 521; *Ran.* 811, etc.

21, RA 14-15/RB 11-12 Et his dictis videns rex faciem eius roseo colore (RA: RB rubore) perfusam, intellexit dictum et ait gaudens (RA: RB /): 'When he said this, the king saw his face blushing scarlet, and understood the remark. He said with delight:'

roseo colore perfusam (RA) ~ *roseo rubore perfusam* (RB): As far as we can now see, *RA* goes directly back to the Vulgate, Esth. 15:8 *ipsa autem roseo vultu colore perfusa* (cf. app. font.). It involves a striking transposition to Apollonius of a highly impressive scene, in Jerome's phrasing, of Esther appearing uninvited before King Ahasuerus. The text used is the so-called *Alpha Text* (ed. M.V. Fox, *The Redaction of the Books of Esther*, The Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta, Georgia 1991, p.162) VI (5) καὶ αὐτὴ ἐρυθριῶσα ἐν ἀκμῇ κάλλους αὐτῆς 'and she blushing, at the height of her beauty'. This indicates reflection and therefore a late date of origin for *RA*, cf. Introd. VII.1. The word *rubore* – RB's change – had already been used in 2, RA 2 *roseo rubore perfusa* in a literal sense (RB /!).

The change to 'blush of shame' was probably suggested by *RB*'s wider reading, cf. the examples mentioned by Klebs, p.236: Ov., *Am.* 3,3,5 *roseo suffusa rubore*; Petron. 128 *perfusus rubore*; ibid. 132 *rubore perfundi*; Plin., *Ep.* 1,14,8 *rubore suffusa*; Apul., *Met.* 2,2 *rubore suffusus*; ibid. 2,8 *cutis roseo rubore*, cf. 11,3 *roseo rubore flammida*; Amm. 24,2,16 *verecundo rubore suffusus*.

gaudens: (RA) ~ "*Gaudio sum plenus ‹...› (RB)*: *RB*'s change by interpolating in the next sentence is elegant but unnecessary. (A change to: *Gaudio plenus*: *Quod* etc. for *RA*, as proposed by Thielmann, p.56, is redundant.)

21, RA 15-16 "Quod filia mea cupit, hoc est et meum votum." [Nichil enim in huiusmodi negotio sine deo agi potest.] '"What my daughter wants is my wish too."' [For in a matter of this kind, nothing can be done without God.]

21, RB 12-14 "Gaudio sum plenus, quod filia mea concupivit te. Et meum votum est. Peto itaque, ne fastidias nuptias natae meae."

Quod ‹...› cupit, hoc est ‹...› meum votum (RA): With this formal sentence Archistrates grants the wish of his daughter: betrothal (ἐγγύησις) and soon marriage are now a fact, cf. 22, RA 1 *manum iam genero, non hospiti*. In all likelihood *votum* is a direct translation of εὐχή 'wish', cf. 4, RA 4 (comm.). This translation *votum* will have been understood by Romans too. Klebs, p.279 refers to Sen., *Dial.* 10,4,6 *hoc votum erat*; Quintil., 12,5,6 *hoc votum est*. It seems, though, that either the translator or a reader in the later tradition did not understand this meaning, but took *votum* as vow, and added the sentence: *Nichil enim in huiusmodi negotio sine deo agi potest*, cf. Klebs pp.35, 218, 279. In view of its uncertain origin this sentence, though not part of the context, has been printed in the text, cf. Introd. X.

RB has probably failed to grasp this formal aspect too: for *concupiscere*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.* s.v. *concupiscentia* (2): 'désir charnel'. The emphasis now falls on a different aspect, but see also 22, RA 9 *concupisti*. The verb *concupio* is only recorded for Late Latin, cf. ThLL IV 102, 56-61. For the final sentence: *Peto ‹...› natae meae*, cf. the original text 22, RA 21 *Vnde ‹...› peto, ne nuptias filiae meae fastidio habeas*. In *RA* the king first wants assurance from his daughter, cf. c.22: this is more in accordance with the democratic tendency of the *HA*. *RB* has transferred the information, cf. Introd. III.

21, RA 16-18 Et respiciens ill<o>s tres iuvenes ait: “Certe dixi vobis, quia non apto tempore interpellastis. Ite, et dum tempus fuerit, mittam ad vos.” Et dimisit eos a se. ‘Looking at the three young men, he said: “I have already told you peremptorily that it was not a good time to disturb me. Go away, and when the time comes I will send for you.” So he dismissed them from his presence.’

21, RB 14-16 Et respiciens iuvenes illos ait: “Certe dixi vobis: cum nubendi tempus fuerit, mittam ad vos.” Et dimisit eos a se.

ill<o>s tres (RA): The reading *illustres* **P** is amusing.

certe dixi (RA/RB), cf. 37, RA 4/RB 5 *certe dixeras*: ‘in peremptory terms’. Perhaps it is based on σαφῶς εἶπον, ὅτι ‘I told you plainly’, cf. LSJ, s.v. σαφής ‘clear’ ‘plain’ (II): Adv. σαφῶς ‘esp. with Verbs of saying, hearing, knowing’.

quia non apto tempore interpellastis (RA) ~ (RB /): A repetition of 19, RA 8-9/RB 9. It was probably therefore omitted by *RB*, though *RB*’s actual statement is now wrong.

Ite (RA) ~ (RB /): *RA* retains here the polysyllabic form of the imperative *eo, ire* (= abite). For its obsolescence, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 141. Elsewhere the form *i* is replaced by the corresponding form of *pergere, vadere*, cf. 40, RA 24 perge/RB 21 vade. It is hard to give a reason for *RB*’s omission. Perhaps he thought it superfluous.

dum <…> **fuerit** (RA) ~ **cum** <…> **fuerit** (RB): Cf. Ind. verb., s.v. dum.

mittam ad vos (RA, **bM**) ~ *eam mittam* **βπ**: A standing ellipsis in both Latin and Greek requiring the addition: *nuntium/nuntios*, cf. OLD, s.v. *mittere* (16) ellipt.: Cic. *Att.* 4,11,1 *id cuius modi sit, ad me mittas velim*; Liv. 1,56,5 *Delphos mittere statuit*; Petron. 129,7 *licet ad tubicines mittas*. This usage is found elsewhere in the *HA* (46, RA 7 [comm.]). For Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. πέμπω (4) *abs.*: Xen., *Cyr.* 1,5,4 ἔπεμπε πρὸς Κῦρον δεόμενος ‘he sent a messenger to Cyre with the demand’. The Greek Novel has this usage too: Xen. Eph. 3,2,7 τῷ μειρακίῳ προσέπεμπεν (sc. ἀγγέλους) ‘he sent messengers to the boy’, see also Charit. 1,4,8; 5,9,1; Heliod. 8,9,5; 9,12,1 (scribes like to supply the missing term: e.g. *Hist. Lausiac.* 68,6 ἤδη γὰρ ἀποστέλλει ὁ θεὸς ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς, where manuscripts add after θεός: τὸν

ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ or ἄγγελον.) The dispatch of messengers was customary in matters of marriage particularly. This also explains the rapid disappearance of the suitors: *Acta Pauli et Theclae*, 8 (ed. Bonnet-Lipsius, I, p.241,7) Ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἀφίστατο (sc. ἡ Θέκλα) ἀπὸ τῆς θυρίδος, πέμπει ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν Θάμυριν· ὁ δὲ ἔρχεται περιχαρής, ὡς ἤδη λαμβάνων αὐτὴν πρὸς γάμον 'Because Thecla did not yield from the window, her mother sent a messenger to Thamyris. He came full of joy, convinced that finally he should take her as his bride'; *eam, nubendi cum tempus fuerit, mittam* **βπ**: clearly this is an incredible 'Schlimbesserung'. For the later *Nachleben* of the *HA* it is perhaps interesting that secondary versions do not understand the gesture of summoning a suitor later and try to find other solutions, e.g. that the three suitors go to battle against the King of Cyrene. Thus e.g. *Jourdain de Blaye* (cf. Archibald, *Index*, s.v.) and probably also the Old French poem *Apoloine*, cf. M. Delbouille, *Apollonius de Tyr et les débuts du roman français*, in: *Mélanges offerts à Rita Lejeune* (2 vols Gembloux, 1969), p.II, (1171-1204), pp.1191-4.

CHAPTER 22

22, RA 1-2	Et tenens manum iam genero, non hospiti, ingreditur domum regiam. 'So the king took the hand of the man who was now his son-in-law, not his guest, and went into the palace.'
22, RB 1-2	Ipse autem comprehendit manum iam non hospitis, sed generis sui. Intravit in domum regiam.

The formal betrothal has taken place, cf. 21, RA 15-16. Archistrates wants to inform his daughter too and gain her approval: after all, she is the heiress, cf. 51, RA 9-10/RB 8-9 (comm.). So he leads Apollonius to the palace, by the hand, to encourage him. For this situation, cf. Anonym. *apud* Ps. Callisth. II 181 (ed. A.D. Knox, LCL 225, p.310) καὶ χειρὸς (κρατήσας) δεξιᾶς ('Αλέξανδρον) | (εἰσ)ήνεγκεν αὐτὸν (τῶν ἀνακτόρων εἴσω) 'And (sc. Darius) took Alexander by the right hand and introduced him into the palace'; *Acta Pauli et Theclae* c.41 (Lipsius-Bonnet I, p.267) καὶ λαβόμενος ὁ Παῦλος τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῆς (sc. Theclae) ἀπήγαγεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὸν οἶκον 'Ερμείου (sc. amici eius).

iam genero, non hospiti (RA): *non hospitis, sed generis* (**bβM**: *generi* **π**) *sui* (RB): For the difference in cases (eth. dat. [RA] and gen. [RB]), cf. 21, RA 9 *ei* ~ RB *Apollonii*. The two antithetical nouns are found *passim* in Latin, cf. Iustini *Epitoma hist. Philipp. Pomp. Trogi* (ed. O. Seel, Teubn. 1972^2) 43,3,10 *factus ex hospite gener*, cf. ThLL VI.1 1770,41 *varie coniunguntur vel opponuntur* gener *et* socer. A good parallel in the Greek Novel is provided by Long. 3,32,3: a father takes his future son-in-law by the hand and addresses him, cf. τὸν Δάφνιν μετέωρον πρὸς τὴν ἀκοὴν καταλαβὼν ἀνέρρωσέ τε γαμβρὸν προσαγορεύσας <...> δεξιάν τε ἔδωκεν ὡς οὐδενὸς ἐσομένης ὅτι μὴ Δάφνιδος Χλοής 'When he (sc. Dryas, the father of Chloe) got there, he found Daphnis in suspense for news; he encouraged him by calling him son-in-law <...> and gave him his hand, as a sign that Chloe would belong to no man but Daphnis.' An explanation of the anormal form *generis* **bβM** can be found both in palaeography (position before *sui*) and in the decline of the declensional system: the form *generibus* (dat. pl.) already occurs in Acc., *trag.* 65.

ingreditur domum regiam (RA) ~ *intravit in domum regiam* (RB): *Ingredi* + acc. is very common in Latin, cf. OLD, s.v. *ingredior* (a). But the

construction may also come directly from Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. εἰσέρχομαι ‘to enter’. For further information, cf. Introd. n.80.1.

22, RA 2-3 Ipso autem Apollonio relicto rex solus intrat ad filiam suam dicens: ‘But he left Apollonius and went in alone to his daughter, and said:’

22, RB 2-3 Et relicto Apollonio intravit rex solus ad filiam suam et ait:

Some very slight stylistic adjustments by *RB*.

22, RA 3-4 “Dulcis nata, quem tibi elegisti coniugem?” Puella vero prostravit se ad pedes patris sui et ait: ‘“Sweet child, whom have you chosen as your husband?” The girl threw herself at her father’s feet and said:’

22, RB 3-4 “Nata dulcis, quem tibi cóniugem elegísti (*v.*)?” Puella prostravit se pedibus patris et ait:

prostravit se ad pedes (RA) ~ *prostravit se pedibus* (RB): To be taken literally, cf. 22, RA 8 *erexit eam et alloquitur* (RB /). This προσκύνησις is the suppliant’s gesture *par excellence*, cf. 9, RA/RB 15 (comm.). It is also made to a father, cf. e.g. Heliod. 10,38,1 Καὶ ἡ Χαρίκλεια <…> πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκ φύσεώς τε καὶ ἡλικίας αἰδῶ παραγκωνισαμένη <…> τοῖς γόνασι τοῦ Χαρικλέους προσπεσοῦσα ‘Now Charikleia <…> oblivious of the modesty incumbent on her sex and years <…> fell at the feet (of Charikles, her putative father)’. For further information, cf. Introd., n.80.1.

22, RA 4-6 “Pater carissime, quia cupis audire natae tuae desiderium: illum volo coniugem et amo: patrimonio deceptum et naufragum, magistrum meum Apollonium; ‘“Dearest father, since you want to hear your child’s desire: the man I want for my husband, the man I love, is the man who was cheated of his inheritance and shipwrecked, my teacher Apollonius;’

22, RB 4-7 “Pater piissime, quia cupis audire desiderium filiae tuae: amo naufragum a fortuna deceptum. Sed ne teneam pietatem tuam ambiguitate sermonum: Apollonium Tyrium, praeceptorem meum. ‘“I love the shipwrecked man cheated by Fortune. I will not hinder your goodness by riddling speech: Apollonius of Tyre, my teacher.’

Pater carissime (RA) ~ *Pater piissime* (RB): *RB* deliberately changes to *pater pius*, *pius* precisely in relation to his daughter, cf. 3, RA 1/RB 2 *pium genitorem*. As regards the superlative *piissimus* instead of *maxime pius*: though this form is condemned by Cicero (*Phil.* 13,43) for not being good Latin, he uses it himself (Cic., *Epist.* fr. 18 (17).3) and it is generally accepted from the time of *Sen. iun.* onwards. The *HA*, in both *RA* and *RB*, has the form in the standard allocution *cives piissimi* (45, RA 25; 47 RA/RB 2; 50, RA 30 [RB /]), cf. 3, RB 1 *rex impiissimus*. The use of *piissimus* here is partly determined by the immediately following *pietatem tuam* (RB) and (RB 8) *motus pietate*. For *pietas tua* = *tu*, cf. 34, RA/RB 14 (comm.).

desiderium (RA, **b**) ~ *consilium* **βπ**: The latter form is more resolute. Manuscripts often alternate.

illum volo coniugem et amo: patrimonio deceptum et naufragum (RA): An almost literal, epic repetition of Archistratis’ own words (20, RA 16-17). For the addition *et amo*, cf. 20, RA 7. For the corresponding, briefer formulation in *RB*, cf. 20, RB 12-13.

Sed ne teneam (i.q. deti-) **pietatem tuam ambiguitate sermonum** (i.q. verborum) (RB): An (unnecessary) apology by *RB* for the only slightly ambiguous previous words.

magistrum (RA) ~ *praeceptorem* (RB): Perhaps *RB* is a little more solemn, cf. OLD, s.v. *praeceptor*.

22, RA 6-7 cui si non me tradideris, a praesenti perdes filiam!" 'If you will not give me to him, you will immediately lose your daughter!"'

22, RB 7 Cui si me non dederis, amisisti filiam!"

tradideris (RA) ~ *dederis* (RB): The usual term is *tradere*, cf. OLD, s.v. (5.c); see also below *RA* 20 *tradas*.

a praesenti perdes (RA) ~ *amisisti* (RB): For *a praesenti* (sc. *tempore*) 'forthwith', cf. 50, RA 31 (RB /), the usual dictionaries (OLD, s.v. *praesens*, Blaise, *Dict.*) do not offer any parallels. (ThLL X 2,1 70-1 records only *HA*, 22, RA 6; 50, RA 31). A late example is given by Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon minus*, s.v. *praesens* (6) (a.867). Perhaps we can compare τὸ παρόν 'just now', cf. LSJ, s.v. πάρειμι (II); Zimmermann, p.29 n.3; Heliod. 6,3,2. The reading *amisisti* (RB) 'you have lost your daughter' is as plain as day. The threat of suicide is a τόπος in both Latin and Greek literature, cf. Trenkner, p.63. For the Greek Novel, cf. Rohde[3], p.30, p.83 ff. A few illustrative examples: Charit. 1,1,8 Χαιρέας <…> ἀπετόλμησεν εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς, ὅτι ἐρᾷ καὶ οὐ βιώσεται τοῦ Καλλιρρόης γάμου μὴ τυχών 'Chaereas <…> found courage <…> to tell his parents, that he was in love and would live no longer if he did not marry Callirhoe'; Xen. Eph. 2,5,7 (parallel adduced by Riese [1893], *Praef.* XVI, n.1) ἐμαυτὴν φθάσασα ἀποκτενῶ 'I will kill myself first'; Long. 4,16,1 (Γνάθων) ἀβίωτον νομίζων τὸν βίον, εἰ μὴ τεύξεται Δαφνίδος 'Gnathon <…> thought that life was not worth living if he did not get Daphnis'; Heliod. 7,10,3 ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅπως βιώσομαι μὴ πάντως ἐκείνου τυγχάνουσα '(Arsace to her nurse Cybele) for there is no way I can go on living, if I do not make him mine at all costs.' It is also found in closely related literature: Lucian., *Tox.* 16 καὶ τέλος ὡς οὐ βιώσεται μὴ οὐχὶ συνὼν τῇ Χαρικλείᾳ 'and in conclusion he said that he would not remain alive, if he could not have Charikleia.'

22, RA 7-8 Et cum rex filiae non posset ferre lacrimas, erexit eam et alloquitur dicens: 'The king could not bear his daughter's tears: he lifted her up and said:'

22, RB 7-8 Rex non sustinens filiae suae lacrimas, motus pietate ait:

non posset ferre (RA) ~ *non sustinens* (RB): For *ferre* 'to bear' 'to endure', cf. φέρω, LSJ (III) 'to endure' 'to suffer'. For the relation between *ferre* and *sustinere*, cf. 9, RA 9/RB 10 (comm.).

erexit eam et alloquitur (RA) ~ *ait* (RB): *RB*, otherwise so meticulous, ignores the first action required: to cheer somebody up, cf. 12, RA 16 *erigit*/RB 19 *levavit*; 51, RA 27/RB 21 *erexit*.

alloquitur dieens (RA) ~ *ait* (RB): A pleonastic use after *alloqui* of either paratactically added synonymous verbs or added participles, in particular *dicens* (cf. ThLL I 1695 [18,32,58]), is common throughout Latinity. As usual, *RB* trims.

22, RA 8-23 ~ 22, RB 8-9
From this point on *RA* and RB differ considerably. Opinions of editors and commentators therefore separate too. Starting from *RB*, many have regarded *RA* as inauthentic, cf. Klebs, p.36 'weitläufiges und thörichtes Geschwätz' and, slightly further on, 'der christliche Pferdefuß' (=, with minor differences, Garbugino, pp.44-45 with nn.69-70). But in my view *RA* is closely interwoven with the rest of the *HA*, both in language and in content. It offers a coherent, realistic narrative analogous to the course of an official marriage in the Greek Novel. Throughout it shows traces of a Greek original. The fuzzy, uncertain formulation, despite an undeniable rhetorical composition in the dialogues, must be put at the door of **R(Gr)**. *RB* has adopted only the elements he considered relevant. A sentence may even be moved (22, RA 20 is now 21, RB 19). An important text-critical point is that **Rα** and **RC** largely support the **P** (= RA) reading, which argues for the authenticity of *RA*.

22, RA 8-11 "Nata dulcis, noli de aliqua re cogitare, quia talem concupisti, [ad] quem ego, ex quo eum vidi, tibi coniungere adoptavi. '"Sweet child, do not worry about anything. The man you want is the very man I have wanted with all my heart to give my daughter in marriage, from the moment I saw him.'

noli de aliqua re cogitare (RA): Riese (1893), *Index* s.v. *cogitare* suggested: '*i.e.* de morte'. This paraphrase seems inadequate, like that of Klebs, p.36: 'Eine Kirchenlateinische Wendung = um etwas sorgen', cf. ibid., p.272 (= Garbugino, p.45 n.70). Rather the remark derives directly from Greek, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.* s.v. μεριμνάω 'sich sorgen machen' 'to worry'. He refers to: Pap. Tebt. 315,9 [II n] γράφω ὅπως μὴ μεριμνῇς 'I write (this letter) in order that you may not worry'. The translation μεριμνάω = *cogito* squares with the Glossaria, cf. CGL VI, 227. In that case the phrase *de*

aliqua re corresponds with περί τινος (the standing construction, cf. Matt. 6:28; Luke 12:26). The entire expression may have read: μὴ μεριμνῇς περὶ μηδενός 'don't worry about anything' (our wishes coincide).

[ad] quem ego <…> **tibi coniungere adoptavi**: It is hard to judge the construction, also in connection with a possible Greek substrate text. Options are: (a) *quem* <…> *tibi* (*ad* stemming from [10] *adoptavi*, cf. ThLL IV 332,56 s.v. *coniungo* [*de amicitia, amore*; esp. *de matrimonio*]); (b) *ad quem* <…> *t*<*e*> (*tibi* [**P**] resulting from [10] *tibi* <…> *consentio*). I have opted for (a) as *lectio difficilior*. A Greek substrate term is questionable. Various verbs could be considered, e.g. 1. ζεύγνυμι, cf. LSJ II.2: 'to join in wedlock'; Charit. 3,2,12 Σύ με οὖσαν παρθένον ἔζευξας Χαιρέᾳ 'You joined me to Chaireas, when I was a maiden'. 2. Also possible is ἁρμόττω 'to conjoin', cf. 23, RA 6 [comm.]. 3. The most likely substrate form is συνάπτω 'to join together'. This is not only suggested as a translation in the Glossaria (cf. CGL VI, 259 s.v. *coniugo* συνάπτω), but also used as such in Greek literature and in the Greek Novel, cf. LSJ, s.v. συνάπτω (II.b); *Less.*, s.v. συνάπτω: II (Pass.) *esser unito in matrimonio*: Charit. 4,4,3 γυναῖκα <…> αὐτῷ συναφθεῖσαν 'a woman linked to him (by marriage)'; Heliod. 4,14,2.

ex quo = ἐξ οὗ, cf. 16, RA 5 *ex quo agnovisti veritatem* 'from the first moment'.

coniungere (RA): 'To join in marriage' actively, as an exclusive right of the father, or legal representative, cf. Kussl, p.48 n.94 (*aliter* Schmeling [1988]: *Notes*, p.144 [on ed. 16,4]).

22, RA 10-11	Sed ego tibi vere consentio, quia et ego amando factus sum pater!" 'But certainly I can understand your feelings: it was by love that I too became a father!"'
22, RB 8-9	"Et ego, dulcis filia, amando factus sum pater!

Sed ego tibi vere consentio: This may be directly based on Greek. For *sed* = ἀλλὰ, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀλλά (II) 'also in affirmative sense'; Zimmermann, p.61 'zu abschließendem ἀλλά'. For *consentio alicui* the Glossaria (CGL VI 261) suggest various possible substrate terms: συναινῶ τινί 'to agree with'; ὁμοφρονῶ τινί 'to be of the same mind'; συνευδοκέω 'to agree *or* sympathize with'.

amando factus sum pater! (RA/RB): Antiquity is more inclined than our age to talk about the purpose of marriage as the begetting of children, cf. Kroll, on Catull. 61,211 *ludite ut lubet et brevi* (sc. tempore) *liberos date*.

Betrothal is already seen in these terms: Plaut., *Aul.* 148 *liberis procreandis* <…> *volo te uxorem ducere*. Naturally this understanding of sexual love is frequently seen in the Greek Novel, cf. Heliod. 4,10,5 σὺ μὲν ἴσθι μὴ μόνη καὶ πρώτη τὸ πάθος ὑποστᾶσα 'you must realize that you are not the first or the only woman ever to have experienced this pain', cf. Charit. 3,3,2; Achill. Tat. 1,5,7; Long. 2,7,1-2. Euripides is probably an important influence, cf. *Hippol.* 439 ἐρᾷς: τί τοῦτο θαῦμα; σὺν πολλοῖς βροτῶν. 'You are in love? What wonder? You share this with many mortals.' For this τόπος in classical literature, cf. Gow, *Theocr.* VIII, 59 (comm.). For a description of the power of Love as sung in ancient marriage literature, cf. R. Reitzenstein, *Hermes* 35, 1900, 90 sqq.

22, RA 12-14 Et exiens foris respiciens Apollonium ait: "Magister Apolloni, quia scrutavi filiam meam, quid ei in animo resideret nuptiarum causa, lacrimis fusis multa inter alia mihi narravit dicens et adiurans me ait: 'He went out, looked at Apollonius and said: "Master Apollonius, when I questioned my daughter closely about her inclinations concerning marriage, she burst into tears and among many other things which she told me, she made this appeal to me:'

Et exiens foris 'going out of doors': For the pleonasm *exire foras* (*foris*), cf. ThLL VI,1 1049,29-37. It may derive directly from Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐξέρχομαι: 'Arist., *Vesp.* 70 θυράζε ἐξιέναι'. *RA* uses *foris/foras* interchangeably, cf. 6, RA 17 *exiens foras* [**P**]; 35, RA 1 *exiens foris* (RB /). This is closely connected with the neglect of the difference between rest and movement (*in* + acc.; *in* + abl.), a phenomenon already found in classical authors like Plin., Apul., cf. OLD, s.v. *foris*[2] (4). The Vulgate commonly has *foris* instead of *foras*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *foris* (II,2); Hoppenbrouwers (1960), p.159 (ch. 63) n.1; Adams (1976), p.85.

exiens <…> **respiciens**, cf. 19, RA 4 *videns* <…> *subridens*: For this linking of participles, in which the second depends on the first, see Zander, *Phaedr. solutus* p.LXXXI with examples from Phaedr. *sol.*, Peregr., Vict. Vit., Greg. Tur.

Magister: Elsewhere in *RA* too, cf. 20, RA 8-11. According to Klebs, p.36 n.6 it is of course an interpolation.

quia <…> (20) **Vnde**: The causal conjunction stands in relation to *unde*, probably due to the influence of Greek (? διότι/ὅτι <…> ὅθεν [cf. LSJ, s.v. ὅθεν 'whence']).

scrutavi 'I searched out what my daughter had in mind' (Konstan): Both passive and active forms occur in Late and Church Latin, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *scruto*. This has to do with the decline in understanding and use of *deponentia*, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.* § 208. There may also be Greek influence, (?) διερευνάω 'to search' 'to examine'. (Klebs, p.36 n.7 and p.256 deletes.)

quid ei in animo resideret nuptiarum causā: A roundabout way of saying: *quid sentiret de nuptiis*. This may also be based on Greek, cf. *Less*, s.v. ἐνθυμέομαι '*think much* or *deeply of*' combined with ἕνεκα, cf. LSJ, s.v. (I): 'on account of', 'for the sake of'; it is frequent in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less*., s.v. ἕνεκα (b): 'per quanto riguarda'. For ἕνεκα in the sense of περί in hagiographical, Late Greek literature, cf. Ljungvik (1926), p.30. Another possible substrate text is with ἐνιδρύω 'to settle in', ἐνίζω 'to sit in', ἐνιζάνω 'to sit or settle in', since these verbs are often combined with ψυχή/ἐν ψυχῇ, cf. LSJ, ss.vv.

narravit dicens: For *narro* in the sense of *dico*, cf. 25, RA 23/RB 17 *quid narras*? For the pleonasm, cf. LSJ, s.v. λέγω: Herod. 3,156 ἔφη λέγων (= 5,36).

adiurans me 'entreating me', cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐπιμαρτύρομαι (2): 'to call on earnestly' 'to conjure'.

22, RA 15-16

"Iuraveras magistro meo Apollonio, ut, si desideriis meis <in> doctrinis paruisset, dares illi quicquid iratum abstulit mare. "'You swore to my teacher Apollonius that, if he complied with my wishes in his teaching, you would give him whatever the raging sea had taken away.'

iuraveras (RA) = *iuravisti* (pluperf. for perf.), cf. 24, RA 9/RB 8 *noveras* (i.q. *nosti*). The words themselves recall 18, RA 10-11 *iuro* <...> *ut, si desiderio natae meae parueris, quicquid tibi iratum abstulit mare, ego* <...> *restituam*, a repetition eliminated by Klebs, p.36 n.9 and p.262 (= Garbugino, p.45 n.70). The form is a long dialogue (ll.12-22) with a smaller internal dialogue or quotation (ll.15-20), cf. Salonius, *Pass. Perpetuae* p.2. He points to the simple direct speech in the original Greek text (E. Preuschen, *Palladius und Rufinus*, Giessen 1897) as opposed to the stylistically constructed, oblique rendering, depending on several *verba dicendi*, in Rufinus' version, *Historia Monachorum* (Migne, PL 21, 387-462). For this kind of 'double dialogue', see also Hesseling, *Pratum spirituale* no.20.1; no.45.1; no.179.1. The same procedure is applied in 32, RA 16-27 (with internally 18-23).

<**in**> **doctrinis**: A conjecture by Riese (1893), approved by Klebs, p.36 (n.10), p.267, cf. 20, RA 17 *meae voluntati in doctrinis*. The original reading is *vel* **P**, **Rα** (cf. ed. m. [1984]).

22, RA 16-20

Modo vero, quia paruit <ét> tuis praeceptis <in> obsequiis ab ipso tibi factis ét meae voluntati in doctrinis: aurum, argentum, vestes, mancipia aut possessiones non quaerit, nisi solum regnum, quod putaverat perdidisse: tuo sacramento per meam iu<nct>ionem hoc ei tradas!" 'Now that he has dutifully obeyed your orders by the services he rendered to you and also my wish in his teaching: he does not seek gold, silver, clothes, servants or possessions, but only the kingdom which he feared to have lost. So confirming with your oath, give him this kingdom through marriage to me!"'

RA has a balanced sentence with a subordinate clause (*quia* <...> *doctrinis*), main clause (*aurum* <...> *perdidisse*) and conclusion (*tuo sacramento* <...> *tradas*).

<**et**> **tuis praeceptis [et] P, Rα**; [et]^2 has been transposed for clausal balance; the sentence is: (quia paruit) ét praeceptis (tuis) ét voluntati (meae).

<**in**> **obsequiis ab ipso tibi factis**: <*in*> supplied by Heraeus (1893) to balance the clause. It refers to the bath scene 13, RA 20-23, though the term *obsequium* is absent (from [?] ὑπηρεσία 'service', cf. LSJ, s.v. (II); CGL VII,6).

aurum, argentum, vestes, mancipia: Refers to the slaves and the presents which Archistratis had given 17, RA 7-9 (cf. app. crit.). A theoretical possibility is *mancipias* **P**, on account of the decline of the neuter, but see 33, RA/RB 2 *mancipia*. ThLL VIII 254 has no example of fem. either.

possessiones: Refers to Archistrates' promise in 18, RA/RB 11: (?) κτήματα, cf. Riese (1893), Index, s.v. *possessiones* = fundi; LSJ, s.v. κτῆμα 'possession': (2) 'less frequently of *landed property*'.

non quaerit, nisi solum regnum: This gives a strong impression of being directly translated from Greek, specifically from **R(Gr)**, cf. LSJ, s.v. εἰ (VII,3.a): εἰ μὴ = 'except': Herod. 1,200 ουδὲν ἄλλο σιτέονται, εἰ μὴ ἰχθῦς μοῦνον (adv.) 'they do not eat any other thing, except fish only'; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. μόνος (1.γ) 'Nach vorausgehender Negation pleonast. bei εἰ

μὴ = nicht <…> außer allein': Matt. 12:4 ὃ οὐκ ἐξὸν ἦν αὐτῷ φαγεῖν <…> εἰ μὴ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν μόνοις (cf. Luke 6:4) = Vulg. *quos* (sc. shewbreads) *non licebat ei edere* <…> *nisi solis sacerdotibus*; ibid. 17:8 οὐδένα εἶδον εἰ μὴ αὐτὸν Ἰησοῦν μόνον (cf. Mark 9:8, v.l.) = Vulg. *neminem viderunt nisi solum Iesum*; ibid. 24:36 οὐδεὶς οἶδεν <…>, εἰ μὴ ὁ πατὴρ μόνος = Vulg. *nemo scit* <…>, *nisi solus pater*. A light variant of this usage is also found elsewhere in the *HA*: 33, RA 3-4 *nec virum nec feminam voluit emere, nisi Tharsiam*.

quod putaverat perdidisse: Despite Klebs's harsh criticism (p.36 n.13 'Reiner Unsinn des Interpolators; Ap. hat nur über den Verlust seiner Schätze geklagt'), this may derive directly from **R(Gr)**: Apollonius as *rex Tyri* (βασιλεὺς Τύρου) was introduced by **R(Gr)**. According to **HA(Gr)**, Apollonius belonged to the ruling class of Tyre, cf. tit. (comm.); 4, RA 1 *quidam adulescens*. As regards the form: *putaverat* can also be a 'verschobenes plusquam perf.' (= *putavit*). Perhaps it renders (?) οἴομαι, which besides definite *putare* can also mean 'to fear' 'to guess', cf. LSJ, s.v. (III): '*think, suppose, believe*'. So the entire sentence may have read (with reservation): χρυσόν, ἀργύριον, ἐσθῆτα, δούλους (ἀνδράποδα), κτήματα οὐ ζητεῖ, εἰ μὴ μόνον τὴν βασιλείαν, ἥν ᾠήθη ἀπολέσαι. This suggestion also explains the omission of *se* as subj. of the infin.

tuo sacramento: Probably 'confirmation under oath': Romans will have doubtless accepted and understood this meaning, cf. OLD, s.v. *sacramentum* (1). But in fact we are probably looking at an internal, Greek custom. Thus in a similar situation Heliod. 1,25,4 talks about a γάμος ἐνώματος 'a wedding confirmed by oaths', cf. LSJ, s.v. (2). The quotation reads τὸν δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡμῖν συγκείμενόν τε καὶ ἐνώμοτον ἐπὶ πᾶσι γάμον ἔνθεσμον εἴ πῃ γένοιτο περισκοποῦσα 'observing carefully that the union we pledged at the outset and which was confirmed by oath (oaths?) should be legally solemnized, if possible'. For the legal aspect, cf. J. Modrzejewski, 'Zum hellenistischen Ehegüterrecht im griechischen und römischen Ägypten', *ZRG* (*RA*) 87, 1970, pp.50-84; id. 'La structure juridique du mariage grec' in: E. Bresciani et al. (eds.), *Scritti in Onore di Orsolina Montevecchi*, Bologna 1981, pp.231-68. (Schmeling, *Notes*, pp.145-6 [on ed. 16,13] *aliter*.)

per meam iu<nct>ionem <hoc> ei tradas: In fact this reading is based on **Rα** (cf. *per meam coniunctionem ei tradas* [sc. regnum amissum] **F** and *peto igitur ut hoc* [sc. regnum] *per meam coniugationem ei tradas* **LGAtr**.) The **P** reading (before correction) *iussionem me*, is defended by many (Ring, Riese [1893], Schmeling [1994]). Though it makes good sense as such 'give me upon my request' (for *iussio, iubere* = *velle* cf. 24, RB 18), the required term 'kingdom' is lacking. This also applies to the conjecture *iunctionem me*, supported by Riese [1893], Klebs, p.36 n.14. For the adopted middle course

iunctionem hoc, see Klebs, loc. cit. 'richtig'; Engström CEL 207,2 *fuit nobis iunctio dulcis bis* (vigin)*ti per annos* (noted by Heraeus [1893] ad. loc.); ThLL VII II.I 649.56. But *coniunctionem* (cf. 22, RA 11 *coniungere*) can be based on σύζευξις 'wedded union', cf. LSJ, s.v. (alongside συζεύγνυμι).

22, RA 20-21 Vnde, magister Apolloni, p<e>to, ne nuptias filiae meae fastidio habeas!" 'So, Master Apollonius, I beg you, do not be scornful of marriage with my daughter!"'

After *RA*'s long, informative digression, the two recensions come together again. According to Klebs, p.36 n.15 the sentence (RA) 20-21 *peto* <…> *habeas* comes from 21, RB 13-14 *Peto itaque, ne fastidias nuptias natae meae*. The above clearly shows that the opposite is the case: *RA* offers a coherent argument which fits very well in the Greek Novel. *RB* has freely selected from it and sometimes transposed sentences, like the present one, cf. Introd. III.

fastidio habeas (RA) ~ *fastidias* (21, RB 14): More usual forms are provided by OLD, s.v. *fastidium* (3): *fastidio esse* 'to be repugnant'; *in fastidio esse, in fastidium ire* 'to become repugnant'. Alternation, as here between *RA* and *RB*, is not uncommon: Pelagius, *Vit. Patr.* 5,1,21 (= 7,12,2) *odis* and *odio habes*; cf. J.B. Hofmann, *Beiträge*, p.90 n.3: 'die Umschreibung mit *habeo* scheint die volkstümlichere Wendung zu sein'. Usual Greek terms in this connection are ἀνανεύω 'to deny' 'to refuse' (cf. Long. 1,19,3 γάμον ἀνένευσε, opp. ἐπινεύω ibid.) and esp. ἀρνέομαι 'to refuse' (cf. Hom., *Od.* 1,249; Heliod. 1,22,5).

22, RA 21-22 Apollonius ait: "Quod a deo est, sit, et si tua est voluntas, impleatur!" 'Apollonius replied: "Let God's will be done; if it is your wish, let it be fulfilled!"'

Upon this sentence in particular Klebs poured out the vials of his indignation, cf. Klebs 36: 'auch hier kommt zum Schluß der christliche Pferdefuß zum Vorschein', cf. p.218. According to Klebs, this Christian effect is reinforced by the use of *implere*: 'im Kirchenlatein der stehende Ausdruck für die Erfüllung von Verheißungen'. (Compare his interpretation of 21, RA 16/RB 13 *votum*.) Whichever way one looks at it, the further context makes it clear that the Christian God is referred to here. Given the overwhelming number of Greek or Graecizing phrases in this passage (ll.8-22), we can assume that

this phrase here too goes back to a Greek original with Christian colouring **R(Gr)**. The extent to which it also goes back to **HA(Gr)** is a problem. It is clear that pagans also recognized a higher power in this kind of situation, vaguely designated by the term θεός. Thus Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. συζεύγνυμι 'to joke together' 'to couple' points to a pagan counterpart in Nicetas Eugen. (3,12. 7,265 Hercher), where pagans can also say: οὓς θεὸς [ein Gott] συνῆψε, τίς διασπάσοι (sic; *fort. legendum* διασπάσει); a pagan variant on the Christian saying 'what God has joined together let no man put asunder', cf. Matt. 19:6; Mark 10:9. The pious formulation probably comes from **R(Gr)**. Compare also the discussion on 20, RA 10 *deo volente*.

sit P: Critics have proposed changes here: *fit* Riese (1983); it is probably better to keep the pious wish.

impleatur: This could go back directly to ἀναπληρόω 'to fulfil', 'to perform', cf. Bauer, s.v. (2) 'erfüllen' (said of a contract). This puts a different complexion on the link with Church Latin (cf. above).

22, RA 22-23	Rex ait: "Diem nuptiarum sine mora statuam!" 'The king said: "I will fix the wedding day without delay!"'
22, RB 9	Diem ergo nuptiarum sine mora statuam."

Diem nuptiarum (RA/RB): The necessary further arrangement of betrothal (ἐγγύησις) up till the official marriage (γάμος), cf. Kussl, p.47 n.93. In practice there could be a certain amount of time (longer or shorter) between betrothal and marriage, to be spent on invitations, the arrangement of place and witnesses, the making of the necessary preparations, cf. Heliod. 7,24,4 ὑπερθεμένη τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἡμέραν προορίσαι καὶ τὰ πρὸς εὐωχίαν λαμπρότερον εὐτρεπισθῆναι 'The marriage will take place just as soon as a date can be fixed and preparations made for an exceptionally magnificent celebration.' For a betrothal period of 30 days, in de world of the Novel, cf. M. Gronewald, 'Ein neues Fragment zu einem Roman', *ZPE* 35 (1979) pp.15-20, esp. p.20 n.1. But everything shows that King Archistrates wants to speed along the marrriage.

statuam (RA/RB): The standard term, cf. Greg. Tur., Hist. Fr. (RR. Script. Merov. I^2) p.30,10 *datumque arrabone, diem statuit nuptiarum*. The usual terms in Greek: προορίζω (Heliod. 7,24,4 ἡμέραν); προμηνύω (Achill. Tat. 6,5,2; Heliod. 4,15,1 γάμους); προτίθημι (cf. 23, RA 7 comm.).

CHAPTER 23

This chapter is a logical continuation of the official betrothal dealt with in c.22. In the opinion of Klebs, p.37 it is 'gleichfalls stark interpoliert', his preference (p.62) being for **F** and **φ** (manuscripts of **Rα**), because these often offer 'eine kürzere und reinere Fassung'. But the reverse is actually true: because *RA* is epically digressive, both *RB* and **Rα** were written as alternatives. The Christian tone probably emerges starting from ll.9-16, though the Greek Novel can be discerned here too.

23, RA 1-2	Postera vero die vocantur amici, invocantur vicinarum urbium potestates, viri magni atque nobiles. 'The next day he summoned the friends and sent for the rulers of neighbouring cities, great men and nobles.'
23, RB 1	Postera die vocantur amici, vicinarum urbium potestates.

vocantur amici (RA/RB): Naturally a royal wedding cannot form an οἰκόσιτοι γάμοι, cf. LSJ, s.v. οἰκόσιτος 'without inviting guests outside the family': hence the crown council and the top layer of officialdom are consulted first.

amici = probably the court council, οἱ φίλοι, cf. 14, RA 2.

invocantur (RA) ~ (RB /): Many critics have tinkered with this word: Riese (1893), ad. loc. already proposed *invitantur*, followed by Klebs, p.61 and p.247 (on the basis of **FG**, see above), Schmeling (1988). But no change is probably necessary, since the Greek Novel also uses καλέω and παρακαλέω interchangeably, cf. *Less.*, s.v. καλέω (2) 'chiamare', 'invitare' and παρακαλέω (1) 'chiamare', 'convocare' (e.g. Charit. 3,1,3 σε ἐπὶ τὸν γάμον παρακαλεῖ '(She) invites you to her wedding'; id., 2,3,3 φίλοι παρεκαλοῦντο συνοδεύειν 'friends were invited to join him on the journey'.

vicinarum urbium potestates (RA/RB): For the very rare use of *urbs* in the *HA* (RA 1x: RB 1x) as opposed to *civitas*, cf. Ind. verb., ss.vv. civitas, urbs. For the distinction in use between the two terms, cf. Salonius, *Vit. Patr.* p.30. Roques loc. cit. p.253 rightly notes that these words probably refer first of all to the four other βατιλεῖς of the Πεντάπολις, cf. 11, RA 2 (comm.).

potestates 'those in authority' (RA, **b**) ~ *potentes* **βMπ**: This *abstractum pro concreto* clearly shows the *HA* moving towards to Ital. *podestà*, cf. Thielmann, p.30; Klebs, p.247 n.4: the first references are already found in the Imperial Era (cf. OLD, s.v. 4), and it is widespread in the 4th c., cf. Väänänen, *Introd.* § 183. A good parallel in Greek would be ἐξουσία, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ἐξουσία (4.c.α 'Machthaber' 'Beambte'); LSJ, s.v. (II): 'body of magistrates'. (Another good possibility is αἱ ἀρχαί 'the authorities' 'the magistrates', cf. LSJ, s.v. II.4.) A striking change is from *potestates* **b** to *potentes* **βMπ**, probably on account of the restrictive meaning 'mayor', cf. Löfstedt, *Late Latin* p.154.

23, RA 2-4 Quibus convocatis in unum pariter rex ait: "Amici, scitis, quare vos in unum congregaverim?" Qui respondentes dixerunt: "Nescimus." 'When they had gathered together the king said to them: "Friends, do you know why I have assembled you together?" They answered: "We do not."'

23, RB 1-2 Quibus consedentibus ait: "Amici, quare vos in unum convocaverim, discite.

Quibus convocatis (RA) ~ *Quibus consedentibus* (RB): *RA* uses a solemn repetitio here: (1) *vocantur amici* <…> (2) *Quibus convocatis*; it is found elsewhere too: 50, RA 4-5 *adduci* <…> *praecepit. Quibus adductis*; ibid. 20-21 *iubet* <…> *adduci. Quique cum adductus fuisset*. *RB* changes, cf. comm. 20, RB 20. This kind of trope is esp. found in hagiographers (cf. Le Blant, p.13 n.1). The verb *consedeo* is post-classical and is often used for the apostles and bishops in consultation: Greg. Magn., *Hom. eu. c.* 1163^{B} *consedentibus apostolis* (cf. Acts 2:1-11); id., *Epist.* 4,37, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *consedeo*; ThLL IV 387,21-34.

in unum pariter 'in one place together' (RA) ~ (RB /): A pleonastic mode of expression, as often found in the Bible, cf. Löfstedt, *Zur Sprache Tertullians*, Lund 1902, p.98 ff.; Linderbauer (on *Regula Benedicti* 42,5), p.315; Blatt, *Acta Andreae et Matthiae*, *Index* p.151, s.v. *'Biblisches Sprachgut'*. A similar expression is *simul in unum*, often with *congregare*: Cass., *Instit.* 2,15,2 *in unum fratribus congregratis*; Blatt, loc. cit., p.33,1: *in illo tempore erant apostoli simul in unum congregati* (Gr. ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναχθέντες). The most corresponding Greek expression is ὁμοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό (e.g. Acts 2:1) or εἰς ἕν, cf. Headlam (on Herond. 8,43 πάντα δ'ἦν <…> εἰς ἕν), p.390. This last expression also occurs in the Greek Novel (Achill. Tat. 3,6,3; 5,5,6; 8,12,4). For the frequent use of *pariter* in *RA*, avoided by *RB*, cf. 19, RA/RB 5 (comm.).

scitis? <…> **"Nescimus"**; (4) *Scitote* (RA) ~ *discite* (RB): *RA*'s rather silly wordplay, obligatory in the genre, is eliminated by *RB*. For the wordplay, cf. OLD, s.v. *scio* (5) with examples from Plaut. and Terent. This kind of pun lives on in hagiography, cf. Mombr. I 552,5: *Tunc Haemylianus praeses dixit* <…>*: "Nescitis, quid imperatores praeceperunt?" Cui Fructuosus respondit: "Nescimus."*; Mombr. II 649,23: *Dicit ad Xistum episcopum Decius Caesar: "Scis, quapropter* <…> *nobis praesentatus es?" Respondit Xistus episcopus: "Scio et bene scio." Cui Decius: "Ergo, si scis, fac, ut universi sciant, et tu vivas et clerus tuus augeatur."*

23, RA 4-6 Rex ait: "Scitote filiam meam velle nubere Tyrio Apollonio. Peto, ut omnibus sit laetitia, quia filia mea sapientissima sociatur viro prudentissimo." 'The king said: "Let me tell you that my daughter wishes to marry Apollonius of Tyre. I urge you all to rejoice that my very wise daughter is marrying a very clever man."'

23, RB 3-5 Sciatis velle filiam meam nubere Apollonium, praeceptorem suum. Peto, ut omnium laetitia sit, quia filia mea virum prudentem sortita est."

Scitote (RA) ~ *Sciatis* (RB): The longer imperative is mainly preserved in standing, often legal formulas, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. imperativus II.

filiam <…> **nubere** <…> **Apollonio** (RA) ~ *filiam* <…> *nubere* <…> *Apollonium* **b** (*Appollonio* **βπ**): *RA* offers the normal construction *nubere* ('to veil oneself for another') + dat.; *RB* (**b**, **T**) gives the very rare constr. (said of a woman) *nubere aliquem*, according to Priscian, p.789 P. *ut apud priscos*. The Thesaurus material offers only Vet. Lat., Mark 10:12 (*cod.* b) *si mulier* <…> *alium nupserit* (Gr. ἐὰν αὐτὴ <…> γαμήσῃ ἄλλον); *Pass. Theclae* A 15 (38,3) *sponsae meae vetasti, ne vellet nubere me*; ibid. 26 (70,7) *quia nolui nubere Thamirum* (Thamiro v.l.) *eiecta sum de civitate*; Conc. Sancti Patricii (c. AD 450), Mansi 6,517^{B} *Virgo, quae* <…> *nupserit carnalem sponsum*. In view of this scanty material, the **βπ** reading is perhaps authentic after all.

Tyrio Apollonio (RA) ~ *Apollonium, praeceptorum suum* (RB): *RB*'s addition makes the situation somewhat more plausible.

omnibus (RA) ~ *omnium* (RB): The change probably has to do with the decline of the dative, cf. 22, RA/RB 1 (comm.).

sapientissima (RA) ~ (RB /): Klebs, p.34 n.9, regards *RA* as interpolated without giving any reasons. But the superlative works very well in connection with *prudentissimo* (*viro*), esp. in eulogies. The adjective *sapiens* 'wise', 'understanding', 'having sound judgement' is standard with *virgo/mulier* (cf. OLD, s.v. *sapiens*: Plaut., *Stich.* 123 *Quae tibi mulier videtur multo sapientissuma?*; Terent., *Phorm.* 1046 *mulier sapiens es, Nausistrata*), as is *prudens* with *vir* (cf. OLD, s.v. *prudens*: Liv. 30,40,8 *concedente collega, moderato viro et prudenti*; Cic., *Fam.* 3,1,1; Liv. 27,29,3. Perhaps we should pay less heed to the meaning 'most instructed'. This is all the more true if we can substitute Gr. σώφρων 'modest' 'chaste', which the Greek novelists like to attribute to their heroines, e.g. Achill. Tat. 1,8,6 ὁ δὲ Πηνελόπης γάμος τῆς σώφρονος 'The wedding of Penelope, chaste creature'; Charit. 6,4,10 τὸ [φρόνημα] Καλλιρρόης τῆς σώφρονος καὶ φιλάνδρου 'the spirit of chaste Callirhoe, who so loved her husband'; Xen. Eph. 2,6,4 ὅτι σώφρονα παρθένον ἄξεται '(demonstrating him) that he would be marrying a chaste virgin', cf. id. 1,2,6; 1,9,3; 2,1,3; 5,4,6.

sociatur (RA) ~ *sortita est* (RB): *RA* uses *sociare* only here; elsewhere both *RA* and *RB* use *sortiri*, cf. 32, RA 30; 39, RA/RB 6. Both verbs are often used in connection with a marriage, cf. OLD, s.v. *socio*: 'to unite persons in marriage' (with examples from Verg., Ov., [Sen.] Oct., Stat., Apul.). For *sortior*, cf. OLD, s.v. 4: 'to be cursed or blessed with' with examples from Apul., *Met.* 5,9 *at ego misera primum patre meo seniorem maritum sortita sum*; Ulp., *Dig.* 1,9,8 *filiae* <...> *viros clarissimos sortitae sunt*. Esp. the Vulg. often has *sortior* in this sense, e.g. Eccl. 7:21 *mulieri* <...> *quam sortitus es*, cf. Garvin, *Vit. Patr. Em.* *RA* may be based on a substrate text from (?) ἁρμόζω, cf. LSJ, s.v. (2): 'of marriage, betroth'; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. (3): 'zusammenfügen durch d. Band d. Ehe': *Less.*, s.v. (Heliod. 6,8,1). *RB* follows the normal procedure, with a minimal change to the form and letters of *RA*, cf. Introd. I; VII.2.1.

viro prudentissimo (RA) ~ *virum prudentem* (RB): Underlying *vir* is most probably ἀνήρ in the sense of *sponsus, maritus*, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀνήρ 'husband'. For the reduction to the positive *prudentem*, cf. Ind. gr. s.v. gradus comparationum. As for the formulation 23, RA 6, p.177: due to the influence of **R(Gr)**, the intellectual level of the marriage is overemphasized, cf. Charit. 8,1,11 ὢ γυναικος μακαρίας, εἴληφε τὸν εὐμορφότατον ἄνερα 'What a lucky woman, to win such a handsome husband'.

23, RA 6-8 Inter haec diem nuptiarum sine mora indicit et quando in unum se coniungerent, praecepit. ‘Meanwhile he announced the wedding day without any delay and told them when they should assemble.’

23, RB 5 Et haec dicens diem nuptiarum indicit.

sine mora (RA) ~ (RB /): Probably not just a (pointless) repetition of 22, RA 23/RB 9 “*diem nuptiarum sine mora statuam!*” There *sine mora* goes with *statuam*: the very next day (23, RA 1/RB 1 *Postera* <…> *die*) the crown council is convoked. But here *sine mora* rather goes with the *dies nuptiarum* ‘as soon as possible’. (Perhaps the adjunct could also be connected with *indicit*: the meeting is followed at once by the proclamation.)

quando in unum se coniungerent (RA) ~ (RB /): The marriage could be solemnized after a longer period, cf. Achill. Tat. 1,3,3 παρεσκεύαζεν ὁ πατὴρ εἰς νέωτα ποιήσων τοὺς γάμους ‘my father was making plans for my marriage in the coming year’. *in unum*: an epic repetition, cf. above RA 3; below RA 9-10. Various verbs could be considered as the Greek substrate of *se coniungerent*; ἀθροίζω, συναθροίζω and συνάγω, often connected with terms like εἰς ἕν, εἰς ὀλίγον, cf. *Less.*, under the various verbs. Normally the place of assembly would also have to be included in the proclamation, cf. Achill. Tat. 5,21,3 ἰδοὺ καὶ Ἔφεσος, ἡ προθεσμία (sc. πόλις) τῶν γάμων ‘Look this is Ephesus: here we have fore-appointed to celebrate our marriage’, cf. LSJ, s.v. προθεσμεύω ‘to anticipate’.

23, RA 9-16 ~ 23, RB 6-9

From l.9 to l.16 *RA* has freely rendered his Greek copy in phrases and expressions that became especially popular in hagiography. See the commentary on l.9 *Quid multa*?; on l.9 *gaudet rex* – (9) *gaudet Tyrius Apollonius* – l.12 *gaudet civitas*; on l.11 *meruit habere*; on ll.13-14 *organis modulatis cum vocibus*; on ll.15-16, the eulogy on *amor terrenus*. (Klebs, p.37 n.1 was sensible of this hagiographical phraseology, but regarded only the passage *Quid multa?* <…> *meruit habere coniugem* as an interpolation, without drawing the obvious conclusion.) *RB* was probably irritated by this woolly style and rendering and perhaps used **R(Gr)** to supply a number of real facts (see comm. on 23, RB 6-7). This activity of *RB* has an exact parallel at the end of the *HA* in his reaction (51, RB 26-28) to *RA*’s Old Testament terminology (see comm. on 51, RA 32-34).

23, RA 9-10

Quid multa? Dies supervenit nuptiarum, omnes laeti atque alacres in unum conveniunt. ‘Why many words? The day of the wedding arrived, they all assembled joyfully and eagerly.’

Quid multa? (RA) ~ (RB /): A brachylogical expression traditional with the Romans; OLD, s.v. *multus* (16)(b): ‘why say more’, ‘to be brief’. It quotes Plaut., *Bacch.* 1162 *quid multa? ego amo.* A frequent analogous phrase is *quid plura*, cf. OLD, s.v. *plures* (3 b): Cic., *Phil.* 8,5 *sed quid plura*?; with a slight variant Apul., *Met.* 10,27 *Quid pluribus?* Both expressions are also found in the *HA*: 47, RA 17 *Quid multa? Inter paucos dies tradidit filiam suam Athenagorae* (RB 16 *Et intra paucos dies tradidit filiam suam in coniugio Athenagorae*), so a similar situation to the one here, and 33, RA 15 *Quid plura? Addicitur virgo lenoni*, where *RB* (12-13) again omits the abbreviating formula (but adds the detail: *Numeratur pecunia*). Without addressing matters of detail such as variants and dissemination (the phrase is particularly frequent in Late Latin sources, e.g. Sulp. Sev., Sid. Apoll., Iordanes, esp. in hagiography), we should point out that (as 2x in the *HA*) the expression *quid multa/plura* is almost used as a τόπος in the case of a marriage, not just in official authors, but esp. in hagiography, compare: Paul. Diac., *Hist. Lang.* (ed. Waitz, MGH, Script. Lang.) 4,34, where Theudelinda marries Agilulfus, the duke of the Taurinates (N. Italy): *Moxque eum ad suum basium erigens, ei de suis nuptiis deque regni dignitate aperuit. Quid plura? Celebrantur cum magna laetitia nuptiae: suscepit Agilulfus, qui erat cognatus regis Authari* <…> *regiam dignitatem*; *Passio S. Caeciliae* (ed. Delehaye, *Le légendier romain*, p.196,3): *Haec Valerianum quendam iuvenem habebat sponsum: qui iuvenis in amorem virginis diem constituit nuptiarum* <…> *Quid multa? Venit dies, in quo thalamus collocatus est et cantantibus organis illa in corde suo soli Domino decantabat* (cf. Vita S. Eugeniae [PL 21, p.1114^{C}]: *Quid multa? Venit dies funerum constitutus*); Abelard, *Hist. Cal.* 332 *Quid plura? Primum domo una conjungimur, postmodum animo. Sub occasione* (‘excuse’) *itaque discipline, amori penitus vacabamus.* Of course it is a problem to what extent *quid multa/plura* is based on Greek. Besides longer descriptions like ἵνα μὴ μακρολογῶ ‘but not to speak at length’ (cf. Headlam, loc. cit. p.91 on Herondas 2,60), Greek has many shorter variants: τί μοι νῦν λέγειν;, τί δεῖ με λέγειν;, τί δεῖ πάντα λέγειν;, τί χρὴ πολλὰ λέγειν;, ἀλλὰ τί τὰ πολλὰ λέγω;. It is relevant to note that variants of the phrase also occur in Heliod., e.g. 1,9,4; 3,19,1; 5,1,3; 5,22,6.

Dies supervenit nuptiarum (RA): Naturally this joyous announcement is found in many variants throughout the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. ἐφίστημι (ἡμέρα), ἥκω (ἡμέρα), παραγίνομαι, e.g. Charit. 1,1,14 πάρεστι γὰρ ἡ εὐκταιοτάτη πᾶσιν ἡμῖν ἡμέρα ‘The day we have all wished so

intensely has come'; Xen. Eph. 1,8,1 Ὡς οὖν ἐφέστηκεν ὁ τῶν γάμων καιρός 'And so the time for their marriage arrived', cf. id. 3,5,1. The day was officially called κυρία (sc. ἡμέρα) (cf. LSJ, s.v. κύριος (II.3) 'official'), or προθεσμία (sc. ἡμέρα) (cf. LSJ, s.v. προθεσμία) 'day appointed beforehand'.

omnes laeti atque alacres in unum conveniunt (RA): *laeti atque alacres*: This combination is not uncommon, cf. Keulen (op. cit. 8, RA 17 comm.), p.292: Liv. 10,25,5 *laeti atque alacres dis populoque Romano grates agunt*. Direct derivation from e.g. Apul., *Met*. 1,17,4 *emergo laetus atque alacer* is highly uncertain. The sentence itself is again a commonplace within wedding topoi, cf. Catull. 64,31 (wedding of Peleus and Thetis): *Quae simul optatae finito* (= definito) *tempore luces | Advenere, domum conventu tota frequentat | Thessalia, oppletur laetanti regia coetu* (cf. Kroll, ad loc.). Yet it must be assumed that such events were in fact lavishly organized, in other words the Novel accords to some extent with reality, a point that has recently being receiving special attention from scholars.

23, RA 10-11 Gaudet rex cum filia, gaudet et Tyrius Apollonius, qui talem meruit habere coniugem. 'The king and his daughter were delighted and so was Apollonius of Tyre, who was so happy to get such a wife.'

gaudet (RA): As epanaphora this threefold *gaudet* (cf. l.12) no doubt made a great impression. It forms part of marriage rhetoric (cf. Catull. 64,46 *Tota domus <u>gaudet</u> regali splendida gaza*) and can perhaps be traced back to a Greek model, specifically in the style of Alexandrian mannerism (cf. Fordyce on Catull. 64,19).

qui talem meruit habere coniugem: Especially in Christian literature *merere* means not so much 'to deserve' as 'to acquire', cf. Löfstedt, *Per.* p.211; Linderbauer, p.131; Mohrmann, *St. Benedicti regula monachorum*, p.23; Garvin, p.73. Perhaps the parallel can even be extended here to the so-called *Laus Cerei*, the dedication of the Easter candle, also known as the *Exultet* or *Praeconium paschale*: *O felix culpa* (sc. Adae), *quae talem ac tantum <u>meruit habere</u> Redemptorem*, cf. C. Mohrmann, *Études sur le Latin des chrétiens*, Tome II, Rome 1961, p.47. Its authorship is disputed, cf. B. Capelle, *L'exultet pascal, oeuvre de Saint Ambroise*, in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, Vol. I (Studi e Testi 121), Vaticano, 1946, pp.219-46. Jerome was indignant at the lyrical tone, cf. Mohrmann, *Liturgical Latin, its Origin and Character*, London 1989, p.38, p.71. This may help to explain the elimination by *RB*.

23, RA 11-12 Celebrantur nuptiae regio more, decora dignitate. ‘The wedding was celebrated in the royal manner with appropriate grandeur.’

23, RB 6-7 Celebrantur nuptiae regia dignitate.

Celebrantur nuptiae (RA/RB): It is striking that, of the many interesting customs surrounding Greek marriage, none has been preserved in our present *HA*, cf. W. Erdmann, *Die Ehe im alten Griechenland*, München 1934; K. Plepelits, *Leukippe und Kleitophon*, Stuttgart 1980 Kommentar, n.22. *RB*’s abridgement is remarkable as regards procedure.

23, RA 12-13 Gaudet universa civitas, exultant cives, peregrini et hospites. ‘There was great rejoicing throughout the city; citizens, foreigners and guests revelled.’

The formulation is rhetorical: the Greek Novel returns time and again to the aspect of general festivity, cf. Zimmermann, p.42 (who refers to *Chione*; Metiochus-Parthenope novel); Stephans, p.300. For specific instances, see Charit. 1,1,11 Ἡ πόλις μνηστεύεται τοὺς γάμους ‘The city pleads for the marriage’, cf. ibid. 1,1,14; Xen. Eph. 1,7,3 (a parallel already adduced by Riese [1893], *Praef.* XVI, n.4) Μεστὴ μὲν ἤδη ἡ πόλις ἦν τῶν εὐωχουμένων, πάντα δ’ἦν ἐστεφανωμένα καὶ διαβόητος ὁ μέλλων γάμος ‘Already the revelry filled the city; there were garlands everywhere, and the impending marriage was on overyone’s lips’; id. 3,3,7 συμπαρῆσαν δὲ αὐτῷ οἵ τε οἰκεῖοι καὶ συγγενεῖς· πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν συνεώρταζον τὸν ’Ανθίας γάμον. ‘Perilaus’s friends and relations had joined him, and many of the local population too were celebrating Anthia’s wedding.’

hospites (RA): Probably to be taken in the sense of *invitati* (i.e. for the wedding) ‘guests’. There is no need for an interpretation in the technical sense of ‘guest friend’, a special category in ancient society, cf. LSJ, ss.vv. ξένος/πρόξενος ‘*public guest* or *friend*’: Acta Thomae c.4. (quoted 13, RA/RB 5-6 [comm.]): ξένους τε καὶ πολίτας; Lys. 28,1 πρόξενοι καὶ πολῖται ‘guest friends and citizens’.

23, RA 13-14

Fit magnum gaudium in citharis, lyris et canticis et organis modulatis cum vocibus. 'Great joy was expressed with lutes, lyres and songs and organs with various rhythmical texts.'

Fit (RA): The initial placement of *Fit*, the combination *magnum gaudium* (cf. Luke 2:10) and the use of *in*, where classical Latin would have preferred the abl. of instrument, gives the sentence an almost biblical cast and makes it very suitable for evoking the atmosphere of *in dulci iubilo*, cf. (from a much later period) *Historia beati viri Iuliani*, in: *AB* 63 (1945), p.211 *Fit itaque gaudium magnum et leticia in populo et de tam salubri matrimonio nupcie solempnes preparantur. Invitantur nobiles, citantur cives et quotquot honoris vel valoris inveniuntur, intrare compelluntur* (cf. Luke 14:23).

citharis, lyris (RA): Cf. 16, RA 10 (comm.).

organis: Hard to interpret exactly, since *organum* as a 'musical instrument' can be interpreted in a general sense and, specifically, as an *organum hydraulicum*, cf. OLD, s.v. *organum* (2.a and b.). Since the latter is a small water organ which can be easily moved (cf. 49, RA 10/RB 12 *organa disponuntur*), this interpretation is to be preferred, cf. e.g. Peters, p.118 'eine große Freude herrscht bei den Tönen der Zither und Leier, bei Lied und sangbegleitetem Orgelspiel.' The water organ or hydraulus is described by Hero (Mechanicus), *Spiritalia Pneumatica* 1,42; Vitruv. Pollio 5,13; see J.H. Waszink, *De anima*, Amsterdam 1947, pp.216-7. For literature: H.G. Farmer, *The Organ of the Ancients*, London 1931. A depiction of such a smallish water organ is found on the so-called Zliten-Mozaik (North Africa), cf. P. Connolly ~ H. Dodge, *The Ancient City. Life in Classical Athens and Rome*, Oxford, University Press 1998, p.217. An interesting image is also found in Constantinople as a relief on the base of the Obelisk of Theodosios I (south side), cf. S. Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople,* Cambridge 2004, p.117, (description on p.219 ff.). I thank Prof. W.J. Aerts for this reference.

modulatis cum vocibus, cf. 41, RA/RB 1 *modulata voce*. This combination is mainly found in hagiographical sources, cf. app. font., ad loc. The abundance of musical instruments depicted here plays an important role particularly at royal weddings in both Latin and Greek hagiography: *Act. Thomae* (ed. Bonnet, *Acta Apost. Apocr.* II,2 [repr. 1959], p.104,6) καὶ ἰδοὺ φωναὶ αὐλητῶν καὶ ὑδραύλεων καὶ σάλπιγγες περιηχοῦσαι αὐτούς <…> (p.105,2) ὁ γὰρ βασιλεὺς θυγατέρα μονογενῆ ἔχει καὶ νῦν αὐτὴν ἐκδίδωσι ἀνδρὶ πρὸς γάμον; in the Latin translation/version *Pass. Thomae* (ed. Bonnet, *Supplementum codicis apocryphi* I [1883], p.135,15) *et ecce cantan-*

tium voces in organis, in tibiis, in cytharis; erant enim nuptiae in quibus rex civitatis filiam suam nuptam (sic) *tradebat*; (Mombr. II 86,22) *Quaeritur ergo puella* <…> *Basilissa* <…> *Venit dies statutus, quo vicini invitantur, plateae sericis* (cf. *HA* 49, RA 10/RB 12 *coronantur plateae*) *ornantur et aures omnium sonis musicorum et cantilenis virginum oblectabantur* <…> *Producitur inter haec onerata gemmis et auro* (cf. *HA* 33, RA 16 *gemmis et auro reconditum*) *sponsa de thalamo*; *Libellus de Constantino Magno eiusque matre Helena* (ed. G. Giangrasso, Firenze 1999), l.176 *imperatrix* <…> *sponsum ipsum et sponsam cum cytharis et organis et diversorum generum instrumentis musicalibus et magno tripudio, ut moris est, visitans de thalamo eduxit*, cf. ibid., 683-4. For only the *organa*: Mombr. I 424,4 *Factum est autem, ut veniret Aurelianus cum duobus sponsis, ipse tercius, cum tribus organariis, ut quasi uno die trium virginum nuptiae fierent* (cf. ibid., l.12 *positis organis*). Given the popularity of this τόπος in the Greek world too, *RA* may be going back here to marriage rhetoric already found in **R(Gr)**. For a similar observation at the end of *HA*, see 51, RA 33 (comm.). In both places *RB* intervenes with a practical detail, cf. 23, RB 6 (comm.) and 51, RB 27-28 (comm.). (Klebs's assumption [p.208 n.3 'vermutlich'] that this detail of the *organa* was interpolated from 49, RA 10/RB 12 requires no serious confutation.)

23, RB 6 *Numera<tur> dos amplissima, convivia prolixa tenduntur*

dos amplissima (RB): Over against *RA*'s marriage rhetoric, *RB* offers a practical detail that is crucial to the rest of the story: the *dos* as 'dowry', 'marriage-portion' given by the father, cf. LSJ, s.v. προίξ (2) 'marriage-portion'. As the confusion in the Latin manuscript tradition proves, it is virtually impossible that this fact ended up in *RB ex ingenio*. Thus the main manuscript **b** reads *numerato domus amplissima* (*ex* – ssimo); the other manuscripts are merely inferior: *muneratur domus amplissima* **βπ**, *miniatur domus amplissima* **M** (cf. ThLL VIII 1026 77). The actually correct text is offered by RBern (a secondary redaction with sometimes authentic readings) *Numeratur dos*, cf. *Numerator dos* **Va** 'a very wealthy dowry is counted out'. The *dos* mentioned here completely covers both the Latin and the Greek term *dos*/προίξ as the dowry given to the daughter by the father. But the question is where this *dos* come from: is it a contribution by *RB* from **R(Gr)** in whatever form? On account of the contrast with 1, RA/RB 6 I believe that this place does not derive from a Greek source, but was supplied by *RB* from a certain amount of legal knowledge, cf. Introd. VII.2.1. The addition in the superlative *amplissima* is found very often precisely in matters of money and the like, cf. ThLL I 209,3-11 (Apul., *Apol.* 102 has the positive: *dotem amplam*). Yet some caution regarding

provenance is warranted, since Greek parallels for the rest of the sentence are easy to adduce too.

numeratur (RB): This usage accords with Latin, cf. OLD, s.v. *numero* (6) 'to count (money) out', 'to pay down'; it also accords with 33, RB 13 *numeratur pecunia*. But note that ἀριθμέω 'to count out', 'to pay' is used in exactly the same way, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀριθμέω (2); s.v. ἀρίθμησις 'counting out' 'payment of money'; CGL VI, 749. Lollianus, *Phoinikika* A 2 recto, also uses this verb, cf. Stephens, *Ancient Greek Novels*, pp.334-5 δισχιλίας ἀριθμήσασθαι δραχμάς 'to count out two thousand drachmas for her'. Combining both points we can therefore say that a sentence like προὶξ ἀριθμεῖται (πλείστ' ὅση) is not impossible. Is *RB* falling back here on a Greek, more pointed version (cf. Introd. VII.2.2)?

convivia prolixa tenduntur (RB): This detail may also lead to the Greek Novel: Charit. 3,7,7 πανδημεὶ τὴν πόλιν εἱστία θυσίαις (cf. id. 3,8,3) 'He invited the whole town to sacrificial banquets'; Xen. Eph. 5,13,5 παρεξέτεινόν τε ἐπὶ πολὺ τὸ συμπόσιον: 'they carried on their party till late'. Understandably, the influence of romances led several secondary editions of *RB* and various vernacular adaptations to add tournaments (*torneamentum*) and mock battles (*hastiludium*) to the general festivities, cf. G. Doutrepont, *Les mises en prose des Épopées et des Romans Chevaleresques du XIVe au XVIe siècle*, Bruxelles 1939, p.502 ff.: '§ 7. Addition de récits de tournois et de fêtes mondaines'.

23, RA 15-16	Peracta laetitia ingens amor fit inter coniuges, mirus affectus, incomparabilis dilectio, inaudita laetitia, quae perpetua caritate complectitur. 'When the joyful feasting came to an end, great passion grew between the husband and wife, remarkable affection, unparalleled fondness, unheard-of happiness, encompassed by an unending love.'
23, RB 8-9	Ingens inter coniuges amor, mirus affectus, incomparabilis dilectio, inaudita laetitia.

A timid and veiled, Christian rendering of what the Greek Novels states openly: cf. Charit. 1,3,7 οἱ ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν γονεῖς μακαρίους αὑτοὺς ὑπελάμβανον τὴν τῶν τέκνων ὁρῶντες ὁμόνοιαν 'The parents of both thought themselves lucky, when they saw how well their children got on'; Xen. Eph. 1,9,9 περιφύντες ἀνεπαύοντο καὶ τὰ πρῶτα τῶν Ἀφροδίτης ἀπήλαυον· ἐφιλονείκουν δὲ δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, φιλοτιμούμενοι

τίς φανεῖται μᾶλλον ἐρῶν 'They relaxed in each other's arms and enjoyed the first fruits of Aphrodite; and there was ardent rivalry all night long, each trying to prove they loved the other more': ibid. 1,10,2 Ἑορτὴ δὲ ἦν ἅπας ὁ βίος αὐτοῖς 'Their whole life was a festival.' But the consequences, too, as in *HA* c.24, are freely considered, cf. Charit. 2,8,4 ἰσόρροπος δὲ ἐπιθυμία τὴν συνουσίαν ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἀργήν 'matching desire had made their union fruitful'.

Perhaps the long series of nouns *amor, affectus, dilectio, caritas* can be seen as climactic in relation to love on various levels, from physical to spiritual, cf. R.T. Otten, 'Amor, caritas and dilectio. Some observations on the vocabulary of love in the exegetical works of St. Ambrose', in: *Mélanges offerts à Mademoiselle Chr. Mohrmann,* pp.73-83. In detail the sentence requires little commentary. *Peracta laetitia* (RA) ~ (RB /): refers to the joy of the wedding day 'when the celebration was over' (Konstan).

ingens amor (RA): *RB*'s arrangement as hyperbaton is a fine invention.

dilectio (RA/RB): A Late Latin word, often used by religious authors, cf. Blaise, Dict., s.v.

inaudita laetitia (RA/RB): 'an unheard happiness', a further definition of *amor*. For *inaudita,* cf. 16, RA 29/RB 25.

quae perpetua caritate complectitur (RA): At an early stage (Pompon., comm.48; Vitruv. 10,2,11) *complector* came to be matched by an active form *complecto*: passive, as here, is recorded for Lucr., Cic., Apul. and Late Latin. Perhaps even this expression can be seen as a limited reaction to the misogynism and aversion to every kind of sexual intercourse and certainly marriage which weighs down the thinking of the emergent church, and which only changed after Ambrose and Augustine, cf. B. de Gaiffier, 'Source d'un texte relatif au mariage dans la vie de S. Alexis', *AB* 63 (1945), p.48 ff.

CHAPTER 24

24, RA 1-3 Interpositis autem diebus atque mensibus, cum haberet puella mense iam sexto, eius ventriculum deformatum est. Advenit eius sponsus, rex Apollonius. 'Days and months later, when the girl was pregnant already in the sixth month, her womb became deformed. There came her husband king Apollonius.'

24, RB 1-2 Interpositis autem diebus aliquot et mensibus, cum iam puella haberet ventriculum formatum sexto mense, aestivo tempore,

In the course of time this sentence, as passed down by **P** in all its authentic rawness, has been sharply criticized, most harshly by Klebs, p.37. Because the points which he makes will also emerge here, in the defence of **P**, it makes sense, by way of an exception, to give his argument regarding the phrase: *Advenit* <…> *Apollonius* here in full: 'Erstens ist hier '*eius*' ohne grammatische Beziehung, da im unmittelbar Vorangehenden '*puella*' oder etwas dem Sinne nach entsprechendes nicht steht. Zweitens ist '*rex*' falsch da Apollonius noch gar nicht König ist. Drittens ist '*sponsus*' falsch statt *maritus* und viertens ist es Unsinn, daß Apollonius hier von irgendwo andersher ankommen soll.' Refutation of this apparent logic is not easy (cf. the general assent, e.g. Schmeling [1988], ad loc.) and will require some space.

diebus atque mensibus (RA) ~ *diebus aliquot et mensibus* (RB): As in quite a few modern languages (cf. Peters, p.118 'Nach Verlauf von Tagen und Monaten') Late Latin can use time adjuncts without further specification, esp. terms like *dies*, *annus*, *hora*, *tempus*, cf. 11, RA 1-3/RB 1-2 (comm.). *RB*'s addition *aliquot* does no more than eliminate a Late Latinism or a Graecism.

puella (RA/RB): Here and in some subsequent places (cf. Ind. verb., s.v.) *RA* uses *puella* in the sense of *uxor*. This both emphasizes Archistratis' youth and perhaps entails a 'Graecism'. Thus e.g. κόρη 'maiden' is often used in the sense of 'just married', cf. Charit. 1,3,1 Χαιρέας <…> ἐλυπήθη πλέον ὅτι ἔμελλεν ἀπελεύσεσθαι μόνος· οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἦν ἐξάγειν ἤδη τὴν κόρην 'Chaireas <…> was even more distressed at having to go off by himself alone, because he could not yet take his bride out', cf. Zimmermann,

p.65, 21-22 (Chione novel). For other possible Greek terms, see below 24, RA 3 *puella* (comm.).

haberet (RA) ~ *haberet ventriculum formatum* (RB): *RA* is probably a direct translation of ἔχω 'to be pregnant', cf. LSJ, s.v. II (4), a discreet, elliptical way of saying (Hdt. 3,32) ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχειν. This kind of expression is not uncommon, esp. with λαμβάνω 'to conceive' (cf. LSJ, s.v. II [1.g]) and συλλαμβάνω (cf. LSJ, s.v. [IV]: Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. [b]). Esp. the *Vitae Patrum* provides interesting comparative material, cf. Hofmann, *Beiträge*, p.101: 5,15,25 *cum in utero habere coepisset* (Gr. Cot. p.525 λαβοῦσα κατὰ γαστρός); Garvin, p.365. (For *RB*, see the end of this note.)

mense iam sexto (RA) ~ *iam* <...> *mense sexto* (RB): *RA* is probably a direct rendering of μῆνας ἤδη ἕξ (acc. of time), cf. Luke 1:36 (on Elizabeth, the mother of John); Vulg. *hic mensis sextus est illi, quae vocatur sterilis* (Gr. οὗτος μὴν ἕκτος ἐστὶν αὐτῇ τῇ καλουμένῃ στείρᾳ 'and this is the sixth month for her, who was called sterile'). The time has been well chosen in the sense that pregnancy becomes clearly visible from the sixth month. In the preceding period women used to lead a somewhat withdrawn life in uncertainty and discomfiture, cf. Luke 1:24 συνέλαβεν Ἐλισάβετ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ περιέκρυβεν ἑαυτὴν μῆνας πέντε (= Vulg. *concepit Elisabeth uxor eius et occultabat se mensibus quinque*), cf. ibid. 26:36.

eius ventriculum deformatum est (RA): The frankness with which Antiquity sometimes talks about this kind of detail is remarkable: Charit. 2,8,5 οὐ ταχέως συνῆκεν (sc. Καλλιρρόη) ἐγκύμων γενομένη· τρίτου δὲ μηνὸς ἀρχομένου προέκοπτεν ἡ γαστήρ 'She did not realize her condition straightaway. But at the beginning of the third month her belly began to grow big.' Latin talks about *ventris onus* (Dracont. 2,691; Sidon. Apoll., *carm.* 7,165; Alc. Avit., *carm.* 3,144), cf. Sen., *ad Helv. matrem* 4 *numquam more aliarum, quibus omnis commendatio ex forma petitur, tumescentem uterum abscondisti quasi indecens onus*. (Regarding *eius* **P**: this form has been retained on the view that it goes with *ventriculum*; Riese regards *eius* as interpolated; Ring, Schmeling, Garbugino, p.36 change *eius* to *eunte* [viz. *mense iam sexto*]. This suggestion is no doubt elegant, but in my view unnecessary. ThLL VIII, p.745,62 ff. does not record the phrase *mensis it*.)

ventriculum (RA/RB): Though Romans will doubtless have understood the meaning 'womb' from the context, the form of the word (diminutive) and its ending (neuter alongside [masc.] *venter*) may have sounded strange to their ears. Since these diminutives are fairly frequent in *RA* and are repeatedly 'normalized' or omitted by *RB* (as indicated in the Ind. gr.), this first instance seems a good reason for devoting a brief discussion

to the phenomenon in general. Specific comments will be made at the individual places.

There are many reasons for this preference of the *HA* (and above all *RA*). Late and Vulgar Latin, as we know, are fond of diminutives where classical Latin would probably have preferred the most simple form. A famous example is *sol* → *soliculus* (Fr. le soleil), cf. C.H. Grandgent, *Introduction to Vulgar Latin*, New York 1962, repr.), §§ 13, 18. It is therefore no surprise, given *RB*'s endeavour to use classical language, that a number of diminutives in *RA* have been trimmed by *RB*.

A second factor is that Christian Latin loves to use words affectively cf. A. Blaise, *Manuel du Latin Chrétien*, Strassbourg 1955, ch.V. *Le langage affectief*, pp.52-66. It is evident that *RB* has often plied the shears for this reason too.

As a third factor we can adduce Greek. Though obviously diminutives are often found in Greek as well, a preference for simple nouns is clearly demonstrable in Koine Greek, cf. A. Thumb, *Die Griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus,* Strassbourg 1961 (repr. 1974), pp.178-220. It is crucial to our theory of an intermediate phase **H(Gr)** that Late Greek and particularly Greek hagiographers show a predilection for diminutives, as various specialist studies underline, cf. J. Vogeser, *Zur Sprache der griechischen Heiligenlegenden*, München 1907, p.41. II: 'Bemerkungswert ist die Vorliebe der Hagiographen für Deminutiva, die meist die Bedeutung der entsprechende *nomina simplicia*' haben.' In my view, the interaction of these three factors also explains the frequent occurrence of diminutives in *RA*. The translator often goes so far as to adopt the word-form and spelling of his original, as the discussion of *ventriculum* will directly show. For further commentary, see 24, RA 3 puellula (i.q. uxor) (RB /); 25, RA 15 barbulae /RB 11 genae); 25, RA 16 (= 33, RA 21) corpusculum/25, RB 12 pectus (33, RB 20 corpus); 27, RA 4 lectulus (RB lectus); 36, RA 3 scamnium (RB 2 scamnum).

As regards **ventriculum** (RA/RB) in particular, the neuter, attested only in a totally different meaning for Cass., *Psalm.* 150,5 (cf. Blaise, *Dict.* s.v. *ventriculum* 'ventricule du tambourin'), should be retained as a direct translation of the affective diminutive γαστρίον/γαστρίδιον 'belly' 'stomach', sporadic in classical Greek, cf. LSJ, ss.vv. As for the ending *-um* (instead of *-us*)←-ιον, such adjustments are not unusual in Greek-Latin translations, cf. S. Lundström, *Übersetzungstechnische Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der christlichen Latinität*, Lund 1955, p.257 f. The *ventriculus* 'belly' 'paunch' is sometimes said to be ὀγκώδης 'swollen', cf. OLD, s.v. *ventriculus* (1); this word would fit very well with γαστρίδιον, cf. LSJ, s.v. ὀγκόω 'to raise up' (reference to Babr. 86,5 γαστὴρ ὠγκώθη 'the stomach was swollen') and LSJ, s.v. ὀγκώδης (A) 'bulky'. See also the quotation *Protevangelium Iacobi* XIII,1 (full quotation in the immediately following

note on *Advenit eius sponsus*). On the testimony of the Glossaria (CGL VII, s.v. *deformis*), the substrate could also be δύσμορφος 'misshapen', cf. *Less.*, s.v. δυσμορφία 'bruttezza' (Achill. Tat. 6,7,1). (*aliter* Klebs, p.274 n.4.)

deformatum (RA): To be regarded as realism on the part of *RA*: 'angustiae nuptiarum' 'the misery of being wedded', cf. Delehaye, *Le Légendier romain*, p.19.

Advenit eius sponsus rex Apollonius (RA): Despite all the objections (esp. urged by Klebs, as we saw), this sentence is completely in keeping with similar situations, cf. *Protevangelium Iacobi* 13,1 (ed. de Strycker, p.122) καὶ ἐγένετο <αὐτῇ> ἕκτος μήν, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἦλθεν Ἰωσὴφ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκοδομῶν <...> καὶ εὗρεν αὐτὴν ὠγκωμένην (ἔγκυον *v.l.*), cf. ibid. 12,3 (de Strycker, p.120) καὶ ἡμέρᾳ ἀφ' ἡμέρας ἡ γαστὴρ αὐτῆς ὠγκοῦτο. Though attractive, it seems hazardous to make a direct link between the *Protevangelium Iacobi* and **R(Gr)**, cf. Prol. V.2.

Advenit (RA): The epitome contains very little motivation, cf. Introd. V.1. The *HA* shares this defect with many popular writings, e.g. the *Acta Andreae*, cf. Introd. V.

eius (RA) of course refers direcly back to *puella*: Klebs's argumentation, p.37 is downright mistaken, cf. R. Helm, *Wo.klPh* 3, 1900, p.64.

sponsus (RA) 'husband': A difficult term, because (as so often in family relations, cf. 4, RA 5 [comm.]) it may denote both the betrothed and the future husband, as well as the newly married husband. For this last meaning 'époux', see Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *sponsus*; OLD, s.v. *sponsus*: 'applied to a bridegroom': Hor., *Carm.* 3,11,31 *impiae sponsos potuere duro perdere ferro*. A good reference is found in Hier., *Comm. Matth.* c.1,17 (Migne PL 26) *Consuetudo scripturarum, quod sponsi viri et sponsae vocentur uxores*. Also, the text here probably overlies Greek: (?) νυμφίος (according to Leaf, a title which the husband keeps after marriage until the birth of a male heir, cf. J. Mehler, *Woordenboek op de gedichten van Homèros*, 1958[10], 's-Gravenhage, s.v.). The Greek Novel abounds with the word in this specific sense, cf. *Less.*, s.v. νυμφίος 'sposo' 'promesso sposo'.

rex Apollonius (RA): For the kingship introduced by **R(Gr)**, see Introd. V.3. *RB*'s changes (1-2) are stylistically skilful: 1. The insertion of *aliquot* has already been pointed out; 2. the Greek construction with *habere* (sc. fructum, foetum), followed by a hard-bitten main clause, has been modified into a preliminary temporal clause in which *iam* has been connected with *formatum* (which is less repulsive and harsh than *deformatum*);

the result is standard Latin, cf. *Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis* 15,1 (Latin version) *cum octo iam mensium ventrem haberet (nam praegnans fuerat adprehensa)* (Gr. Ἐκείνη γὰρ συλληφθεῖσα ὀκτὼ μηνῶν ἔχουσα γαστέρα); 3. the apparently vacuous sentence *Advenit eius sponsus rex Apollonius* has been eliminated altogether; 4. finally, the addition of *aestivo tempore* provides a more specific time frame and increases the probability of the event that now follows. The expression itself is common, cf. Varro, R.R. 2,8,5 *aestivo tempore*. *RB* is in fact more alert to the aspect of time: 25, RA 9 *nono mense*/RB 7 *septimo mense* (cf. comm.), cf. Introd. III.

24, RA 3-5 Cum spatiatur in littore iuncta sibi puellula, vidit navem speciosissimam, et dum utrique eam laudarent pariter, recognovit eam Apollonius de sua esse patria. 'When he was walking on the sea shore beside his dear girl, he saw a most beautiful ship; as they were both admiring it together, Apollonius recognized that it was from his own country.'

24, RB 2-4 dum expatiantur in littore, vident navem speciosissimam. Et dum eam mirantur et laetantur, cognovit eam Apollonius esse de pátria súa (*pl.*).

Cum spatiatur (RA) ~ *dum expatiantur* (RB): *RB*'s reading is a conjecture by Klebs (pp.64, 68, 78) (cf. *spatiantur* **RC**) for *expectantur* **b** (*deambularent* **βMπ**). The mangled form *expectantur* **b** can perhaps be explained from *spatiatur* (RA) with e- as prosthetic vowel, cf. Grandgent, § 230; Väänänen, *Introd.* § 82. Normal spelling would require *exspatiantur*, cf. Schmeling (1988), ad loc. The group **βMπ** normalizes, cf. 8, RA 4 (comm.). Greek likes to use περιπατέω, βαδίζω. The situation is probably like the one repeatedly described in the *Acta Andreae* in the Epitome by Greg. Tur. (c.2 [p.828,25 Bonnet]; c.23 [p.840,14] *et tenens manum eius* [viz. of Lesbios, the proconsul in Achaia] *deambulabat in littore*; c.24 [p.840,15]).

iunctā sibi puellulā (RA) 'with the girl at his side' 'in the company of his wife' (sc. tenens manum eius): This choice of word may go back directly to e.g. γύναιον, cf. LSJ, s.v. γύναιος (II): 'little woman' 'term of endearment for a wife'; γύναιον is the usual term in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. Naturally many other underlying hypocorisms are possible such as κόρη, μειράκιον νεᾶνις, παῖς, παιδάριον, παρθένος, etc. (*aliter* Klebs, p.274 n.4.) *RB* omits this detail and replaces the singular (RA) with the plural throughout.

vidit (RA: *vident* RB) **navem speciosissimam** (RA/RB): Just so in the *Acta Andreae* (Blatt, p.40,8): κατελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν εἶδεν πλοιάριον μικρόν: (*Casanatensis*) *cepit ambulare secus litus maris* <…> *et vidit* <…> *parvam naviculam*. This ship has probably be drawn ashore, cf. 25, RA 2/RB 1 (comm.); 39, RA 12-18 (comm.); Roques, loc. cit. p.514.

dum utrique <…> **lauderent** (RA) ~ *dum mirantur et laetantur* (RB): A fine correction both of *dum* + imperf. subjunct. and of *utrique* (for classical *uterque*). This last form is popular, cf. Kroll, on Catull. 5,37 *maculae pares utrisque* and even occurs in eminent classical authors (Verg., *Aen.* 6,685 *palmas utrasque*); it is quite frequent in Late Latin (cf. Linderbauer, p.162; Garvin, p.62; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *uterque*, quotes Greg. Magn., *Hom. Ev.* 29,6; *Lib. Diurn.* p.8,22). The influence of ἀμφότεροι may be felt here (as regards masc. for a married couple, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ἀμφότεροι), cf. Rufin., *Vit. Patr.* 3,18,8 *utrique permanserunt* (Cot. 560 ἐκοιμήθησαν οἱ ἀμφότεροι). Esp. the Greek Novel likes to use ἀμφότεροι (cf. *Less.*, s.v. II), rarely ἄμφω (cf. ibid., sub 2 a). For the change from *laudare* (RA) to the explicit *mirari et laetari* (RB), cf. 50, RA 20 *mirantur* ~ RB 19 *mirantur et gaudent* (comm.).

recognovit (RA) ~ *cognovit* (RB): Late Latin sometimes uses *recognosco* in the sense of *cognosco* gebruikt, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *recognosco* (4) 'connaître' 'apprendre': influence (?) of ἀναγιγνώσκω, LSJ, s.v.: 'to perceive' and 'to recognize'.

patria (RA/RB): 'native country' 'native city', cf. 4, RB 2 (comm.).

24, RA 5-6	Conversus ait ad gubernatorem: "Dic mihi, si valeas, unde venisti?" 'He turned to the helmsman and said: "Tell me, please, where have you come from?"'
24, RB 4-5	Et conversus ad gubernatorem ait: "Dic, si valeas, unde venis?"

This strongly suggests a word-by-word translation: *Conversus* (RA/RB) : (?) ἐπιστραφείς; *Dic mihi*: (RA): (?) εἰπέ μοι; *si valeas* (RA/RB): (?) εἰ δύνῃ (cf. LSJ, s.v. δύναμαι: δύνῃ *ind./subi.*); *unde venisti*? (RA): (?) πόθεν ἥκεις; For the situation that someone on land can talk to the helmsman, cf. *Acta Andreae et Matthiae* (ed. Blatt) c.5. For sea links between Tyrus and Cyrenaica, cf. Roques, loc. cit. p.514 n.119.

24, RA 6-7/RB 5-6 Gubernator ait: "De (RA: A RB) Tyro." Apollonius ait: "Patriam meam nominasti." 'The helmsman said: "From Tyre." Apollonius said: "You have named my own country."'

De Tyro (RA) ~ *A Tyro* (RB): A subtle sense of style in *RB*, cf. Blatt, *Dict.*, s.v. *de*: 'dans la latinité postérieure, *de* s'emploie avec n'importe quel verbe et tend à remplacer *a*, *ex*'. (Klebs, p.260, *aliter*.)

24, RA 7-8 Ad quem gubernator ait: "Ergo tu Tyrius es?" Apollonius ait: "Vt dicis; sic sum." 'The helmsman said: "So you are a Tyrian?" Apollonius said: "As you say, so I am."'

24, RB 7 Gubernator ait: "Ergo Tyrius es?" Apollonius ait: "Vt dicis."

sic sum (RA) ~ (RB /): The Latin of *RA*'s construction is perfectly acceptable, cf. Commod., *Instr.* 1,26,28 *haec autem sic non sunt*. Further examples in Salonius, p.208. Yet *RA* is probably a direct translation of (?) οὕτως εἰμί, cf. LSJ, s.v. εἰμί (C): 'εἶναι with Advbs, where the Adv. often merely represents a Noun and stands as the predicate.' A few examples: Hom., *Il.* 23,643 ὥς ποτ' ἔον!; Matt. 1:18 Τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ γένεσις οὕτως ἦν (= τοιαύτη ἦν) (Vulg. *Christi autem generatio sic erat*), cf. Blass-Debrunner, *Gramm. des neutest. Griechisch*, Göttingen 1943^{7}, § 434.1; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. εἰμί (III, 9.b); Tabachovitz (1943), p.15.

24, RA 8-10 Gubernator ait: "Vere mihi dignare dicere: noveras aliquem patriae illius principem, Apollonium nomine?" 'The helmsman said: "Be kind enough to tell me truthfully: did you know a prince of that country, called Apollonius?"'

24, RB 7-8 Gubernator ait: "Noveras aliquem patriae principem Apollonium nomine?"

Vere (adv.) **mihi dignare dicere** (RA) ~ (RB /): This could derive directly from Greek: (?) ἀληθῶς μοι ἀξιοῦ (ἀξιῶσαι) λέγειν. *RB* has eliminated this polite formula as superfluous.

noveras (RA/RB): (Instead of the grammatically required perf.) i.q. nosti, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. tempora verborum (4).

patriae illius (RA) ~ *patriae* (RB): For *ille* as def. art. (often changed or omitted by *RB*), cf. Introd. II.1.

24, RA 10-11	Apollonius ait: "Vt me ipsum, sic illum novi." 'Apollonius said: "I know him as well as I know myself."'
24, RB 9	Apollonius ait: "Ac si me ipsum."

Obviously the answer is ironic and more or less enigmatic. Its Greek form can only be guessed at. Perhaps (?): ὡς ἐμαυτόν, ὣς (οὕτως) αὐτόν (sc. οἶδα). Though apparently understanding the text, *RB* has removed its enigmatic aspect (see also the next note).

Vt (RA) ~ *Ac si* (RB): The expression *ac si* (RB) occurs several times in the *HA*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. It owes this popularity to Late Latin, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *acsi* 'comme si (postclass.)'; Löfstedt, *Per.* 86; Heraeus, *GGA* (1915), p.479; Adams (1976), p.78. Riese (1893), *Index*, s.v. *acsi* compares ὡσεί. For the combination *ita* <…> *ac si*, cf. 36, RA 8/RB 11-12 (comm.). (Klebs, p.243: 'Als Graecismus ist von Riese angeführt ac si = ὁμοίως' is based on confusion with *similiter*.)

24, RA 11-13	Gubernator non intellexit dictum et ait: "Sic ego rogo, ut, ubicumque eum videris, dic illi: "Laetare et gaude, quia rex saevissimus Antiochus cum filia sua concumbens, dei fulmine percussus est. 'The helmsman did not understand this remark, and said: "Then I have a request: if you see him anywhere, tell him to rejoice and be glad, because the most cruel King Antiochus has been struck by God's thunderbolt as he was lying in bed with his own daughter.'
24, RB 9-11	Gubernator ait: "Sicubi illum videris, dic illi, laetetur et gaude<a>t. Rex enim Antiochus fulmine percussus arsit cum filia sua.

Gubernator non intellexit dictum (RA): Left out by *RB* after Apollonius' understandable answer in his redaction.

Sic ego rogo, ut <…> **dic illi** (RA) ~ *dic illi* (RB): *RB* emends *RA*'s shaky Latin, which should probably be retained nonetheless. *RA sic* probably goes back to οὕτως, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. οὕτω(ς) (I.b): 'Folgerung aus

dem Vorhergehenden ziehend, *so, demnach*'. We should probably also keep *ego* (Riese logically conjectures *ergo* [1893]), as the phenomenon of the use of pronouns (esp. *ego* and *nos*) without special emphasis, moving towards the Romance languages (*ego volui* becomes *je voulus*), cf. Mohrmann, *Patrick*, p.18 (who refers to *Itin. Egeriae*; Aug., *Serm.*). This usage is paralleled in Vulgar Greek by ἐγώ, cf. J.B. Hofmann, *Beiträge* p.109; E. Vilborg, comm. p.27 sees the germs of this looser language in Achill. Tat. Finally, (*rogo*) *ut* <…> *dic*: this can be regarded as a contamination of *rogo*: *dic* on the one hand and *rogo, ut* <…> *dicas* on the other (cf. ed. m. [1984]). It is probably better to assume a Greek substrate here too: ὅτι *recitativum* (with the value of a colon), cf. LSJ, s.v. ὅτι (II); Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ὅτι, Sp.1168 (2).

ubicumque (RA) ~ *Sicubi* (RB): *RB* is as cautious as possible in his wording 'If at any place' 'if anywhere': Apollonius was, after all, an exile.

eum (videris), (dic) **illi** (RA) ~ *illum* <…> *illi* (RB): A remarkable case of homogenization in *RB*, with preference for *ille*, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, §§ 273-276.

Laetare et gaude (RA) ~ *laetetur et gaude<a>t* (RB): Classical Latin distinguishes between the two verbs: Cic., *Tusc.* 4,66 *ut cavere decet, timere non decet, sic gaudere decet, laetari non decet*, the meaning of *laetari* being (overly) exuberant joy. The combination occurs several times in *HA*, in which cases *RB* either simplifies or omits; compare Ind. verb., s.v. laetare. The phrase has a strong biblical ring: in Greek (OT/NT) we also find combinations of ἀγαλλιάω and εὐφραίνομαι, χαίρω and ἀγαλλιάω, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ἀγαλλιάω.

Antiochus cum filia sua concumbens, dei fulmine percussus est (RA) ~ *Rex enim Antiochus fulmine percussus* (**bM**: *est* add. **βπ**; *est et* add. $\boldsymbol{\beta}^1$) *arsit cum filia sua* (RB): Klebs (p.190,218) proposes to delete the statement *dei fulmine*; this does in fact seem logical, if we follow *RB* in reading [*dei*] *fulmine*. In that case the two statements in *RA* and *RB* seem to agree (though the detail *concumbens* [RA] is lacking here in *RB*, it does occur in 24, RB 25). But the Introd. clearly shows that the 'God' referred to here is inextricably connected with *RA* (written in Christian Latin) and inserted as such by **R(Gr)**. It is impossible to determine the specific shape of this motif in **HA(Gr)**. Most likely the changes were not drastic, since a similar motif occurs in Heliod. 2,29,4 καθ' ἣν νύκτα συγκατεκλίθη τῷ γήμαντι, κατ' αὐτὴν ἡ δυστυχὴς ἐτελεύτα, σκηπτοῦ τινος ἢ χειροποιήτου πυρὸς τοῖς θαλάμοις ἐμπεσόντος 'But on the very night that she first lay with her husband, my poor child's life ended. A fire broke out in her chamber,

whether from lightning, whether from fire deliberately started.' The combination *dei fulmine* accords well with ancient thought on thunder and lightning, cf. Herod. 7,10 Ὁρᾷς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα ζῷα ὡς κεραυνοῖ ὁ θεὸς οὐδὲ ἐᾷ φαντάζεσθαι 'You see how the Deity strikes the dominating creatures and does not permit them to make a show'. In astrological treatises such a death is therefore called βιαιοθάνατος 'death by violence': victims were even denied burial, cf. Cumont, p.200; Vett. Valens 74,29 βιαιοθάνατοι καὶ ἄταφοι. A significant detail in the relationship Apollonius-Antiochus on the one hand and Pelops-Oenomaos on the other is the fact that Oenomaos' palace was also destroyed by Zeus' lightning: Paus. 5,20,6 κεραυνώσαντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ἠφάνισεν οἰκίαν τὸ πῦρ, ὑπελίπετο δὲ τὸν κίονα ἐξ ἁπάσης μόνον 'the God (namely Zeus) having struck with his thunderbolts the lightning destroyed the whole palace (of Oenomaos); only this pillar remained erect from the whole building', cf. W.H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig 1897-1909, vol. III (cols. 764-84), col. 767. Apparently the author of **HA(Gr)** collated the various data on Oenomaos ~ Hippodameia, cf. Introd. VI.1 (*aliter* Panayotakis [2003], pp.144-5).

concumbens (RA) 'lying with' ~ (RB /): A technical term in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. συγκατακλίνω: e.g. Xen. Eph. 1,7,3 ἡ δὲ (sc. 'Ανθία) οἵῳ μειρακίῳ συγκατακλιθήσεται '(The citizens congratulated her in turn), because she would lie with such a handsome young man.' It is unclear why *RB* omits this detail here, but does use it further on, in Archistratis' speech to her father (cf. 24, RB 25); in any case it betrays his dependence on *RA*. The form itself *concubens* **P** (likewise l.25) occurs mainly in Italian codices, cf. A. Hilke, *Historia Septem Sapientum*, Heidelberg 1912 (p.4,15; p.9,30; p.15,2; p.21,25).

24, RA 14	Opes autem et regnum eius servantur regi Apollonio." 'But his wealth and his Kingdom are being kept for King Apollonius."'
24, RB 11-12	Opes autem et regnum Antiochiae Apollónio reservántur." (*v.*)

regnum eius (RA) ~ *regnum Antiochiae* (RB): For Apollonius' automatic rights to the throne of Antioch, cf. Introd. VI.1; H. Birkhan, *Leben und Abenteuer des großen Königs Apollonius von Tyrus zu Land und zur See. Ein Abenteuerroman von Heinrich von Neustadt verfaßt zu Wien um 1300 nach Gottes Geburt,* Bern (Peter Lang AG) 2005, n.69 (a starting-point for the interpretation offered here). The change from (RA) *eius* (sc. Antiochi) to *Antiochiae* (obj. gen.) is characteristic of *RB*'s stylistic skill. Because in practice the

throne would remain empty for more than 15 years, without any motivation being offered, it is understandable that medieval variants, versions, adaptations etc. are keen to fill this gap in particular. Among the Latin texts *RBern* advances an explanation for the position of the *gubernator* and his arrival in, of all places, Cyrene. The shipmaster relates: *quadraginta autem naves dimissae sunt ad eum* (sc. Apollonium) *requirendum*, cf. Klebs, p.121 n.1; for medieval adaptations in the vernacular, see also Nillson, loc. cit., p.65.

servantur (RA) ~ *reservantur* (RB): *RB* probably eliminates a Graecism as well, (?) φυλάττω, cf. LSJ, s.v. 'to watch', 'to guard' (alongside the rhythmic arrangement).

24, RA 14-15 Apollonius autem ut audivit, gaudio <plenus> conversus dixit ad coniugem: 'When Apollonius heard this, he turned to his wife, full of delight, and said:'

24, RB 12-13 Apollonius ut audivit, gaudio plenus respiciens coniugem suam ait:

gaudio <plenus> (RA): *plenus* has been added for various reasons:
1. though **P** reads *gaudio* in 7, RA 12 too, the main manuscript **A** has *gaudio plenus*;
2. the secondary redaction **Rα** (**FG**) offers the longer form *gaudio plenus*;
3. finally, *RB* has the combination *gaudio plenus* both in 7, RB 12 and here.

Theoretically *gaudio* could therefore be connected with e.g. *audivit* (thus Ring, followed by Peters, p.109: 'Apollonius aber vernahm es mit Freunden'), but in practice *plenus* is added (Riese [1893] ad loc. hesitantly; Klebs, p.61: '*plenus* fehlt **P**'; Schmeling [1984]).

24, RA 16 "Domina, quod aliquando mihi naufrago credideras, modo comprobasti. <Peto itaque>, coniunx carissima, ut me permittas proficere ad regnum devotum percipere." '"Lady, now you have confirmation of what you took on trust when I was shipwrecked. Therefore I ask your permission, dearest wife, to go and take possession of the kingdom being kept for me."'

24, RB 13-15 "Domina, quod aliquando naufragum credidisti, modo conprobas. Peto itaque, cara coniunx, ut permittas mihi proficisci ad regnum accipiendum."

Domina (RA/RB) : Used respectfully to address one's own wife, cf. 2, RA/RB 4 (comm.). Undoubtedly this term of address corresponds to a Gr. κυρία 'lady', cf. e.g. Pall., *Hist. Laus.* (ed. Bartelink), c.8, l.9 Δεῦρο κυρία. Conversely a wife uses κύριε 'master' (ibid., l.19). In the *HA*, too, the wife is addressed as *domina*, cf. 51, RA 17/RB 14 *domina coniunx*.

quod aliquando mihi naufrago credideras (RA) ~ *quod aliquando naufragum credidisti* (RB): Both constructions are the object of *comprobasti* (RA)/*conprobas* (RB). *RA* has retained the usual construction: *credo* + dat. of person, + acc. as internal object. So the translation reads: 'in which you once believed me, though shipwrecked (*naufrago* is concessive), you have now found to be true', cf. 15, RA 14-15; 16, RA 1. The construction runs parallel with e.g. πιστεύω, cf. LSJ, s.v.: 'to trust', 'to put faith in' with dat. for the person (or thing) trusted, and acc. neut. (adjective or pronoun) for the respect in which trust is put. The construction in *RB* (**b, β**[*a. corr.*]) probably involves an ellipsis of *me esse*: 'that you once believed me to be shipwrecked you now find to be true.' The construction *quem aliquando naufragum credidisti* **β**[1]**π** is the *lectio facilior* 'whom you once believed to be shipwrecked', but is problematical with *conprobas*: hence the addition of **π**: *comprobas, quis est* 'now you find who he really is.'

comprobasti (RA) ~ *conprobas* (RB): *RA* means: *comprobatum habes*, so-called resultative perfect, 'of this you now have proof'. It is uncertain which Greek verb underlies this, cf. CGL VI 246; perhaps ἀποδέχομαι, cf. LSJ, s.v. (4) '*receive favourably*; *accept a statement*'. (Schmeling, *Notes*, p.146 [on ed. 17, 15-16] wrongly defends the conjecture by Riese (1893) *comprobavi*.)

<**Peto itaque**>: Apparently a necessary addition in *RA* by reason of **Rα** and *RB*.

ut me permittas proficere ad regnum devotum percipere (RA) ~ *ut permittas mihi proficisci ad regnum accipiendum* (RB): A series of *vulgariora* in *RA*, successively eliminated by *RB*. For the construction with *permitto*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. (*me* is acc. subj. of *proficere*).

proficere (RA, likewise l.19) sometimes has the meaning *proficisci*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *proficio* (4): Comm., *Apol.* 211 *si fuerat castus, incestus proficit inde*; see also *Acta Andreae et Matthiae* c.4 (Casanatensis, Blatt p.39,11) *Quando* (= quomodo) *enim in tribus diebus possum proficere*? (Gr. πορευθῆναι, see Blatt p.38 n.11); A. Engelbrecht, *Die Consolatio Philosophiae des Boethius* (Wiener Sitzungsber. 1902), p.36; ThLL X,2.2 1704,23-7.

ad regnum devotum percipere (RA): The probable construction is: *ad percipere* + *regnum devotum* (obj.). For this harsh but not unusual construction, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.* § 325. He refers to Vet. Lat. (*cod. Verc.*), John 6:52 *dare ad manducare* (Vulg. *ad manducandum*; Gr. δοῦναι <…> φαγεῖν): ‘construction créée soit sous l’influence du grec, soit par la contamination des deux tours concurrents *aggredior dicere* et *aggredior ad dicendum* <…>; cf. fr. *donner à boire*, it. *dare a mangiare*, etc.’ The provenance of the *HA* favours the former option, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. πρός: πρὸς τό + Inf. ‘zu dem Zweck, daß’: Mark 13:22 πρὸς τὸ ἀποπλανᾶν, εἰ δυνατόν, τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς ‘to lead astray, if possible, the elect’; Acts 3:19 πρὸς τὸ ἐξαλειφθῆναι ὑμῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας ‘to blot out your sins’. This discussion shows that Riese’s suggestions (*num* proficisci?; [*et*] for *ad* **P**) are inadvisable, like modern conjectures, cf. Schmeling (1988), ad loc.

devotum regnum (RA) ~ *regnum* (RB): The verb *devoveo* occurs with the same elimination in 40, RA 35 *devotae virginitati vacare* ~ RB 30 *virginitati vacare*. In both places *devovere* has posed problems to translators and interpreters, cf. e.g. Archibald, p.137 ‘the kingdom being kept for me’; Sandy, p.651 ‘the kingdom that has been promised to me’. (See also comm. 40, RA 35.) Clearly *RA* is to be preferred as *lectio difficilior*: as usual, *RB* has removed the more awkward term. The two places (24, RA 18 and 40, RA 35) are moreover interconnected. In all likelihood they can therefore be reduced to the same Greek substrate term. As a Greek equivalent the Glosses offer ἀνατίθημι, cf. CGL VI,1 p.337. This would fit very well, cf. LSJ, s.v. (2.b): Arist., *Nub.* 1453 ὑμῖν ἀναθεὶς ἅπαντα τἀμὰ πράγματα ‘having entrusted to you (sc. the Clouds) all my affairs’; Thuc. 8,82 τὰ πράγματα πάντα ἀνετίθεσαν ‘they entrusted him (namely Alcibiades) with all the state-affairs’. By solving Antiochus’ riddle, Apollonius had automatically gained the throne of Antioch, cf. Introd. VI.1. A term like ἡ ἀνακειμένη βασίλεια **R(Gr)** ‘the kingdom offered’ can be convincingly argued, cf. LSJ (+ Suppl.), s.v. ἀνάκειμαι (2): ‘to be offered’ ‘to be assigned’: Plut., *Arist.* 15 ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἀνακεῖσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ‘in fact, the supreme command was entrusted to him’. For ἀνατίθημι in the sense of ‘to dedicate’ ‘to devote’ as in 40, RA 35 *devotae virginitati vacare*, cf. LSJ, s.v. (II): ‘to dedicate’ and comm. ad loc. For the translation problem as a whole, cf. Introd., n.44.

24, RA 18-19 Coniunx vero eius, ut audivit eum velle proficere, profusis lacrimis ait: ‘But when his wife heard that he wanted to set off, she burst into tears and said:’

24, RB 15-16 Puella ut vidit, profusis lacrimis ait:

audivit (RA) ~ *vidit* (**b**; *audivit* **βMπ**): For this change, cf. 2, RA 12 *vidit*/RB 11 *audivit*. *RB*'s elimination is grammatically all the more understandable because *proficere* (cf. above 24, RA 17) drops out too.

profusis lacrimis (RA/RB): Though a case can be made for the reading *perfusis* **P**, it is better to change to *profusis* with **Rα** and the editors Ring, Riese (1893), Tsitsikli (1981), Schmeling (1988), partly because Ov. is echoed not only in this formulation (*Met.* 11,418) but also in the rest of Archistratis' reply, cf. Klebs, p.285 (p.32 more tentatively: 'wahrscheinlich Ovid nachgebildet'). In fact alternation between the two prefixes is frequent in codd., including the *HA*, owing to the abbreviations used (*per* = p̲ ; *pro* = pˆ), cf. app. crit. 25, RA 4; 26, RB 5; 27, RB 3.

24, RA 19-20	"Care coniunx, si alicubi in longinquo esses itinere constitutus, certe ad partum meum festinare debueras. '"Dear husband, if you had been on a long journey somewhere, you would certainly have had to hurry back to my confinement.'
24, RB 16-17	"Care coniunx, si in aliquo longo itinere esses, ad partum meum festinare deberes.

longinquo <…> **itinere** (RA) ~ *longo itinere* (RB): *RA* emphasizes a journey abroad, cf. OLD, s.v. *longinquus* (1 b): Tacit., *Ann.* 3,24 *peregrinatione longinqua*; Suet., *Aug.* 92 *ingrediente se longinquam profectionem*. *RB* seems to put more stress on the aspect of time, cf. OLD, s.v. *longus* (9-12). The length of the two words probably plays a role too. A similar alternation between *longinquus* and *longus* is found in 28, RA 18 *ignotas et longinquas Aegypti regiones devenit*; 28, RB 18 *ignotas et longas petiit Aegypti regiones*.

esses <…> **constitutus** (RA) ~ *esses* (RB): *RA*'s solemn formulation 'had you been set in a long journey' is retrenched by *RB*. A Graecism (in *RA*) may also have been removed (by *RB*), past tenses often being paraphrased with forms of εἶναι, cf. W.J. Aerts, *Periphrastica. An Investigation into the Use of εἶναι and ἔχειν as Auxiliaries or Pseudo-auxiliaries in Greek from Homer up to the Present Day*, Diss. Amsterdam 1965; for Latin, cf. Heraeus, *GGA* (1915), p.484; Blatt, *Acta Andreae et Matthiae*, c.32 (p.93,7) *ego autem in itinere positus sum* (cf. ann. p.92,7: '*constitutus* <…> als Ersatz für das griechische ὤν'): Garvin, p.76 (with lit.); Linderbauer, p.269 (on *Reg. Ben.* 22,3).

debueras (RA) ~ *deberes* (RB): In a protasis from the past which contrasts with the actual situation ('if you had been on a long journey anywhere,

you ought to have hurried ‹…›’), the verb expressing obligation (*debere, oportere*) is often rendered in the indicative in the apodosis, cf. J.H. Allen and J.B. Greenough, *New Latin Grammar*, New York (first print 1872), § 517[c]; LHS II, p.327[4]. Klebs, p.262 approves of *debueras*.

24, RA 21	Nunc vero, cum sis praesens, disponis me derelinquere? ‘But now, when you are here, are you planning to abandon me?’
24, RB 17-18	Nunc autem, cum sis praesens, disponis me relinquere?

disponis (RA/RB) ‘do you intend’: A much-favoured word, esp. with inf., cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *dispono*: ‘(avec infin.) “décider de”, “se proposer de” (postclass.)’; ThLL V,1 1428,58 - 1429,7.

derelinquere (RA) ~ *relinquere* (RB): *RB*’s usual preference for simple verbs. The compound *derelinquere* is used very frequently (more than 240x) in the Vulgate in the sense of: ‘to abandon someone in need of defence’, cf. Garvin, p.467.

24, RA 21-23	Pariter navigemus: ubicumque fueris, seu in terris seu in mari, vita vel mors ambos nos capiat!” ‘Let us sail together: wherever you are, on land or sea, let us live or die together!”’
24, RB 18	Sed si hoc iubes, pariter navigemus!”

Pariter navigemus (RA/RB): For Klebs, p.285 ‘nicht zufällig’ in accordance with the well-known story of Ceyx and Alcyone in Ov., *Met.* 11,439-443: *Quod tua si flecti precibus sententia nullis | Care, potest, coniunx, nimiumque es certus eundi, | Me quoque tolle simul, certe iactabimur una | Nec nisi quae patiar metuam pariterque feremus | Quicquid erit, pariter super aequora lata feremur*.’ On examination this passus does show a certain similarity. But it seems to be prompted more by a similar situation rather than involving direct imitation, cf. Verg., *Aen.* 6,370 *tecum me tolle per undas*. Perhaps **HA(Gr)** embroidered more extensively on this epic example, since Alcyone’s φιλανδρία ‘love for her husband’ was regarded as a model of conjugal fidelity, cf. Kussl, p.140 with reference to H. Hommel, ‘Alkmans Eisvogelverse (fr.94 D)’, *Gymnasium* 85 (1978), pp.387-407.

ubicumque fueris (i.q. eris)**, seu in terris seu in mari, vita vel mors ambos nos capiat** (RA) ~ (RB /): It seems obvious why *RB* leaves out this

final sentence, with its gloomy realism (Klebs, p.285 n.1 *aliter*). For the popular expression 'one in life and death', cf. H. Riesenfeld, *Coniect. Neotestam.* 9, 1944, p.12.

Sed si hoc iubes (RB) 'But if you want this at any price': An addition by *RB*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *iubeo* (2): '(dans ces ex., *iube et l'infin.* équivaut à un impératif de politesse)': *Sacram. Greg.* 967, c.242 D *iube, domne, benedicere* 'veuillez donner la bénédiction'. It is relevant to *RB*'s position that the examples used by Blaise mostly derive from the *Vit. Patr.* (3,5; 3,30; 3,32; 3,51; 7,43,1). The correspondence with κέλευσον, 'please', in the weaker sense, does not affect *RB*'s position here: he probably inserted this polite formula on his own authority.

24, RA 23-25	Et haec dicens puella venit ad patrem suum, cui sic ait: "Care genitor, laetare et gaude, quia saevissimus rex Antiochus cum filia sua concumbens a deo percussus est. 'After this speech the girl went to her father and said to him: '"Dear father, rejoice and be glad, for the most cruel King Antiochus has been struck down by God as he was lying in bed with his own daughter.'
24, RB 18-20	Et veniens ad patrem ait: "Care genitor, laetare et gaude. Rex enim saevissimus Antiochus periit concumbens cum nata sua. Deus percussit eum fulmine.

Partial, epic repetition, cf. above 12 ff. Naturally Klebs, p.190 wants to delete here too: [*a deo*] (RA) and [*Deus percussit fulmine*] (RB).

24, RA 25-26	Opes autem eius <cum> diademate coniugi meo servatae sunt. 'His wealth and crown are being kept for my husband.'
24, RB 20-21	Opes autem regiae et diadema coniugi meo reservantur.

<**cum**> **diademate** (RA) ~ *et diadema* (RB): The reading *cum* (Ring, Riese, edd.) for *in* **P** seems necessary. The reference is of course to τὸ διάδημα, cf. OLD, s.v. 'An ornamental headband (usually white) tied at the back'; '(as an emblem of sovereignty) a diadem, crown'; H.W. Ritter, *Diadem und Königsherrschaft. Untersuchungen zu Zeremonien und Rechtsgrundlagen des*

Herrschaftsantritt bei den Persern, bei Alexander dem Grossen und im Hellenismus, München 1965 (*Vestigia*, 7); id., 'Die Bedeutung des Diadems', *Historia* 36 (1987), pp.290-301.

24, RA 26-27 Propter quod rogo te satis animo lu<g>enti, permittas mihi navigare cum viro meo. 'So please, I ask you rather sadly, give me your permission to set sail with my husband.'

24, RB 21-22 Permitte mihi navigare cum viro meo.

satis animo lugenti (RA) 'with a very sad heart': *satis* = valde, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *satis* (2). The spelling *lu<g>enti*, as proposed by Ring, Riese for transmitted *luenti* **P**, has been much debated. Thus **F** reads *libenti*, followed by Klebs, p.19 n.2; Hunt (1981), p.343; Schmeling (1988); I myself proposed *l<i>venti* (ed. m. [1984]), in connection with l.27 *liventius* **P** (= *libentius*). Returning to the spelling *luenti* **P**, I believe it to be completely correct, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.* § 107: 'les sonores *d*, *g* intervocaliques tendent à s'affaiblir', with examples in § 108 like CIL III 14730 *maester* = *magister*, Ital. maestro, Fr. maître; App. Probi 12 *calcostegis* (= chalcostegis), *non calcosteis*; CIL VIII 1163 *vinti* = *viginti*; ibid., 5399 *trienta* = *triginta*. So the sentence reads: I ask you though sad (because we must now separate), but so that you will allow me to go with all the more consent: two of us will return.

cum viro meo (RA/RB) 'with my husband', cf. 23, RA 6/RB 4.

24, RA 27-28 Et ut libentius mihi permittas: unam remittis, en duas recipies!" 'To encourage you to let me go more willingly, you are sending away one person, your daughter, but see, you will get two back!"'

24, RB 22-23 Et ut libentius mihi permittas: unam dimittis, recipias duas!"

libentius (RA/RB): Used often, cf. OLD, s.v. *libenter* 'with pleasure' 'willingly': Plaut., *Capt.* 119 *omnes profecto liberi libentius sumu' quam servimus*; Cato, *Agr.* 5,5 *dormibit libentius*; Iuv. 15,88 *nil umquam hac carne libentius edit*.

remittis (RA) ~ *dimittis* (RB): Late Latin is sometimes cavalier in its use of prepositions: thus *remitto* stands for classical *dimitto*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v.

remitto: Vet. Lat., Matt. 8:22 (in Iren. 1,8,3) *remitte* (Vulg. *dimitte*; Gr. ἄφες) *mortuos sepelire mortuos suos*; Vet. Lat., Matt. 8:15 (*cod. Sang.*) *et remisit* (Vulg. *dimisit*; Gr. ἀφῆκεν) *eam febris*.

en (RA) ~ (RB /): *en* = ecce (deictic), cf. 27, RA 13 (app. crit.): the Greek Novel is very frank in this kind of detail: Charit. 2,11,1 'Ιδού» φησι «τρεῖς γεγόναμεν, ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνὴ καὶ τέκνον 'Here are the three of us,' she said, 'husband, wife and child <…>'; id. 3,2,13 εἰ μή με προὔδωκε τοῦτο τὸ βρέφος», δείξασα τὴν γαστέρα 'if this child' – she pointed to her womb – 'had not betrayed me <…>' Note also expressions like τὸ κατὰ γαστρός, κυοφορέω, κυοφορία and κύω, frequent in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, ss.vv.

en duas recipies (RA) ~ *recipias duas* (RB): A very simple sentence, but one which poses problems to the critic. The sex of the unborn child is usually indicated in neuter both in Greek (τὸ βρέφος) and in Latin (sometimes masc.: *puer*). Masculine can also be preferred when the sex of one child is known, cf. Ov., *Her.* 7,138 where Dido, threatening suicide, says to Aeneas, father of Iulus: *Poenaque conexos auferet una duos* (i.e. Iulus and the unborn child). But here the feminine prevails, probably because the translator/adaptator took his starting-point in Archistratis (and perhaps already included the unborn Tharsia). He could do this all the more easily because his model **R(Gr)** (like **HA[Gr]**) could only offer the form δύο/δύω (als acc.), because a form δυάς is recorded only in dialect, cf. LSJ (+ Suppl.), s.v. δύο/δύω; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. δύο.

recipies (RA) ~ *recipias* (**b, β** [*a. corr.*]): Besides the chiastic arrangement, *RB* also expresses the wish.

CHAPTER 25

25, RA 1-2	Rex vero, ut audivit omnia, gaudens atque exhilaratus est. Et continuo iubet naves adduci in litore et omnibus bonis impleri. 'When the king heard all this, he was delighted and rejoiced. At once he ordered ships to be drawn up on shore and filled with all good things.'
25, RB 1-2	Rex hilaratus iussit navem produci in littore et omnibus bonis implere.

gaudens atque exhilaratus est (RA) ~ *hilaratus* (RB): *RA*'s exuberant construction should be retained, with the participle *gaudens* having the value of a main verb, cf. 9, RA 16 (comm.) and Ind. gr., s.v. participium pendens. For *exhilaratus* als pass. perf. part., cf. ThLL VI,1 1436,34 ff. *RB*'s reduction to *hilaratus* (cf. OLD, s.v. *hilaro*) is almost the absolute minimum. For another major intervention in this chapter, see below *RA* 18-19/RB 13-14.

adduci (RA) ~ *produci* (RB): Archistrates has an entire fleet prepared, rigged, and filled to capacity, apparently so that his son-in-law will make an impression on the citizens of Antioch and Tyre. After the storm the fleet ends up in Ephesis, according to Lycoris' report 29, RA 17 *Naves quoque luctantibus ventis*. This information has been lost in the epitome form, cf. Introd. V; 8, RA/RB 1. For *adducere*, we can perhaps compare προσάγω 'to bring to'. Following the procedure customary in Antiquity since Homer, the ships are drawn up on shore and secured there, cf. 39, RA 12-18 (comm.). *RB* seems to opt for a more pointed verb, cf. OLD, s.v. *produco* (1): Vell. 2,85,1 *productis classibus*; Caes., *Civ.* 2,4,1 *ex navalibus productas naves refecerant*.

in litore (RA /, RB -*tt*-): Classical Latin would have preferred *in litus*.

omnibus bonis (RA/RB): I.q. *bonis omnis generis*, cf. 6, RA/RB 19-20 and 25, RA 7 *copia*. A substrate text like πάντα ἀγαθά suggests itself, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀγαθός (II): 'plur. treasures, wealth'.

impleri (RA) ~ *implere* (RB): The classical rule *iubere* + pass. inf., when the agent is not mentioned, is used with great license.

25, RA 2-4	Praeterea nutricem eius, nomine Lycoridem, et obstetricem peritissimam propter partum eius simul navigare iussit. 'Because of his daughter's confinement he also ordered Lycoris, her nurse, and a very experienced midwife to sail with them.'
25, RB 2-3	Praeterea nutricem suam Lycoridem et obstetricem peritissimam propter partum eius simul navigare praecepit.

nutricem eius (RA) ~ *nutricem suam* (RB): This is an example where even *RB* is careless in the use of *suus*, since it does not refer back to the subject: classical Latin would have written *eius* (with RA), cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *suus*: Cypr., *Epist.* 58,4 *sufficit ad testimonium martyrii sui* (= eius) *testis ille*; Aug., *Emer.* 9 *post damnationem suam susceperunt illos*; Hier., *Vit. Hil.* 34 *Illuc quoque sua fama pervenerat*. It is curious that the nurse (τροφός) and the midwife (μαῖα/μαιεύτρια/ἰατρόμαια) go along on the voyage: probably a typically novelistic feature of a royal retinue. The midwife is not mentioned again in the story (despite the complicated delivery), the nurse very often. (The term μαῖα does not occur in *Less.*) Both held confidential positions in Asian Minor / Byzantine culture and were highly respected, cf. L. Robert, *Documents de l'Asie Mineure Meridionale* (1966), p.72 n.6; LSJ (suppl.), ss.vv. μαῖα, ἰατρόμαια.

nomine Lycoridem (RA) ~ *Lycoridem* (**b**), *Ligoridem* (**βMπ**): The name *Lycoris* itself must have sounded familiar to Roman ears, cf. OLD, s.v.: it was the name by which the poet Gallus cited his mistress Cytheris. As such she is mentioned in Verg., *Ecl.* 10,2; Prop. 2,34,91; Ov., *Trist.* 2,445; Mart. 8,73,6. The name *Lycoris* was also known in 6th-c. Rome, cf. Maximinian., *Eleg.* II,1. *RA*, **b** probably drew this name directly from **R(Gr)** as the girl's name Λυκωρίς, -ρίδος, cf. Fraser ~ Matthews (1987-), III^{A}. Later tradition in the *HA* (cf. Ind. nom., s.v.) corrupted the name to *Ligoridem* (esp. **β**), cf. Singer (1895), p.69 (who refers to the *Gesta Romanorum*; earlier editions of the *HA*, Welser). This is probably based on popular etymology, *liquor* sometimes being written as *ligor* (e.g. MGH, Script. Meroving. III, Index p.411 *ligor cervisae* 'beer'). Was *Lycoris* associated with *liquor*? A foible often attributed to nurses was that they not only provided *liquor* but were also fond of imbibing it. There is a telling statement in Hier., *Epist.* 54,5: *Cave nutrices et gerulas et istiusmodi vinosa animalia*, cf. D.S. Wiesen, *St. Jerome as a Satirist*, Ithaca, New-York 1964, p.156.

25, RA 4-6 Et data p<ro>fectoria deduxit eos ad litus, osculatur filiam et generum et ventum eis optat prosperum. Reversus est rex ad palatium. 'And having provided what was necessary for the journey he escorted them to the shore, kissed his daughter and son-in-law, and wished them a fair wind. Then the king returned to the palace.'

25, RB 3-5 Et data profectoria deduxit eos ad litus. Osculatur filiam et generum et ventum prosperum eis optat.

profectoria P (*corr. ex* perfectoria), **bβπ** ~ (*datis*) *profectoriis* **M**, **Rα(F)**: This is probably one of the places where the translation, transfer of Greek culture to Latin culture had to go wrong because the two cultures have different customs, cf. Introd. IV.1. To this hapax legomenon (cf. Riese [1893], Index) Klebs, p.279 naturally adds *cena* (with reference to Georges, *Wörterb.*, s.v. *profectoria* 'der Abschiedsschmauß'; see also Konstan: 'farewell banquet'; Sandy 'a going-away party'). Klebs points to Petr., *Sat.* 90, where *adventicia* is used elliptically for 'welcome meal' (but in a figurative sense, said of a 'shower of stones'); Mart., *Epigr.* 12 *adventoria* (also figurative); Suet., *Vitell.* 13 *cena adventicia* (with the meaning 'official state banquet' when a government takes office) and Caper, GL VII 107,10 *adventicia caena, non adventoria*. Given this scanty evidence in Latin, it seems better to search for a solution in Greek, cf. Souter, s.v. *profectoria* (*-ae*) = ἐφόδια, but not so much in the sense (which he gives) of 'farewell dinner' as that (which he also refers to) of *itoria* (fem. sing. and neut. pl.) 'parting gifts', cf. ThLL VII $^{II\,I}$ 568,46-54 (really only one, late reference). The term ἐφόδιον itself would fit the context admirably, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐφόδιον: 'mostly in plur. ἐφόδια; *supplies for travelling, money and provisions*'. The Greek Novel quite often has ἐφόδιον in this sense, cf. *Less.*, s.v. ἐφόδιον 'sussidio per il viaggio' with reference to Charit. 3,4,10 καὶ τάχα ἂν ἔπεισεν, ὥστε κἂν ἐφοδίων τυχεῖν 'and perhaps he (sc. Theron) would have convinced them, even to the point of being given money to take him home'; see also Xen. Eph. 3,5,11 and Achill. Tat. 4,17,6; 6,2,5. For the combination with *dare,* cf. ἐφόδια δοῦναι (opp. λαβεῖν), e.g. Plato, *Epist.* 7 (350) (ed. Hercher, p.521) ὁ δὲ (sc. Dionysius) ξυνωμολόγησε καὶ ἀπέπεμψεν ἐφόδια δούς 'Dionysius agreed with his plan (to depart) and dismissed him (sc. Plato) after giving him means for travelling'; Lys., *In Eratosth.* 11, ἐφόδια μοι δοῦναι. It is also found in ordinary stories, cf. Pall., *Hist. Laus.* (ed. Bartelink), c.61, l.58 ἀναπαύσαντες ἡμᾶς καὶ ξενοδοχίᾳ καὶ ἐφοδίοις δαψιλεστάτοις 'having refreshed us with their hospitality and lavish supplies for travelling'. Perhaps a contributing

factor to the interpretation of ἐφοδία was its similarity in form to ἐξόδιος '*belonging to an exit or departure*', cf. Lampe, s.v.: Greg. Naz., *or*. 8,22 ἐξόδια ῥήματα 'parting words'. In any case it is clear in my view that the interpretation of the *HA* should return to the early position of Thielmann (1881), p.5 note, who refers to the paraphrase in γ (London, B.L., Sloanianus, early 13th c. [ed. m. (1984) p.58]): *quae in itinere necessaria erant*. Likely enough both *RA* and possibly *RB* failed to grasp the import of **R(Gr)**, but produced a translation as best they could: in this process, as often, the neut. pl. (ἐφόδια) became a fem. sing., i.e. *cenā datā* in the translator's perspective, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 217. It is striking in this development that neither *RA* nor *RB* apparently consulted a glossary, cf. CGL VII 533, s.v. ἐφόδιον: '*viaticum*, *commeatus*, *viaria*'. Summing up, we can say that probably no other word in the *HA* is so capable of illustrating the various phases of the textual genesis (Klebs's position, p.279, to use his own words on Thielmann, is 'unhaltbar').

deduxit <…> **osculatur** <…> **ventum prosperum optat** (RA/RB). **Reversus est rex ad palatium** (RA) ~ (RB /): Common statements in the Greek Novel, cf. Achill. Tat. 5,15,1 Τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ στελλόμεθα πρὸς ἀποδημίαν· κατὰ τύχην δὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκάλει ἡμᾶς (cf. *ventus prosperus*) καὶ ὁ Μενέλαος μέχρι τοῦ λιμένος ἐλθὼν (cf. *deduxit*) καὶ ἀσπασάμενος (cf. *osculatur*) <…> ἀπετράπετο αὖθις (cf. *Reversus rex*) 'On the following day we prepared to leave, and by chance even the wind seemed to invite us. Menelaos came as far as the dock, hugged us good-bye, and then turned away', cf. Heliod. 5,22,5.

deduxit (RA/RB): Standard terms are ἐκπέμπω, προπέμπω.

osculatur (RA/RB): Common, cf. Petron. 115,9 *patrem* <…> *reliquit aliquem, cui proficiscens osculum dedit*. Greek often uses ἀσπάζομαι when people separate. Zimmermann, p.71,11 (on the Herpyllis fragment).

ventum prosperum (RA/RB): Cf. (?) ἄνεμος ἐπιτήδειος, cf. LSJ, s.v. 'suitable' 'convenient'.

reversus <…> **palatium** (RA): Unjustifiably eliminated by *RB*, cf. Achill. Tat. 5,15.

25, RA 6-8 Apollonius vero ascendit navem cum multa familia multoque apparatu atque copia, et flante vento certum iter navigant. 'But Apollonius embarked with many servants, and with a great quantity of equipment and money, and they set sail on the known course with a following wind.'

25, RB 5-6 Et ascendentes navem cum multa familia multoque apparatu alto vento navigant.

ascendit <…> **navigant** (RA) ~ *ascendentes* <…> *navigant* (RB): A fine correction.

navem (RB): In effect **P** reads *naves*, cf. 25, RA 2 *naves* (*perseveratio*?). Perhaps we can even retain *naves*: 'went on board the fleet'.

cum multa familia (RA/RB) 'with a large household': See note below on *RA* 12.

apparatu (RA/RB): Probably a technical term for extra material, equipment, cf. ThLL II 257,17: Cic., *Att.* 10,8,4 *navalis apparatus ei semper antiquissima cura fuit*; cf. also παρασκευή, LSJ, s.v.: Arist., *Acharn.* 190 παρασκευή νεῶν.

copia (RA), sc. multa ~ (RB /): *RB* probably omits this as a pointless repetition of *RA* 2/RB 1 *omnibus bonis*.

flante vento (RA) ~ *alto vento* (RB): *RA*'s phrase is rather vague, but occurs frequently throughout Latinity, cf. ThLL VI,1 913,10: Bell. Alex. 9,4 *adverso vento leniter flante*; Vitr. 9,33 *flante vento* (idem: Cels. 6,8,2); Greg. v. T., *mart.* 83 [Bonnet p.545,3] *flante Notho*; Vita Hugberti 8 [M.G. Merov. VI, p.487,19] *ventoque flante*). Greek is not far away of course, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. πνέω. *RB*'s phrase is more specific and should be taken literally, cf. ThLL 1 17743,53 (*altus* said of weather phenomena): Varro, *Men.* 557 *imber alto nubilo cadens*; Lucr. 6,479 *altas nubes* (*passim*); Sen., *nat.* 7,5,1 *turbo* <…> *altior*; Gell. 2,30,9 *qui* (aquilones) *alti supernique sunt*. The examples demonstrate *RB*'s literary erudition.

certum iter (RA) ~ (RB /), cf. 7, RA 13/RB 12 *certa navigationis die*: As Klebs, p.28 n.1 states, *certus* here must mean 'den bestimmten (Weg)'.

25, RA 8-10 Qui dum per aliquantos dies totidemque noctes Austri ventorum flatibus <im>pi<o> pelago detinerentur, nono mense cogente Lucina, enixa <est> puella <puellam>. ‘For several days and nights they were detained on a wicked sea by gales of southerly winds. In the ninth month, at Lucina’s urging, the girl gave birth to a girl.’

25, RB 6-7 Qui dum per aliquot dies variis ventorum flatibus detinentur, septimo mense cogente Luc<ina> enixa est puella puellam.

Per aliquantos dies totidemque noctes (RA) ~ *per aliquot dies* (RB): A major clean-up in *RB*, perhaps overhastily. For *aliquanti*, rather a rare word (instead of *aliquot*, often written as *aliquod*, cf. app. crit., ad loc.), see Corbet (on *Regula Magistri* 8,4), p.180; Garvin, p.60; Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 290; esp. the combination with *dies* is common, cf. ThLL 1 1605,39 (with examples from Iul. Val., Pallad., Lucif.). For the elimination by *RB* of *totidemque noctes*, cf. Heliod. 1,22,4 ’Ηγόμεθα οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀήτου, πνέοντος ἡμέρας μὲν ἑπτά, νύκτας δὲ ἴσας ‘We were pushed on by the gale, raging for seven days and seven nights’.

Austri ventorum flatibus (RA) ~ *variis ventorum flatibus* (RB): It is very difficult to reconstruct *RA*’s text here. **P**, supported by **Rα**(**F**), reads *austris*, which makes no sense. A case can be made for *austeris* ‘sour’ ‘bitter’ (Ring), but a better option seems *Austri* (Riese [1896]; Tsitsikli [1981]), cf. Ov., *Met.* 7,532 *spirarunt flatibus Austri*. This kind of wind blows the ships towards Italy, cf. Sen., *Nat. quaest.* 5,18,2 *in Italiam Auster impellit, Aquilo in Africam reicit*. But such a storm would have soon put paid to Apollonius’ fleet, whereas some time must have passed between Archistratis’ sixth month (24, RA/RB 2) and a full-term baby, and I believe that *RB* therefore came up with the variant reading *variis ventorum flatibus* ‘by shifting gales of winds’, a reading based on almost the same letters as *RA*, cf. Introd. I; VII.2.1. Some editors even incorporate *RB*’s reading in *RA* (cf. ed. m. [1984], app. crit.; Schmeling [1988], ad loc.), wrongly in my opinion.

ventorum flatibus (RA/RB): Riese’s assumption (1893) that *ventorum* is a gloss (so both in *RA* and in *RB*) goes too far, cf. LHS II, p.63. Moreover, Greek likes to use πνεῦμα ‘blast’ ‘wind’ (or a similar word), combined with ἄνεμος, cf. LSJ, s.v. πνεῦμα.

<im>pi<o> pelago (RA): A conjecture for *pie pelago* **P**, based on Rα (**LG**); other solutions are of course possible too (cf. ed. m. [1984]). A clever solution is *diu pelago* (Riese [1893]; Konstan), as it would also explain the time difference in pregnancy (see previous note); in that case the preposition with *pelago* 'at sea' has been omitted. ThLL VII 624,45-79 has no example of the combination *impium pelagus*.

dum <…> detinerentur (RA) ~ *dum <…> detinentur* (RB): A standard correction by *RB* (**b**). Adverse wind often plays a role in the Greek Novel. The closest parallel is Xen. Eph. 2,11,10 ἐναντίῳ δὲ πνεύματι κατεχόμενοι (cf. detinerentur) 'But they were delayed by an adverse wind'; Charit. 1,13,8 ἐναντίου δὲ ἀνέμου γενομένου διεκωλύθην ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης 'But an adverse wind sprang up, and I was prevented from doing so (namely: from taking you back to your family) by the sea', cf. id. 7,3,2; Heliod. 4,16,7 ἀνέμοις τε ἐναντίοις χρησάμενοι 'We ran into contrary winds'. For the storm as such, cf. 29, RA 18 *luctantibus ventis*.

nono mense cogente Lucina (RA) ~ *septimo mense cogente Lucina* (RB): A sudden delivery during a sea voyage is not uncommon in Antiquity, cf. Cumont, p.105. The *HA* mentions various months of pregnancy: 7th month (RB), 9th month (RA) and 10th month (Va^{c}), dictated, as sometimes elsewhere in codd., by the importance attributed to each particular month (cf. *Protevangelium Iacobi* 5,2). At first sight it is hard to choose between a seven-month and nine-month baby, i.q. ἑπταμηνιαῖος or ἐννεαμηνιαῖος. Klebs, p.37 says rather apodictically that *RB* offers the better version and that *RA* therefore 'die gewöhnliche Schwangerschaftsdauer '*nono mense*' eingesetzt hat.' In the context of our entire argument, first *RA* and then the revision *RB*, it is clear that here, too, we argue for the order *nono mense* (RA) – *septimo mense* (RB).

In *RA* Archistratis' delivery is near: it was her ninth month. In the long, difficult sea voyage and at the urging of Lucina, the goddess of childbirth (cf. OLD, s.v. Lucina), Archistratis gives birth to her daughter. The phrase *cogente Lucina* was added in this specific form of abl. abs. to accommodate a Latin readership (cf. ThLL III 1525-1533 with examples like: Cic., *Phil.* 2,45 *cogente mercede*; *Nat. deor.* 1,66 *effectum esse caelum <…> nulla cogente natura*; Ov., *Met.* 1,103 *cibis nullo cogente creatis*; Val. Max. 4,7,6 *invitus fortuna cogente vixit*). Though the role of Lucina as goddess of childbirth persists into late Latinity (cf. Sid. Apoll., *Carm.* 2,112 *tale puerperium quotiens Lucina resoluit*), it was not long before this function was no longer recognized in the *HA*, which gave rise to the combination *nono (septimo) mense cogente* and led to the name *Lucina* being connected with *puella*, i.e. the usually anonymous *Archistratis*. This name *Lucina* for *Archistratis* surfaces elsewhere in the *HA* too, cf. 29, RA 13 and 49, RA 2 (app. crit.). The

proximity of the expression *cogente Lucina* to Greek is proved by e.g. Arist., *Epist.* 1,19 (ed. Herscher, p.150) καὶ δὴ συνείληφεν ἀσφαλῶς (sc. hetaera quaedam), εἶτα τῆς Εἰλειθυίας ἐγκαίρως ἐφισταμένης τίκτει παιδίον ἀστεῖον 'and she became pregnant without any risk (during the period of pregnancy) and with the assistance just in time of the goddess of childbirth she gave birth to a fine boy.' Arguments can certainly be advanced for the reading *septimo mense* (RB). The narrative framework (24, RA/RB 2 *mense sexto* and 25, RB 6 *aliquot dies*) requires that the period of pregnancy be kept as brief as possible. And *cogente Lucina* makes most sense in a literal interpretation. Compelled by Lucina, she bears a seven-month child. *RB* might even be given preference. Nevertheless *RA* deserves priority, precisely through the absence of strict logic: popular stories are less concerned with logic after all (cf. R. Helm in his criticism of Klebs's position, *Wo.klPh* 3 [1900], p.64).

The further textual genesis in *RB* is also interesting (from *luce* **b** to *crepusculo lucis* **π**), since special gifts were attributed to children born at dawn or dusk.

enixa <**est**> **puella** <**puellam**> (RA) ~ *enixa est puella puellam* (RB). The text of *RA* is difficult to restore here too: **P** reads (*nono mense cogente*) *enixa lucina puella*. The editorial addition is based on *est* **Rα** and *enixa est Lucina puellam* **Rα** (**LGAtr.**). Though ThLL V,2 597,38 ff. gives no example of the parataxis in *puella puellam*, nor of *puellam* as object, we can point to the frequent parataxis of nouns in the family context, cf. G. Landgraf, *ALL* 5 (1888). Thus Williams (in his commentary on Verg., *Aen.* 5,569 *parvus Atys pueroque puer dilectus Iulo*) refers to Verg., *Aen.* 1,684 *notos pueri puer indue vultus*; 3,329 *me famulo famulamque Heleno transmisit habendam*; 10,600 *fratrem ne desere frater*. He even calls it 'a type common in Greek'. Perhaps we can therefore assume that our place originally read: (?) κόρη ἔτεκε κόρην, cf. LSJ, s.v. κόρη (1): ἔτεκε κόραν (in inscriptions); ibid. (2): 'young wife' (said of *Archistratis*). (Schmeling, *Notes*, p.146 [on ed. 18,9] refers in support to 43, RA 20 *nulla nullam* **AVa^{c}P**.) As usual in the upper classes, the delivery probably took place in the so-called λοχειαῖος/λοχήφορος δίφρος 'delivery-chair' (Fr. 'chaise d'enfantement', Germ. 'Gebärstuhl'). The midwife would sit or kneel to help bring the child into the world, cf. 25, RA 30 *tolli* (comm.). If complications arose, the labouring woman could be laid on a bed, which is probably the case here, cf. *Der Neue Pauly* 4 (Stuttgart 1998), s.v. Geburt, p.836. For Greek descriptions of such a chair, cf. H. Grégoire ~ M.A. Kugener, *Marc le Diacre, Vie de Porphyre évêque de Gaza*, Paris 1930, p.118. Fine depictions of such a delivery-chair can be found in N. Demand, *Birth, Death, and Motherhood in Classical Greece*, 1994, London (The Johns Hopkins University Press), pp.157-66.

25, RA 10-11 Sed secundis rursum redeuntibus coagulato sanguine conclusoque spiritu subito defuncta est. ‘But the afterbirth went back again, her blood congealed, her breathing was blocked, and suddenly she died.’

25, RB 8-9 Sed secundis sursum redeuntibus coa<g>ul<a>to sanguine conclusoque spiritu defunctae repraesentavit effigiem. ‘She gave the impression of being dead.’

secundis rursum redeuntibus (RA: *sursum* RB): This term with the following two terms recurs in reports of Tharsia’s birth (see 29, RA 14/RB 12; 44, RA 10/RB 12). The term *secundae* (sc. *membranae*) or the longer form *secundinae* (Vulg., Deut. 28:75) means ‘afterbirth’ (Konstan, graphically: ‘the placenta’). In particular the form *secundae* is established (cf. Lewis & Short, s.v.). It corresponds to τὰ δευτέρια/δευτεραῖα (with the singular τὸ δευτέριον in the same sense), cf. LSJ, s.v. δευτέριος ‘of inferior quality (2). τὸ δ. or τὰ δ. *afterbirth*. Aquila, *Deuteronomy* 28, 57’; cf. Steph. Byz., s.v. Δευτέριον, Secundae. Other possible substrates are τὰ ὑστήρια ‘afterbirth’/τὸ ὕστερον.

The original reading of β is amusing: *oculis* ‘her eyes fail’, probably to eliminate the rather coarse details of the *secundae*.

rursum (RA) ~ *sursum* (RB): Here and in the corresponding place 29, RB 12 *RB* reads *sursum*. Though the difference here is minimal and alternation between *s* and *r* is frequent in codd. because of their similar form (in the *HA*: 43, RA 25 *videas* = videar; 44, RA 5 *consuere* = conruere), I am inclined to argue for *rursum*, since the pleonastic combination ἀνέρχομαι (‘*go*’ or ‘*come back*’) and ἄψ or αὖθις ‘again’ is found often, cf. LSJ, s.v. II (with reference to Hom., *Il.* 4,392; *Od.* 1,317).

coagulato sanguine conclusoque spiritu (RA/RB): The two abl. abs. represent exactly the prevailing medical view: blood coagulates (Gr. συμπήγνυμι) and impedes the flow of breath, air (πνεῦμα) via the veins (*venae*, φλέβες): air and breath were believed to fill the veins (doctrine of Hippocrates, cf. 27, RA 6-8).

subito defuncta est (RA) ~ *defunctae repraesentávit effigiem* (RB) (*t*). This being ‘ἄπνους’ results in what we would call a ‘coma’. Antiquity does not have a specific term for this. Hence the term *defuncta est* (‘She died’, cf. OLD, s.v. *defungor* (3); Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. νεκρός: ‘mögl. auch *wie tot, für tot*’), which is immediately qualified by *RA*’s next sentence. *RB* has

recognized this objection and overcome it splendidly by paraphrasing 'she gave the appearance of one who has died'. This description is found both in Latin and in Greek literature: OLD, s.v. *repraesento* (3 b): 'to show (an appearance or likeness)', offers a number of parallels, e.g. Val. Max. 8,11, *ext.* 5 *Iovis* (imaginem) *aliquanto augustiorem repraesentaturus*; Col. 8,17,6 *non erit alienum per stagni spatia disponere* (scopulos), *et repraesentare faciem maris*. So it is not necessary (as Garin, *Mnem.* 42 [1914] p.203 and Kerényi, p.37 n.51 do) to resort to Greek periphrases like Charit. 1,5,1 νεκρᾶς εἰκόνα πᾶσιν παρέχουσα 'representing to all the appearance of one who has died' (for the context, see further on in this note). This change probably reflects *RB*'s flair for language and erudition. (Schmeling [1988], p.60, 14-15; *Notes*, pp.389-90 *aliter*.)

The syndrome described here probably goes back to what Greek physicians call ἀναδρομή, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀναδρομή (4.b): Hippocr., *Liqu.* 6 ἀναδρομὴ γυναικείων 'reflux of the *partes muliebres*'; Steph. Byz. s.v. ὑστέρα (*vulva, uterus*).

25, RA 12 (Non fuit mortua, sed quasi mortua.) (RA) ~ (RB /) '(She was not dead, but she seemed to be.)'

At first sight we could swear to an interpolation here. Since Ring (1888) and Riese (1893) editors have in fact regarded it so, most recently Schmeling (1988). After all, the sentence seems to remove all suspense from the story, or as Rohde[3], p.424 says: 'Sehr ungeschickt ist es aber namentlich, wie durch eben diese Vorausverkündigung der Dichter selbst sich alle Spannung unterbindet.'

Nevertheless there are real arguments for regarding the sentence as authentic.

1. The sentence itself clarifies *defuncta est*. Whatever word **H(Gr)** or **HA(Gr)** used to indicate the state of ἄπνους, the term itself, like the verb ἀποπνέω, implies an ambivalence which simply demands elucidation; for the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. ἀποπνέω 1. *respirare*: Long. 1,25,2 οἶον δὲ ἀποπνεῖ τὸ στόμα 'what a sweet breath comes from her mouth'; 2. *spirare, morire*: Heliod. 8,8,3 καὶ ὁμοῦ τε ἡ γραῦς ἀπέπνει 'and the old woman was breathing her last'. Hence the additional explanation in Charit. 1,5,1 in a similar situation of apparent death: Καλλιρόη μὲν οὖν ἄφωνος καὶ ἄπνους ἐπέκειτο νεκρᾶς εἰκόνα πᾶσιν παρέχουσα 'So Callirhoe lay there unconscious, not breathing: she looked to everyone as if she were dead' (though she certainly was not, see the next point).
2. The motive of suspense taken for granted by Rohde does not apply to the ancient Novel as it does to us: from the outset Xen. Eph. bases his

novel on an oracular pronouncement which predicts a happy ending for the lovers (1,6,2); in their misery the lovers – and the reader! – therefore remain hopeful, precisely because of the oracle (1,10,10); they beseech Apollo that the happy oracular ending may be fulfilled (5,1,13). The editors of Heliodorus (R.M. Rattenbury and T.W. Lumb [Tom. I, Introd. p.XIX]) note: 'Heliodore <...> commet la faute de révéler trop tôt son plus important secret.' In this carefree stage setting the novelist sometimes uses terms which he might have avoided on closer consideration. Thus Xenonphon says of (normally) fatal poison: Xen. Eph. 3,5,11 θανάσιμον μὲν οὐχὶ φάρμακον 'the poison indeed was not deathly'; of someone in a state of suspended animation we are immediately told: Xen. Eph. 3,7,1 οἱ μὲν ᾤκτειρον τὴν δοκοῦσαν τεθνηκέναι 'Some pitied the girl who had apparently died.' This also applies to popular stories, cf. e.g. Pall., *Hist. Laus.* (ed. Bartelink) c.29, l.27 (an angel in respect of a monk) ἐξέτεμεν αὐτοῦ τοὺς διδύμους οὐ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ φαντασίαν 'he excised the monk's testicles, not in reality, but seemingly.'

3. The brackets and general formulation are also in keeping with the Greek Novel. For the brackets, compare Xen. Eph. 3,7,4 (ἡ δὲ ἔκειτο ἀναισθητοῦσα) '(She was still lying insensible)'; Heliod. 10,35,1 τοῦ τε τριβωνίου (τοῦτο γὰρ ἔτυχεν ἀμπεχόμενος) 'of the threadbare cloak (he was dressed just in such a garment)'; id. 10,36,1 ὁ πρεσβύτης (ἦν δὲ ἄρα ὁ Χαρικλῆς) 'the old man (it was Charikles)'. For the combination *quasi mortua* the Greek Novel likes to use ἡμιθανής/ἡμιθνής/ἡμίθνητος 'half-dead', cf. *Less.*, ss.vv. (Charit. 3,3,16; 3,4,6; 3,5,4; Achill. Tat. 3,4,6; 3,13,7; Heliod. 1,1,3).

If we look at these arguments as a whole, there is little reason, I believe, to regard the sentence as non-authentic. It fits well with a rather literal translation. Its absence in *RB* accords with the usual pattern of abridgement.

The motif of the apparently dead Archistratis in the *HA* is extremely common in Greek romances, cf. Charit. 1,4-9; Xen. Eph. 3,6-8; Achill. Tat. 3,15; 5,7-9; Heliod. 2,3,5; 6,14; Iamblich. c.4, 6-7 (ed. Hercher I, 222-224); Antonius Diog. cc.6-7; Apul., *Met.* 2,29; 10,11. For literature, cf. J. Bolte, 'Die Sage von der erweckten Scheintoten', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, 20 Jahrg., 1910, pp.353-381; R. Söder, pp.87-88; Calderini, pp.72-73, p.117; G. Schmeling, 'Manners and Morality in the "Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri"' in: *Piccolo mondo antico* (ed. P. Liviabella Furiani – A.M. Scarcella), Perugia 1989, pp.199-215 n.14; B. Wesseling, *Leven, Liefde en Dood*: zelfmoord, vermeende dood, huwelijk en dood: motieven in antieke romans [s.l.: s.n.] (diss. Groningen, 1993), *passim*; J. Winkler, 'Lollianos and the desperados', *JHS* 100 (1980), pp.155-81

(esp. pp.173-5), G.W. Bowersock, *Fiction as History. Nero to Julian*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, pp.99-119; S.C. McGill, 'The Literary Lives of a *Scheintod*: *Clithophon and Leucippe* 5.7 and Greek Epigram', *ClQ* NS 50,1 2000, pp.323-6. For the further influence of this theme in hagiography and literature, see the note at the end of this chapter.

25, RA 12-14	Quod cum viderent familia <cum> clamore et ululatu magno, cucurrit Apollonius et vidit coniugem suam iacentem exanimem; 'When the servants saw this and shouted and wailted loudly, Apollonius came running and saw his wife lying lifeless;'
25, RB 9-10	Subito exclamat familia: currit Apollonius et vidit coniugem suam exanimem iacentem.

viderent familia (RA) ~ *exclamat familia* (RB): Though *familia* in the sense of 'one's personal servants' 'retinue' forms part of the earliest Latin vocabulary (cf. OLD, s.v. *familia* [3.b.]), it may be directly based here on Greek, e.g. ἡ θεραπεία = θεραπόντων ὄχλος, cf. LSJ, s.v. θεραπεία (IV) 'body of attendants' 'retinue'; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. θεραπεία. A good example is Luke 12:42 *Quis, putas, est fidelis dispensator et prudens, quem constituit dominus supra familiam suam* (Gr. ὃν καταστήσει ὁ κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς θεραπείας αὐτοῦ). The fact that this *familia* consists of both men and women (*nutrix, obstetrix*) explains the *constr. ad sensum*. The Greek Novel often uses this *constructio* κατὰ σύνεσιν, esp. with ὄχλος, δῆμος *etc.*, cf. Xen. Eph. 1,3,1 ἦλθον <...> ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος, cf. id. 1,10,6; 5,12,1; Achill. Tat. 8,14,2 πᾶς ὁ δῆμος <...> ἐλοιδόρουν, cf. id. 8,16,5; Heliod., 2,27,1; 10,31,1. So *RB*'s reading *exclamat* should in fact be rejected. The verb itself is based on the *RA* reading *clamore*.

<**cum**> **clamore et ululatu magno** (RA) ~ (RB /): <*cum*> (RA /): An addition suggested by Riese [1893] and accepted by modern editors (Konstan [1985], Schmeling [1988]) as having dropped out before *clamore*. But we cannot rule out the possibility of an isolated abl. of cause/manner. The two nouns represent the shouting of men and the wailing of women respectively, both forming part of the *familia*. This distinction is firmly anchored in the epic tradition: for *ululatus* as typical of women, cf. Pease on Verg. *Aen.* 4,667 *femineo ululutu*, where Servius notes: '*proprio feminarum*'; Plin., *Epist.* 6,20,14 *audires ululatus feminarum, infantum quiritatus, clamores virorum*. He also refers there to Hom., *Il.* 22,409 ἀμφὶ δὲ λαοὶ κωκυτῷ τ' εἴχοντο καὶ οἰμωγῇ κατὰ ἄστυ 'the people all around were wailing and crying throughout the city', where the scholia assign οἰμωγή

to men and κωκυτός 'wailing' to women. The Greek Novel also has this dichotomy: Achill. Tat. 3,2,8 συμμιγὴς δὲ πάντων ἐγίνετο βοή: <…> ὀλολυγμὸς γυναῖκων, ἀλαλαγμὸς ἀνδρῶν 'It was a pandemonium of noise <…> the shrill shouts of women, the hoarser cries of men'; Heliod. 3,5,2 ὠλόλυξαν μὲν αἱ γυναῖκες, ἠλάλαξαν δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες 'the women cried aloud, the men shouted'. Elsewhere too: Synes., *Epist.* 3 (ed. Herscher, *Epistolographi graeci*, p.641[c]) (in danger of shipwreck) πρὸς τοῦτο αἴρεται θόρυβος, ἀνδρῶν οἰμωγή, γυναικῶν ὀλολυγή. It is clear that *RB*'s elimination has not only done violence to the Latin text, but has probably also removed a Greek remnant.

cum viderent <…> **cucurrit** <…> **vidit** (RA) ~ *exclamat* <…> *currit* <…> *vidit* (RB): *RB* prefers three independent verbal forms, two of which are in the historical present. Both Schmeling ([1988], p.18, ll.12-13) and Hunt ([1984], p.356; [2001], p.155) tamper unnecessarily with the transmitted reading *et vidit* **P**, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. tempora verborum (1).

cucurrit (RA) ~ *currit* (RB): The now following passage describes the general signs of mourning, common in Latin and Greek Antiquity (see esp. the account of Anthia's apparent death [Xen. Eph. 3,7,1]), but also far beyond it: e.g. Ov., *Met.* 11,681 *percutit ora manu laniatque a pectore vestes|pectoraque ipsa ferit: nec crines solvere curat; scindit* (sc. eos); Lucian., *De luctu* 12 οἰμωγαὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ κωκυτὸς γυναικῶν καὶ παρὰ πάντων δάκρυα καὶ στέρνα τυπτόμενα καὶ σπαραττομένη κόμη καὶ φοινισσόμεναι παρείαι καί που καὶ ἐσθὴς καταρρήγνυται καὶ κόνις ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πάττεται 'there were lamentations on these events, shrill shouts of women, tears from all, beating on the breast, tearing of hair, ripping up of cheeks, indeed, somewhere clothes were torn to rags and ashes sprinkled on the head.' Or from a totally different world, Hrotsvitha van Gandersheim, *Abraham* (ed. P. de Winterfeld, 1965, p.150) (where Abraham reports the reaction of his violated niece Maria) *At ubi ipsa infelix se corruptam sensit, pectus pulsavit, faciem manu laceravit, vestes scidit, capillos eruit, voces in altum eiulando dedit*. In particular hagiography supplies many parallels (Mombrit., I p.50, 30-40 [Vita S. Alexii Confessoris]; 385,46; 446,40; 454,4; 541,37; etc.). In attributing details to certain authors, we therefore need to exercise great caution.

exanimem (RA/RB): Probably a direct translation of ἄπνοος 'breathless', cf. *Less.*, s.v. (with the ambiguity: '*senza respiro*' and '*senza fiato*' [per suonare]).

25, RA 14-16 scidit a pectore vestes unguibus et primas suae adulescentiae discerpit barbulas et lacrimis

p<ro>fusis iactavit se super corpusculum et coepit amarissime flere atque dicere: 'he ripped the clothes from his breast with his nails, tore out the first growth of his youthful beard, and in a flood of tears threw himself on the dead body. He began to cry most bitterly, and said:'

25, RB 11-12 A<b>sc<i>ndit a pectore vestes unguibus, primas adolescentiae genas discerpit et lacrimas fundens iactavit se super pectus et ait:

scidit (RA: *Abscindit* RB) **a pectore vestes** (RA/RB): A general sign of mourning both in Latin (cf. Klebs, p.215 n.2) and in Greek, cf. (?) καταρρήγνυμι, (περι)-ρήγνυμι, LSJ, s.v. περιρρήγνυμι: 'freq. of clothes'; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v.; extremely popular in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. περιρρήγνυμι; Riese [1893] *Index*, s.v. *scindo* already pointed to Xen. Eph. 3,10,1 ὁ Ἁβροκόμης περιέρρηξε τὸν χιτῶνα καὶ μεγάλως ἀνωδύρετο καλῶς μὲν καὶ σωφρόνως ἀποθανοῦσαν Ἀνθίαν 'Habrocomes tore his tunic to shreds and in a loud voice mourned Anthia's chaste and noble death.' But compare also Vulg. Matt. 26:65 *Tunc princeps sacerdotum scidit vestimenta sua* (Gr. διέρρηξεν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ), cf. Mark 14:63 (LSJ does not give a Greek equivalent for *abscindere* [RB]).

unguibus (RA/RB): A painful detail, cf. Verg., *Aen.* 4,673 *unguibus ora soror foedans et pectora pugnis* (cf. comm. Pease, ad loc.); it occurs frequently in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. ὄνυξ 'unghie'.

primas suae adulescentiae discerpit barbulas (RA) ~ *primas adolescentiae genas discerpit* (RB): *Barbula* must have the meaning 'beard hair' here, in contrast to the normal meaning 'short beard', cf. OLD, s.v. *barbula*: Lucil. 321 *barbula prima*; Cic., *Caec.* 33 *non hac barbula, qua iste delectatur, sed illa horrida, quam in statuis antiquis <…> videmus* (ThLL II 1748,31 passes over this anomaly. Klebs, p.274 n.4 can be ignored). The anomaly can perhaps be explained via (?) τρίχες or ἴουλοι 'down', 'the first growth of the <…> beard', which does take a pl. form, cf. Hom., *Od.* 11,319 πρίν σφωϊν ὑπὸ κροτάφοισιν ἰούλους ἀνθῆσαι 'before the time that the first downy hairs began to flourish under their temples.' For the possible use of τρίχες, cf. Aesch., *Pers.* 1056 γενείου θρίξ; Achill. Tat. 2,18,3 τῶν γενείων ἐψίλωντο τὰς τρίχας 'they ripped their beards from their jaws'. (An origin in γενειάδες seems far-fetched, cf. LSJ, s.v. γενειάς 'beard'.) So the **HA(Gr)** depicted Apollonius hier as ἀρτιγένειος 'with the beard just sprouting', cf. Long. 1,15,1 (μειρακίσκος); 4,10,1. *RB* normalizes, cf. OLD, s.v. *gena* (1): 'The side of the face, cheek (frequently by growth of beard, <…> indicating age)': e.g. Stat., *Silv.* 2,6,45 *primo <…> micantes flore genae*; cf. also

CE 1399,4 (*christ.*) *implebat roseas barbula grata genas*; ThLL VI,2 1764,81. The custom itself is well-known as a sign of mourning: Arist., *Ran.* 424 (derisively) τὸν Κλεισθένη δ'ἀκούω ἐν ταῖς ταφαῖσι <…> σπαράττειν τὰς γνάθους 'I hear that Kleisthenes at the funeral ceremonies <…> was plucking his jaws', often (in imitation of Hom., *Il.* 24,710; *Od.* 10,567) said of the tearing of hair by women. Also in the Greek Novel: Charit. 3,10,4 Καλλιρρόη <…> χαμαὶ καθεσθεῖσα καὶ κόνιν τῆς κεφαλῆς καταχέασα, τὰς κόμας σπαράξασα τοιούτων ἤρξατο βοῶν 'Callirhoe <…> sat on the ground, poured dust over her head, tore her hair, and began to utter her lament', cf. Xen. Eph. 2,5,6, Μαντὼ <…> σπαράξασα τὰς κόμας καὶ περιρρηξαμένη τὴν ἐσθῆτα 'Manto <…> dishevelled her hair and tore her clothes.'

iactavit se super corpusculum (RA) ~ *iactavit se super pectus* (RB). *RA* could be a direct translation from Greek (with the usual reservation): (?) ἔρριψεν ἑαυτόν ἐπὶ τὸ σωμάτιον (σῶμα) 'dead body'. Roman readers would not have had any problems with the translation. For *se iactare*, see ThLL VII 49,22-35; for *corpusculum* (the diminutive expresses affection), see also ThLL IV 1026,36-43; Garvin (on *Vitae Patrum Em.* 1,26), p.305; *passim* in hagiographical sources, cf. 24, RA 2. Greek likes to express itself similarly. For ῥίπτω ἐμαυτὸν ἐπί τινος/τινα, cf. Charit. 3,6,6 ἐπὶ γῆς μόνος ἔρριψεν ἑαυτόν 'he threw himself on the ground, alone'; Xen. Eph. 2,8,1 ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ γῆς ῥίψας (many variations are of course possible: (ἐπι)πίπτω, βάλλω ἐμαυτόν). For σωμάτιον 'corpse', cf. LSJ, s.v. (2), with some references to 2nd-3rd c. AD (Pap. in *Studi Ital.* 12 [1935] 99; Pap. Lips. 30,13). But because σωμάτιον does not occur in this sense in Bauer and Lampe, and is generally lacking in *Less.*, it may be that the diminutive comes from the translator, i.e. *RA*. J.B. Hofmann, *Beiträge* p.100, points out that the change from Greek *simplicia* to Latin *deminutiva* is often found in Ruf., *Vit. Patr.*: e.g. ἀγγεῖον – vasculum; γραῦς – anicula; μάχαιραν – cultellum; πτωχόν – pauperculum; τράπεζαν – mensulam; ψωμός – buccella; φακοῦ – lenticulae; (This discussion shows that Klebs's suggestion *corpus*[*culum*], p.271, p.274 n.4 should be flatly rejected.)

super (RA/RB): To be taken literally: Verg., *Aen.* 9,444 *tum super exanimem sese proiecit amicum*; Greg. Magn., *Dial.* 2,32 *ubi dum vir Dei <…> pervenisset, flexit genu et super corpusculum infantis incubuit seseque erigens ad caelum palmas tetendit*; Greg. Tur., *Hist. Franc.* 3,5 (SS. R. Merov. I^{2} p.101,12) *pater <…> super cadaver exanime ruens, flere coepit amarissime*; *Vita Martini* (Mombr. II 199,5): *cellulam, in qua corpus iacebat, ingreditur exclusisque omnibus turbis superstratus corpori aliquantisper oravit*; also in the OT (cf. 1 Kgs. 17:21; 2 Kgs. 4:34). For the Greek Novel, cf. Xen. Eph. 3,7,2-3; Achill. Tat. 5,7,8; Heliod. 2,3,4.

corpusculum (RA) ~ *pectus* (RB); Perhaps this change (prudishness?) can be explained via the custom outlined above. But the change may also be simply due to a delight in variatio, cf. Verg., *Georg.* 4,217 (apes) *corpora* (v.l. pectora P) *bello* | *obiectant*; id., *Aen.* 10,486 *ille rapit calidum frustra de vulnere* (v.l. corpore; pectore) *telum*, cf. J.B. Hall, Claudianus, *De raptu Proserpinae*, Cambridge 1969, p.196 (on Claud., 1,46).

coepit amarissime flere atque dicere (RA) ~ *ait* (RB): Klebs, p.271 wrongly regards the *RA* reading as interpolated (cf. above, note on *super*). *RB* eliminates the florid phrase, but keeps it in 45, RB 13. For *amarissime flere*, the ThLL I 1824,4-8 quotes only Vulg. and Christian authors. Specifically for Vulg. Matth. 26:75 and Luke 22:62 *Et egressus foras Petrus flevit amare* (Gr. ἔκλαυσεν πικρῶς) the ThLL notes: '*affertur saepissime*'. For the phrase in hagiography, cf. Mombr. II 40,49 (*Passio S. Jacobi intercisi*) *coepit amare flaere* (sic) *et dicere*; also II 439,25; II 562,42; II 635,57, etc. Perhaps the expression here derived directly from Greek: e.g. *Protevang. Iacobi* 13,1 ἔκλαυσεν πικρῶς.

25, RA 16-17	"Cara coniunx, cara et unica regis filia, quid fuit de te? 'Dear wife, beloved only daughter of a king, what has happened to you?'
25, RB 12-14	"Cara coniunx Archistratis et unica fília régis, (*pl.*)

Here begins the official θρῆνος 'dirge' 'threnody', cf. E. Reiner, *Die rituelle Totenklage der Griechen*, Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft (30), Stuttgart 1938. Perhaps there is a remnant of an original tripartite rhetorical composition consisting of three repetitive and progressively longer questions: (1) *quid fuit de te ?* (2) *quid respondebo?* (3) *quid de te proloquar?* This may also explain the solemn, almost tragic tone in which Apollonius addresses his wife in the *RA*. The tradition is badly mutilated (Haera coniuncx kara **P**), but can be restored via **Rα**. For the addition of the name *Archistratis* (RB), via **R(Gr)**, see Introd. VII.2.2.2. Within the development of the text the name *Archistratis* has been badly mangled in *RB* too, cf. app. crit. The emended reading is supported by **Va** (= **RC**) *Cara coniux Archistratis et unica regis (filia)*. (Schmeling [1988], p.60,18; *Notes*, pp.390-2 *aliter*.)

quid fuit de te? (RA) ~ (RB /): A colloquial expression, cf. Cic., *Fam.* 9,17,1 *fac, ut sciam, quid de nobis futurum sit*. It is very common in hagiography: Mombr. I, p.452,37 *quid factum fuisset de Euphrosyna*; ibid. p.537,57 *quid autem facio de Febronia*; *Mombr.* II, p.74,33 *Da mihi consilium*

quid faciamus de condemnatis illis; ibid. p.126,24 *Quid faciam de hoc fructu*; perhaps Gr. τί ἐγένετο περὶ σοῦ· 'what has become of you?'/'what has happened to you?'

25, RA 17-19 Quid respondebo pro te patri tuo aut quid de te proloquar, qu<ae> me naufragum suscepit pauperem et egenum?" 'How shall I answer for you to your father? What shall I say about you (RB: to the man), who took me in, poor and needy, when I was shipwrecked?'

25, RB 13-14 quid respondebo regi patri tuo, qui me naufragum suscepit?"

The contraposition of these two sentences, which at first sight seem barely connected, calls for a detailed explanation.

Quid respondebo <…> quid proloquor (RA) ~ *Quid respondebo* (RB): A drastic simplification by *RB*, in which he probably eliminates a Greek expression. Greek is fond of juxtaposing two almost synonymous verbs, cf. LSJ, s.v. φημί (2): Demosth. 8,37 τί ἐροῦμεν ἢ τί φήσομεν· 'What shall we say? What shall we tell?', cf. ibid. 25,100; Eurip., *Hel.* 483 τί φῶ; τί λέξω;.

pro te (RA) ~ (RB /): This is difficult to translate, probably 'regarding you'. A Greek substrate text is completely subjective: ὑπὲρ σοῦ, περὶ σοῦ (?). *RB*'s elimination is therefore reasonable.

patri tuo (RA) ~ *regi patri tuo, qui* (RB): By adding *regi* (the same number of syllables as the eliminated *pro te*), omitting the second part *aut quid de te proloquar* (almost identical to the first part), and by means of the direct collocation *patri qui*, which underlines the legal basis, *RB* has skilfully improved the sentence, but done violence to the actual structure.

proloquar (RA) ~ (RB /) 'to utter' 'to speak', cf. OLD, s.v. *proloquor*: Liv. 39,15,4 *nec quid taceam nec quatenus proloquar invenio*; Tac., *Ann.* 3,53 *mihi neque honestum silere neque proloqui expeditum*. The Glossaria suggest προλαλέω, cf. LSJ, s.v. (I) 'to converse first'; (II) 'to state'. This would fit very well.

qu<ae> (RA) (*qui* **P**) ~ *qui* (RB): In itself the reading *qui* (RB) could also be retained in *RA* with a tacit *ei* as antecedent, but *qui* in *RA* does not square with 25, RA 23-24, where the same expression is used for

Archistratis (see the note there). The simplest solution, it seems, is to write *quae* in both places in *RA*. *RB*'s version follows from a different, more legal perspective.

pauperem et egenum (RA) ~ (RB /): This combination has a biblical ring to it: Blaise, *Dict.,* s.v. *pauper* quotes Vulg., Zeph. 3:12 *populum pauperem et egenum*; ThLL V 232,6-25 s.v. *egenus,* quotes e.g. Psalt. Rom. 39,19 *egenus* [Vulg. *mendicus*] *et pauper* (Gr. πτωχὸς καὶ πένης); πένης and πτωχός often occur alongside each other in Greek too, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.* s.v. πένης 'poor'. The conclusion is clear: *RB* plies his shears according to the -classical standard.

25, RA 19-20 Et cum haec et his similia defleret atque ploraret fortiter, introivit gubernius, <q>ui sic ait: 'As he lamented in these and similar terms and wept profusely, the helmsman came in and said:'

25, RB 14-15 Et cum haec et his similia deflens diceret, introivit ad eum gubernator et ait:

haec et his similia (RA/RB): A much-favoured phrase, both in Latin and in Greek (τάδε καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, in many variations), esp. in popular writings. For the *HA,* see 45, RA 1 and 49, RA/RB 1. Pagan authors use it rarely (e.g. Liv., *praef.* 8), the Vulg. sometimes (e.g. Tob. 1:8), Late Latin authors often (Cassiodorus, *passim,* cf. Garvin, p.468), esp. hagiography. We can mention Mombrit. I 43,38 (Agnes); 275,25.276,41 (Chrysanthus and Daria); 333,43 (Caecilia); 343,10 (Clemens); 427,53.428,12 (Domitilla); 572,30 (Gallicanus); Mombrit. II 180,32 (Marcellinus); 391,53.394,32.37 (Eugenia); 459,38.465,8.466,19.471,33 (Sebastianus). The phrase is also very frequent in translated literature (e.g. *Recognitiones, Passio SS. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, Passio Andreae*). It is also found in the Greek Novel: Achill. Tat. 7,2,2 καθ' ἑαυτὸν δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγε καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα 'he said all this and similar things to himself', cf. Long. 1,16,3; Heliod. 1,12,3; 1,27,1; 2,29,1; 4,19,1; 7,10,1; 7,15,1; 8,2,1.

defleret atque ploraret fortiter (RA) ~ *deflens diceret* (RB): The construction in *RA* (*deflere* and *plorare*: both verbs connected with acc.) is exactly paralleled in Xen. Eph. 3,8,7 ταῦτα ἑκάστοτε ἐδάκρυε 'these things she lamented time and again', cf. 5,2,1; 5,8,5; Heliod. 7,15,1 καὶ τοιαῦτα ἔτι καὶ ἕτερα πρὸς τούτοις ἐλεεινῶς ὀδυρομένης 'While she (sc. Charikleia) was still piteously lamenting these and similar things': *RB* has softened the harsh construction by making *haec et his similia* the object of an inserted

diceret. (Konstan's assumption: '*haec et his similia* "in this and like manner": *haec* and *similia* are adverbial accusatives' is less correct in my view.)

ploraret (RA) ~ (RB /): Probably transitive, cf. OLD, s.v. *ploro* (2); see also the previous note, and compare *Less.*, s.v. ὀδύρομαι + acc. But the possibility of taking *plorare* (cf. pleurer) absolutely cannot be ruled out.

introivit (RA) ~ *introivit ad eum* (RB): The reference is probably to a ship's cabin for high-ranking officers, cf. L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*, p.147 'A cabin for the commander', cf. General Index, p.404, s.v. cabin; O. Navarre, Commentaire (on Theophr., *Charact.* XXII), Paris 1924, p.142; LSJ, s.v. δίαιτα (II): 'sailor's *quarters* in a ship', Moschion ap. Ath. 5,207. The corresponding term in Latin is probably *lectina*, *Actus Petri cum Simone* (5th-6th c.), c.5: *et continuo ascenderunt Petrus et Theon et introierunt in lectina*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *lectina*. For *introire* without an object or adjunct, cf. 6, RA 10 (comm.).

gubernius (RA) ~ *gubernator* (RB), cf. 39, RA 26 *ad gubernum* (RB *aliter*): It is unclear why *RA* introduces this very archaic word (1st c. BC), cf. OLD, s.v. *gubernius*: '(Laelius) *gubernium pro gubernatore* <...> *dixit*'; ThLL VI.2. Is it a product of school literature? Or do both words belong to the *sermo plebeius*, without leaving traces in literary language, cf. Gundermann, *ALL* 7 (1892), pp.587-8? Is it merely due to *RA*'s wish to vary? It is relevant that both *gubernio* and *gubernius* surface in Late Latin (and hagiography), cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *gubernio*: Isid., *Orig.* 19,1,4; s.v. *gubernius*: *Actus Petri cum Simone*, c.5. Schmeling, *Notes*, p.146 (on ed. 18,19) refers to *bucinus/bucinator* in Petr., *Sat.* 74,2/26,9. Obviously *RB* is quick to normalize (Klebs, p.256 n.4 regards *gubernius/gubernator* as 'sehr zweifelhaft' = Garbugino, p.45 n.71). Late Greek has the form κυβέρνος 'steersman', cf. Gelzer (1893), Wörterverzeichniss, s.v. Is this, via **R(Gr),** the source of the *RA* reading? Incidentally, this place clearly illustrates that the κυβερνήτης/*gubernator* is the person really in charge on a ship; even the ship's owner bows to his wishes, cf. Rougé (1978), p.279.

25, RA 20-22

"Domine, tu quidem pie facis, sed navis mortuum sufferre non potest. Iube ergo corpus in pelagus mitti, ut possimus undarum fluctus evadere." '"Lord, your behaviour is quite proper, but the ship cannot bear a corpse. So give orders for the body to be thrown into the sea, so that we can get clear of the(se) turbulent waves."'

25, RB 15-16 "Domine, tu quidem pie facis, sed navis mortuum non fert. Iube ergo corpus in pelago mitti."

A most interesting passage from a cultural-historical point of view.

Domine (RA/RB): A respectful address by the *gubernator* in relation to the owner of the fleet (? κύριε). But in these situations the *gubernator* had the final say and could give orders for (part of) the cargo (or ballast) to be thrown overboard: in the present case he sees a different solution.

pie (RA/RB), cf. (?) εὐσεβῶς 'pious' 'religious': To lament the dead is a sacred duty in Antiquity, cf. Reiner, p.19.

mortuum (RA/RB) 'anything dead', 'a corpse'. As Konstan remarks, one might perhaps expect *mortuam*, but the speaker is thinking of the general rule, not the special case. (On the other hand: a translation from νεκρός, σῶμα?) See the commentary on 43, RA 25; 44, RA 2.

sufferre non potest (RA) ~ *non fert* (RB): *RA*'s text is doubtless the best, from the perspective of both Latin and Greek, cf. OLD, s.v. *suffero:* 'to *sustain the weight* or *pressure* of (something physical)'; translation of (?) ὑποφέρω, cf. LSJ, s.v. ὑποφέρω (II): 'to bear a burden'; CGL VII 313. As to why the ship cannot transport a corpse, see note below. *RB*'s reading is difficult to establish: the main manuscript **b** reads *feret*: this can be 'will not carry a corpse', with the imperative sense 'should not carry a corpse' (cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 308: '*non occides*'), or with a sound shift *feret*, i.q. *ferit*, as an alternative form of *fert*, cf. Salonius, p.297; Uddholm, *Formulae Marculfi*, p.93; Walstra, p.123. Because this doublet form also occurs in *RA* (37, RA 17 *referreres* A), I have opted for *fert* **β**[1a]**Mπ**; the most polished reading *ferre potest* is offered by **β** (preferred by Schmeling [1988], ad loc.).

iube ergo corpus in pelagus (RA: *pelago* RB) **mitti** (RA/RB), **ut possimus undarum fluctus evadere** (RA) ~ (RB /). Though this is a completely subjective matter, I would like to propose a Greek translation here: (?) κέλευσον οὖν τὸ σῶμα εἰς πέλαγος ἐκβάλλειν/ἐκβάλλεσθαι, ἵνα (?) δυνηθῶμεν τὰ κύματα τῆς θαλάσσης ἐκβῆναι. Clearly this statement is crucial to establishing the real structure of **HA(Gr)**: *RA* shows plainly traces of ancient superstitution here, i.e. that throwing a contaminated object overboard can assuage the fury of the elements, or pacify storms and waves (cf. 44, RA 9/RB 11 *fluctus et procellas*). This motivation has been deliberately eliminated by *RB*, cf. Introd. III.3. Because *RA* describes all this in a very compressed form (cf. Introd. V), it is useful to say something

about the *RA* reading. The reaction of the *gubernator*, at first sight perhaps vehement (compare also Apollonius' reaction to the proposal), is completely understandable from a classical point of view. Everything that took place on board of Apollonius' ship went against the convictions of religious Romans and Greeks alike. Association with a pregnant woman was to be avoided. A delivery was regarded as a pollution (μίασμα), the traces of which were to be erased as soon as possible. The present situation moreover involved a mysterious complication at birth, resulting in a corpse. (For this kind of pollution in the most general sense, cf. M. van der Valk, 'Zum Worte ὅσιος', *Mnem.* s.III, vol.10 [1942], (p.113 ff.), pp.124-5; Rieß, 'Aberglaube', *RE* I, p.42 ff.; Bouché-Leclerq, *Dict. des Antiq.*, art. *Lustratio*; R. Parker, *Miasma. Pollution and Purification in early Greek Religion*, Oxford, p.257: 'disturbances of the natural order'.) The harrowing feature of our case is that the corpse was thrown overboard on the high seas, so that a (44, RA 11) *sepultura terrae denegata est*. This went against all ancient thinking: a body should be buried, if only symbolically on the beach (cf. K. Plepelits, *Kallirhoe*, Stuttgart 1976, n.35,107). The fact that Archistratis is nevertheless lowered overbaord, after Apollonius' initial resistance, is probably due to a combination of various factors:

1. The belief of the *gubernator* and the sailors that the weather with its swirling winds could keep the ship in the same place, cf. Riese (1893) ad loc. *superstitionem dicit illam, qua naves, in quibus corpora mortuorum sunt, loco moveri non possunt*; A.J. Festugière, 'Le coupable cloué au sol. Lieux communs, littèraires thèmes de folklore dans l'Hagiografie primitive', *WS* 73 (1960), pp.146-8;
2. Parallel to this is the fearful idea that a polluted corpse might provoke the rage of God/Gods (*ira dei*, μῆνις θεοῦ), with the opposite effect, i.e. manifesting itself in heavy weather and storms, cf. D. Wachsmuth, Πόμπιμος ὁ δαίμων, *Untersuchungen zu den antiken Sakralhandlungen bei Seereisen*, Diss. Berlin 1967, p.224 n.746 (with series of examples for 1 and 2 from Greek and Latin literature). The captain is especially afraid of a storm blowing up.
3. The pure and purifying nature of sea water: Archistratis' pollution would be cleansed in this way, cf. the well-known words of Eurip., *Iphig. in Taur.* 1193 θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τἀνθρώπων κακά, cf. J.G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*[3] II (Taboo), p.140 ff.; P. Steinmetz, comm. (on Theophr. *Charact.* 16,12) II, p.203;
4. Finally, the belief that the sea ultimately disgorges that which has at first polluted it, cf. D.J.A. Ross, *Alexander and the faithless Lady, a submarine adventure*, London 1967.

   (Klebs, p.205 n.3 confines himself to referring to Petron. 104 '*audio enim non licere cuiquam mortalium in navi neque ungues neque capillos deponere, nisi cum pelago ventus irascitur*'. But this astrological element is out

of place here [there is no question of this happening in Apollonius' fleet] and ties in more with the description of Apollonius as κάτοχος 'possessed', cf. 28, RA/RB 14.)

undarum fluctus evadere (RA) ~ (RB /): The combination *fluctus* and *unda* is very common of course, cf. ThLL VI 946,4 ff.; it is also found in Late Latin, cf. *Acta Andreae* (ed. Blatt, p.45,24) *enim insurrexerat illis validissima tempestate* (read: tempestas) *maris et fluctuum* (Gr. κλύδων θαλάσσης). Here *undarum fluctus* forms a remarkable *genit. identicus*, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. genitivus. **H(Gr)** is hidden from our view. The reference is to the storm which is detaining Apollonius' fleet at this time and despite everything will continue to detain it, cf. 29, RA 18 *luctantibus ventis* and 44, RA 9/RB 11 *inter fluctus et procellas*.

evadere 'to evade' 'to escape from': Probably corresponding in **H(Gr)** to ἐκβαίνειν/ἐκβῆναι, cf. 8, RB 10 *eventus* (= ἔκβασις/ἀπόβασις).

25, RA 22-23	Apollonius vero dictum aegre ferens ait ad eum: 'Apollonius was upset by this speech, and said to him:'
25, RB 17	Apollonius indignatus ait:

aegre ferens (RA) ~ *indignatus* (RB): A neat elimination of what was probably felt to be a Graecism, cf. LSJ, s.v. χαλεπός (B. II): 'χαλεπῶς φέρειν τι "to take it ill".'

25, RA 23-24	"Quid narras, pessime hominum? Placet tibi ut eius corpus in pelagus mittam, qu<ae> me naufragum suscepit et egenum?" '"What are you saying, worst of men? Do you want me to throw into the sea the body of the woman who took me in, poor and needy, after my shipwreck?"'
25, RB 17-19	"Quid narras, pessime hominum? Placet tibi ut hoc corpus in pelago mittam, qui me suscepit naufragum et egenum?"

narras (RA/RB), cf. Ind. gr., s.v.: Probably has simply the meaning of *dicere* 'what are you saying to me?', cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *dico* (2). This popular usage is found in the earliest Latinity (Terent., *Andria* 461 [Simo] *ab Andriast ancilla haec?* [Davos] *quid narras?* [Simo] *Ita est*) through to the Glossaria: CGL III p.649 *et ille* (sc. portitor) *dixit*: '*Non est hic.*' '*Quid*

narras? sed ubi est?' κἀκεῖνος εἶπεν: 'οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε.' 'τί λαλεῖς: ἀλλὰ ποῦ ἐστιν'; cf. Löfstedt, *Syntact.* II, p.378.

placet tibi, ut (RA/RB): Cf. 17, RA 18/RB 17 comm.

eius corpus <…> **qu<ae>** (*qui* **P**) (RA) ~ *hoc corpus* <…> *qui* (**b**; *quae* **βMπ**) (RB): A highly controversial place since Löfstedt's statement, *Spätl. Studien*, p.42 ('Indertat ist die Stelle in ihrer handschriftliche Fassung [i.e. *eius corpus, qui* RA] zweifelsohne richtig: *qui* ist nur auf *eius* zu beziehen und bezeichnet den König, der den Apollonius aufgenommen hatte: *eius corpus* ist meiner Meinung nach ein ganz unanfechtbarer Ausdruck für 'seine Tochter' <…> wahrscheinlich gibt es im Spätlat. noch mehr Belege <…>'). But perhaps it is wiser – obviously *salva reverentia* – to assume that the same person is meant as six lines above, i.e. Archistratis. In that case *corpus* does not stand for 'the body' but is a translation of σῶμα (cf. LSJ, s.v. σῶμα: '"*body*" of man or beast, but in Hom. always *dead body, corpse*': for late references 2nd-3rd c. AD, see there). The conjecture *quae* is therefore highly plausible (cf. Schmeling, ad loc.). The reading *qui* (**P**, **b**) is due to the decline of the neuter and its replacement by the masculine, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.* §§ 219-22; Blatt, p.135,27 *anima* <…> *corpori* <…> *conexa eumque vivificans*; Excid. Troiae p.45,26; p.47,10; Adams (1976), pp.22,90. The reading *quae* **βMπ** probably lacks authenticity and can be regarded as an (obvious) emendation, viz. (*eius*), *quae*.

25, RA 25-27 Erant ex servis eius fabri, quibus convocatis secari et conpaginari tabulas, r<i>mas et foramina picari praecepit et facere loculum amplissimum. 'There were some craftsmen among his servants; he sent for them and ordered them to cut and join planks, and to stop up the cracks and holes with pitch; he told them to make a very spacious coffin and to seal the joints with lead leaf.

25, RB 19-21 Inter haec vocat fabros navales, iubet coagmentari tabulas et fieri loculum amplissimum et chartis plumbeis circumduci foramina et rimas omnes diligenter picari.

ex servis eius fabri (RA) ~ *fabros navales* (RB): The context presupposes that these *fabri* were among the crew of Apollonius' fleet. Perhaps *fabri* goes back directly to ναυπηγός 'ship's carpenter', cf. CGL VI, p.428. As such they are also mentioned among the regular crew of a ship in Greek

inscriptions, rarely in literature, cf. Husson (1970), pp.5-6; LSJ (+ Suppl.), s.v. The term *fabri* in *RA* is somewhat vague, since *faber* can be used for 'craftsman', 'workman', 'artisan' of various kinds, cf. OLD, s.v. *faber*: Liv. 26,51,7 *fabris omnium generum in publicam officinam inclusis*. Hence *RB*'s specification: *faber navalis*, cf. ThLL VI,1 10,74 ff. (For this procedure, cf. 14, RA 18 *ministeria*; RB 14 *ministeria regalia*.) However, the term *fabri navales* is too broad here, because it refers to ship's carpenters in a shipyard, cf. L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*, p.202 n.6. The reading *servus-faber* (RA ~ RB /) also has something Greek about it, cf. Acta Thomae 2 (ed. Bonnet-Lipsius II,2 p.101,9) Ἔχω δοῦλον τέκτονα. For this typically Greek combination, see e.g. K. Brugmann-A. Thumb, *Griechische Grammatik*[4], München 1913, p.473 ff.; L. Radermacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik*, Tübingen 1925[2], p.107. Naturally these *servi fabri* came under Apollonius' authority, cf. 40, RA 30. *RA*'s reading proves superior to *RB* in every regard.

convocatis (RA) ~ *vocat* (RB): *RA* probably renders more sharply the act of calling together from among the entire fleet.

secari et conpaginari tabulas (RA) ~ *coagmentari tabulas* (RB): Though the Latin terms are cryatal clear (cf. ThLL III, 2000,67, s.v. *conpagino*), they may be directly based on Greek: ξέω 'to shave'; συμπήγνυμι 'to put together', 'to construct'. The reading *coagmentare* (RB) offers the technical term in Latin, cf. OLD, s.v. *coagmento*: 'to join or fasten together': Caes., *Bell. Gall.* 7,23,3 *his collocatis et coagmentatis* (trabibus) *alius insuper ordo additur*.

rimas et foramina picari (RA) ~ *rimas omnes diligenter picari* (RB): The cracks and holes in the wooden skeleton of what is soon to be a *loculus* are filled with pitch (*picari* = πισσόω, cf. LSJ [+ Suppl.], s.v.πισσόω) as in the case of ships, cf. Schol. Arist., *Plut.* 1093 πισσόω τὰς ναῦς; Hesych. s.v. μέλαιναι νῆες: πισσόχριστοι νῆες; Aug. *De civ. Dei*, 3,31 *ut pices navium solverentur*. *RB* probably omits *foramina* because large holes are difficult to close in this way. An interesting variant reading (in the *Red. Tegernsee*) is *bituminari*: the material for waterproofing in Antiquity was often a mixture of pitch and bitumen, cf. Gen. 6:14 (Noah's Ark) *bitumine linies* (sc. arcam) *intrinsecus et extrinsecus*; Ex. 1:2 (the basket in which Moses is laid as a foundling: *linivit eam* (sc. fiscellam scirpeam) *bitumine ac pice*.

facere loculum amplissimum (RA) ~ *fieri loculum amplissimum* (RB): A fine example of *RB*'s urge to correct, cf. J. Compernass, '*curare, facere, iubere* usw. "lassen" mit Inf. Act.', *Glotta* VI (1915), pp.170-1. He esp. points to the usage in hagiography and the possibility of a similar usage in Greek, e.g. Xenoph., *Anab.* 1,4,14 Τί οὖν κελεύω ποιῆσαι.

loculus (RA/RB): This word is used *passim* in the *HA*, in the sense of *sarcophagus* (Riese [1893], Index s.v. *loculus*), cf. Ind. verb s.v. This sense is rarely attested in authors from the 5th-6th c. Heraeus, *Kleine Schriften*, mentions only two authors: Eugipp., *Vita S. Severini* (CSEL 9,II) c.43; Anton. Placent., *Itinerarium* (CSEL 39) p.188,14; while Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *loculus* (3) quotes Ps. Aug., *Serm.* 23,3 *invenit in loculo* (talking about Moses in the wicker basket, cf. Vulg., Ex. 1:2). Clearly the word thus forms an important time-marker. It is completely unclear what Greek word underlies here: λάρναξ 'chest', cf. *Less.*, s.v. (Iambl. 21,4; Achill. Tat. 2,36,4; 2,37,4) or σορός 'coffin', preferred by Achill. Tatius, cf. *Less.*, s.v. The most obvious Greek equivalent is σωματοθήκη/σωματοθήκιον 'sarcophagus', but this word is not attested for the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*

25, RA 27-28 Et charta plumbea obturari iubet e<um> inter iuncturas tabularum. 'And he ordered the coffin to be stopped up with leaden sheets between the joints of the boards.'

charta plumbea obturari (RA) ~ *chartis plumbeis circumduci foramina* (RB): Technically very hard to explain. *RA* sees it as a final action after completion of the *loculus* (this is probably right): *RB* has inserted the action (with a slight adjustment in the word order) in the working procedure. The collocation *charta plumbea* 'a thin sheet or leaf of metal' is not uncommon, cf. OLD, s.v. charta (4): Suet., *Nero* 20,1 *plumbeam chartam supinus sustinere et clystere vomituque purgari*, cf. ThLL III 999,55. It may derive directly from Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. χάρτης (2): χ. μολύβδινοι 'sheets of lead'. CGL VII,11 connects *obturo* with βυνέω, cf. LSJ, s.v. (2) 'to *stop* or *plug* with'. This term would fit the context very well: 'a wooden coffin waterproofed with lead'. Antiquity repeatedly mentions sarcophagi made wholly or partly of lead. Thus the writings of Numa Pompilius were found in a stone sarcophagus of which the lid had been sealed with lead, cf. Liv. 40,29,3; P. Klopsch, *Pseudo-Ovidius De vetula*, p.26 n.27, p.30; Greg. Tur., *gloria mart.* 33 [ed. Bonnet p.758] talks about a *sarcophagum plumbeum* <...> *delatum est*. Discoveries from excavations confirm this practice.

25, RA 28-29 Quo perfecto locul<o> regalibus ornamentis ornat puellam, in loculo composuit et XX sestertia auri ad caput eius posuit. 'When the coffin was ready he adorned the girl in royal finery, laid her in it, and put twenty thousand gold sesterces at her head.'

25, RB 21-23 Quo perfecto regalibus ornamentis decoratam puellam in loculo conposuit, cum fletu magno dedit osculum. Et viginti sestertia super caput ipsius posuit.

Quo perfecto locul<o> (RA) ~ *Quo perfecto* (RB): The reading *loculum* **P** (followed by Ring, Riese [1893]) seems formed from a wrong combination, viz. *loculum* <...> *ornat, puellam* <...> *composuit*. I have preferred a full relative *Quo perfecto loculo* on the basis of **Rα(G)**, cf. 26, RA/RB 6 *puellam regalibus ornamentis ornatam* (RA: *decoratam* RB); 44, RA 11-12/RB 13. The rest of the sentence, as formulated in *RA*, may be a direct translation of **R(Gr)**: *RB* is merely a slight stylistic variant of *RA*.

regalibus ornamentis RA/RB, cf. *Less.*, s.v. κόσμος βασιλικός, in particular in Charit. 8,3,12.13; Xen. Eph. 3,7,4 ἐκόσμει δὲ αὐτὴν πολλὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐνδύων, πολὺν δὲ περιθεὶς χρυσόν (cf. *ad caput eius* RA) 'He laid her out in all her finery and surrounded her with a great quantity of gold.'

ornat (RA) ~ *decoratam* (RB): For the importance of *RA* as a translation of the terminus technicus κοσμεῖν, see Introd. VI.2. *RB* eliminates this valuable element.

in loculo composuit (RA; *con-* RB): Probably in the sense of 'to lay', cf. ThLL III 2115,30 ff. It is not easy to find a suitable equivalent in Greek: Achill. Tat. 3,21,6 ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς εἰς τὴν σορὸν (sc. τὸ σῶμα) καταθήσομεν 'but we will lay it in the coffin', cf. ook συντίθημι, περιστέλλω, cf. LSJ, ss.vv.

cum fletu magno dedit osculum (RB): Moved forward by *RB*, see 25, RA 29.

XX sestertia auri (RA) ~ *viginti sestertia* (RB): '20 *sestertia* (i.e. 20 x 1000 *sestertii*) of gold' (for the ellipsis of *milia*, cf. OLD, s.v. *sestertius* [3.b]). The name itself has been much debated in the literature dealing with the *HA*, with significant consequences for provenance and textual genesis. A detailed discussion following the various phases of the *HA* is therefore required.

1. *RA* (late 5th c.) and, to a lesser degree, *RB* (6th c.) have no idea of the value nor of the exact name. Thus *RA* constantly talks about *sestertia auri* (cf. Ind. verb., s.v. sestertius), though the actual *sestertius* was a silver coin, cf. Garbugino, p.51. In fact *RA* shares this ignorance with contemporaries like the scholar Greg. Tur., *Miracula, Opera Minora* (ed. Br. Krusch), p.49,25 *sestertias auri ibidem adgregatas*. *RB*, by contrast, is familiar with this detail: hence he consistently omits *auri*, cf. Ind., s.v.

sestertius. The value scale, too, is extremely undifferentiated. If in the case of *aureus* ~ χρυσοῦς we could still discern a certain value scale with excesses relating to the main characters (cf. 10, RA 9-11/RB 7-9 [comm.]), for the *sestertia auri* the indication of value is highly stereotypical and revolves around the numbers 10.000-20.000-200.000. (For 10.000, cf. 27, RA 18 [finder's fee]; 33, RA 7.10/RB 6 [purchase price of slaves]; 40, RA 36 [for support after *lupanar*]; – for 20.000, cf. 25, RA 29/RB 23; 26, RA 11/RB 21; 29, RA 16/RB 14; 44, RA 13/RB 14; 48, RA 36/RB 28 [for royal funeral]; – for 200.000, cf. 51, RA 21/RB 17 [reward for the poor *piscator*]; RB 40,29 *ducenta sestertia et XX aureos* [for support after *lupanar*]. The relative value of the various sums is also askew. It is hard not to feel that neither *RA* nor *RB* has any idea of the actual value: thus in the present place *RA/RB* lay down 20.000 *sestertii* (an impossibly large amount of money) at the head of the queen as if a few coins were involved; 40, RB 29 combines 200.000 *sestertii* in the same breath with 20 *aurei*.

2. The question is whether such a treatment of money and monetary values should be taken seriously. Klebs (pp.191-6) particularly latched onto these names of coins (see also 10, RA 9/RB 8 *aureus* replaced by *solidus*) for his theory of **Hi**, cf. Introd. I. *Stemmata*. It is true that 'Mit dem Anfang des vierten Jahrhunderts verschwindet sie (d.h. die Rechnung nach Sesterzen) völlig: allgemein und unbedingt tritt an ihre Stelle die Follar-Rechnung' (Klebs, pp.193-4). Renowned numismatists have underlined this change of name, cf. J.P. Callu, *La politique monétaire des empereurs romains de 238 à 311*, Paris 1969, pp.145-6; R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire*, Cambridge 1982[2], pp.251-6. In their assessment of the *HA* they were guided by the authority of Klebs (pp.193-6), cf. Duncan-Jones, p.251. (The latter was therefore counted among the supporters of a Latin original, cf. Schmeling [1988], Praef. VII). Yet other voices have argued that names of coins should not be taken as an absolute guide, cf. the scepticism in Rohde[3], p.452 n.4. Precisely names of coins like 'guinea' 'farthing' (cf. 'not give a brass farthing') have a long life. (For further examples, see *Mnem.*, Vol. LI, fasc. 2 (1998) [pp.176-91] n.13). Thus as well as *sextertius* we also find the form *sestertia* (fem. sing.) in Greg. Tur., *Gloria mart.* 18 (ed. Krusch, 1885 [repr. 1969], p.49,26). On the basis of the above objections we have to conclude, in my view, that recourse to **Hi** is unfounded. Rather we should assume that the term *sestertia* was introduced by the Roman translators/revisers (cf. Introd. VII) as *sestertium auri* RA/*sestertium* RB. They deliberately used an obsolete currency of which they knew neither the precise name nor the value. Perhaps we can point to a remarkable coincidence here, viz. the fact that the precise sum of *XX sestertia* is paralleled in the well-known

pagan funerary formula '*Si qui iterum aperire voluerit arcam* (c.q. sepulcrum), *dabit f(isci) rat(ionibus) sestertia viginti*', cf. ThLL VI,1 825,41-64. This text is also found in some Christian Roman inscriptions, cf. A. Ferrua, *Bollettino della Commissione archeologica communale di Roma* 82 (1970), p.90, num.56; id., *Epigraphica* 29 (1967), p.89 num. 120; J. Janssens, *Vita e morte del Christiano negli epitaffi di Roma anteriori al sec. VII* (Roma 1981), p.251 n.6. Thus the phrase *XX sestertia* could confirm the theory that the *HA* was translated and adapted within Christian circles in Rome, cf. Introd. II.2.

3. It is impossible to determine the actual readings of **R(Gr)** and **HA(Gr)** with regard to the *sestertia*. Yet the conversion, including that of *auri* (RA), need not have been drastic. The identical use of names of coins and monetary values in some late texts may serve by way of illustration, e.g. *Actus Petri cum Simone* (ed. Lipsius-Bonnet I) c.29 (p.79,9) (on the mother of a son brought back to life) *adferens Petro duo milia aureorum*; (ibid.) (l.12) (on the son himself) *ipse obtulit quattuor milia aureorum dicens ad Petrum: Ecce et ego <...> duplicem oblationem offero*; c.30 (p.79,24) *Ministro meo Petro da decem milia aureorum* (Gr. ἀποκόμισον μυρίους χρυσίνους). One is struck by the ease with which large numbers (including *milia*, μύριοι [= 10.000]) are bandied about. As in the *HA*, these numbers function in a strict, limited scheme (2.000-4.000-10.000). Theoretically we might ask whether the relatively straightforward system of the *aurei* = χρυσοῖ (cf. 10, RA 9-11 [comm.]) goes together with a second system involving more fabulous sums, based on the later, Greek χρυσίνοι, cf. LSJ (+ Suppl.), s.v. χρύσινος ('deux systèmes ont dû être utilisés', Callu, p.146). Should we hold **R(Gr)** responsible for this? In actual fact we can only speculate.

Understandably, the treasure was given in the hope of a happy outcome or otherwise to defray the costs of the funeral, cf. Heliod. 8,11,7 εἰ μὲν σῳζοίμην εὐπορίαν βίου καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, εἰ δέ τι πάσχοιμι, καλλωπίσματα ἔσχατα καὶ ἐντάφια γενησόμενα 'if I lived, they (the tokens of recognition) would assure me of the necessities of life; and if anything happened to me, they would serve to adorn me in the final sleep of the grave (to pay my burial)'.

ad caput eius (RA) ~ *super caput ipsius* (RB): For *ad*, cf. Xen. Eph. 3,7,4 (quoted 25, RA 28-29, comm.) περιθεὶς and 26, RA 8 *ad caput eius*. The combination with *ad* is very frequent in hagiography: Mombrit. I, p.605,32 *ad caput eorum libellum scriptum invenies*; II, p.334,14 (libellum) *ad capita eorum reconditum*; ibid., p.544,25 *libellum <...> ad capita eorum reponite*). The change from *eius* to *ipsius*, almost without specific meaning, occurs often, Löfstedt, *Per.*, 64; Linderbauer, p.132; Cavallin, p.63. *RB* is inconsistent, cf. 26, RB 8 *sub capite eius* (see comm. there).

After this statement **γ** (*cod. Sloanianus*, early 13th c., cf. 25, RA 4) adds: *et codicellos scriptos*. Some editors insert this in *RB* (Riese [1893]), a few even in both *RA* and *RB* (Schmeling [1988]). This is incorrect in my view: though we are dealing with an elementary detail (cf. 26, RA 9/RB 8), it may well have been omitted by **R(Gr)**. For such omissions, cf. Blatt, *Acta Andreae*, p.10 n.3 and *Index*, p.195, s.v. *Unachtsamkeit der Bearbeiter*; cf. Introd. V.1. Perhaps the phrase was already lacking in **HA(Gr)**.

25, RA 29-32 Dedit postremo osculum funeri, effudit super eam lacrimas et iussit infantem tolli et diligenter nutriri, ut haberet in malis aliquod solatium et pro filia sua neptem regi ostenderet. 'He kissed the corpse for the last time, and showered it with tears. Then he ordered the baby to be taken and nursed with great care, so that he might have some consolation among his troubles, and might show the king his granddaughter instead of his daughter.'

25, RB 23-25 Deinde iubet infantem diligenter nutriri, ut vel in malis haberet iocundum solatium, <vel> ut <pro> filia neptem osténderet régi.

Dedit postremo (**P**) **osculum funeri** (RA) ~ *cum fletu magno dedit osculum* (RB, 22). The gesture itself naturally has parallels in the Greek Novel, cf. Xen. Eph. 2,4,6 Τοσοῦτον σοῦ δεήσομαι, θάψον αὐτὸς καὶ φίλησον πεσοῦσαν καὶ μέμνησο 'Ανθίας 'Only this will I ask of you; that you bury me with your own hands, kiss me as I lie dead, and remember Anthia.' Sometimes the formulation is histrionic, cf. Heliod. 2,1,3 ἐσχάτων καὶ ἀψύχων φιλημάτων ἀπεστερήθην 'I am cheated even of a final, lifeless kiss!' Esp. in Greek (funeral liturgy) this custom survives for a long time, cf. Lexica (Sophocles, Lampe) ss.vv. ἀσπασμός, ἀσπάζομαι.

funus (RA) ~ (RB /): Cf. OLD, s.v. *funus* (2): 'corpse'; this meaning is common both in poets of classical Latinity and in authors of Late and Christian Latin, cf. H. Hagendahl, *Studia Ammianea*, Uppsala 1921, p.30; it simply has the meaning νεκρός.

iussit infantem tolli (RA) ~ (RB /): Curiously and exclusively related by Klebs, p.205 to the well-known Roman custom: 'Das ist die römische Art, in welcher der Vater ein Kind anerkennt und den Willen ausdrückt, es auf zu ziehen', cf. OLD, s.v. *tollo* (2): 'To pick up (a new-born child) from the ground in the process of formal recognition.' But against the background

of a Greek original it is natural to think of a translation of ἀναιρέω, ἀναιρέομαι, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀναιρέω (B. med. [4]): 'to *take-up* new-born children', cf. *Less.*, s.v. ἀναιρέω. A translation from ἀναλαμβάνω, LSJ. s.v.: 'to take in one's hands' would also work well: compare Herod. 1,111 ἀναλαβὼν τὸ παιδίον (see the context). Perhaps *RB* has deliberately left out the phrase on account of the technical term *tollere*, since he had some knowledge of legal formulations, cf. Introd. VI.2.1. As regards *RA* we should perhaps take the delivery-chair into account, cf. above RA 10 (comm.). In the consternation the new-born child has been put aside, presumably in an improvised cradle, cf. 29, RA 18 *te* (sc. *Tharsia*) *in cunabulis posita*.

diligenter nutriri (RA/RB): In the most general sense, cf. OLD, s.v. *nutrio* (4) 'to bring up (a child)', like ἀνατρέφω 'to bring up', without any association with the τροφός, *nutrix*, 'nurse'. The word *diligenter* is the standard translation (cf. CGL VI, 345) of ἐπιμελῶς 'carefully', cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐπιμελής 'careful'.

ut <…> **et** (RA) ~ *ut vel* <…> *<vel> ut* (RB): An elegant improvement by *RB*, partly on the strength of T (cf. ed. m. [1984]), arranged chiastically.

aliquod solatium (RA) ~ *iocundum solatium* (RB): Given Apollonius' situation *RA* is doubtless to be preferred, cf. Cic., *Ver.* 5,128 *ex tua calamitate cineri <…> filii sui solacium vult aliquod reportare*; Verg., *Aen.* 3,661 *solamenque mali*, cf. ibid., 11,62. A possible Greek equivalent is supplied by Xen. Eph. 1,7,4 πάντων τῶν ἐσομένων κακῶν (sc. Ἀνθία) Ἁβροκόμην ἔχουσα παραμυθίαν 'since she had Habrocomes as a consolation in all future perils', cf. ibid., 2,8,1 ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸ μόνον ἀφῄρημαι παραμύθιον (*abstr. pro concreto*) 'I have been robbed of my one and only consolation'. In particular the phrase παραμυθία τις with this specific meaning is frequent in later Greek, cf. Usener, *Der heilige Theodosios*, p.177; CGL VII, 605 παραμυθία consolatio, solacium, solamen. Perhaps the later meaning *auxilium* plays a part in *RB*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *solacium* (3).

pro filia sua (RA) ~ *<pro> filia* (RB): A skilful emendation by *RB*, cf. above 25, RA/RB 2. *pro* is probably used in the sense of ἀντί 'instead of', cf. ThLL X 2,2 1425,14-41.

neptem (RA/**bπ**) ~ *neptam* **βM**: The idea of showing at least the grandchild to the grandfather is reminiscent of Charit. 8,4,5-6. The **βM** reading is interesting inasmuch as fem. nouns of the 3rd decl. can shift to the 1st decl., e.g. *coniuga*, *iuventa*, *nept<i>a*, *sacerdota*, *senecta*, *strigia*, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 229. The form *nepta* occurs frequently (as from

Greg. Tur., *Hist. Franc.*, 10,16), cf. Grandgent ~ De.B. Moll (1963[3]), § 37. We can infer that, after losing his wife, Apollonius intended to return to King Archistrates to give him a report, cf. above RA 17/RB 13. This has completely disappeared in the current *HA*, cf. c.28 (comm.).

25, RA 32-33	Et iussit loculum mitti in mare cum amarissimo fletu. 'Weeping very bitterly, he ordered the coffin to be thrown into the sea.'
25, RB 25-26	Et iussit in mari mitti loculum cum magno luctu; et conclamatum est a familia.

cum amarissimo fletu (RA): To be connected with *iussit* (sc. Apollonius). The expression itself is wrongly regarded as an interpolation by Klebs p.271. It is part and parcel of such descriptions, cf. above (25, RA 16) *coepit amarissime flere*.

et conclamatum est a familia (RB): An inappropriate addition by *RB* to describe the reaction of the servants to such a farewell. This official *conclamatio* as a technical term lasted 7 days (8 according to others), until the funeral (cf. Serv. ad Verg., *Aen.* 6,218; Schol. Luc. 2,23; Dict. Antiq., s.v. *conclamatio*, p.459,a; Lewis & Short, *Dict.*, s.v. *conclamo*).

The thread of Apollonius' story is not resumed until c.28. It is clear that esp. this chapter, with the moving passage about an (apparently) dead person being lowered overboard, made a deep impression on the literary afterlife. We can point to its incorporation in the legendary *Life of Maria Magdalene* and the French, 12th-c. *Chansons de Geste* (usually under the title Jourdain de Blaye [or Blaivies]), as well as the adaptation in the Middle High German poem *Orondel*. These adaptations are interesting on account of the rationalistic changes that are carried through. Thus in Jourdain de Blaye the female protagonist (now called Oriabel) is lowered overboard alive: her coffin has an air hole at the side! In *Maria Magdalene* the ship's course is changed and shortened: she first arrives at an island.

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B.R. Rasmussen, 'L'origine des Chansons de geste *Ami et Amile* et Jourdain de Blaye', *Revue Romane*, Numero special 1 (1967), pp.232-9.

M. Delbouille, 'Apollonius de Tyr et les débuts du roman français', in *Mélanges offerts à R. Lejeune* II, Gembloux 1969, pp.1171-204.

E. Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre*, Medieval and Renaissance Themes and Variations, Cambridge 1991, Chapter 4: The Influence of the *HA* (esp. pp.54-7).

Apart from these literary sources, we can also point to the draughtsman (doubtless from a long series) representing Archistratis being lowered overboard, in the Fürstlich Hohenzollernsches Museum, Schloß Sigmaringen, invent. nr.5236 (Katalog der Schnitzwerke nr.293), depicted in: Peters, *Die geschichte des Königs Apollonius von Tyrus*, Berlin-Leipzig 1904[2], fly-leaf; G. Kortekaas, ed. m. (1984), fly-leaf.

A separate study could be devoted to the various woodcuts of the *HA* in general and the sea burial in particular, see:

Heinrich Steinhöwel, *Hystori des Küniges appolonij*, Augsburg 1471 (cf. L.E. Schmitt – R. Noll-Wiemann, *Deutsche Volksbücher in Faksimiledrucken*, Reihe A, Band 2 [repr. Olms] 1975, Hildesheim-New York 1975).

Robert Copland, *The Romance of Kynge Appolyn of Thyre* (printed by Wynkyn de Worde), London 1510 (cf. Archibald, p.206; the dust jacket shows the voyage of King Apollonius, the *loculus*, the nurse and the swaddled, new-born Tharsia).

G. Kortekaas, *De Wonderbaarlijke Geschiedenis van Apollonius*, 's-Gravenhage 1982 (Nieuwe vormen, 4), p.71. Of particular interest for the textual tradition is the wood engraving depicted on p.59. See the note to 48, RA 11-12.

CHAPTER 26

26, RA 1-2	Tertia die eiciunt undae loculum: venit ad litus Ephesiorum, non longe a praedio cuiusdam medici. 'On the third day the waves cast the coffin ashore: it arrived on the coast of Ephesus, not far from the estate of a doctor.'
26, RB 1-2	Tertia die eiciunt undae loculum in litore Ephesiorum, non longe a praedio medici cuiusdam Chaeremonis.

Tertia die (RA/RB): This probably corresponds directly to (?) τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ 'the day after tomorrow': the distance from the Mediterranean (somewhere below Crete) via the Sporades to Ephesus can be covered in about three days, cf. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*, 1971, p.293. Perhaps *Tertia die* should not be taken too literally. Popular stories tend to be lackadaisical in these matters, cf. Charit. 1,11,8 ἔπλεον εὐθὺ Μιλήτου, τριταῖοι δὲ κατήχθησαν εἰς ὅρμον 'They sailed (from Athens) straight for Miletus. On the third day they moored in an anchorage.' Clearly the arrival precisely in Ephesus is a question of novelistic convenience, barely to be understood on rational grounds. **HA(Gr)** no doubt expanded on the intervention of Τυχή at such a crucial juncture.

eiciunt undae loculum (RA/RB): Probably a direct translation from ἐκβάλλω, cf. LSJ, s.v. (1) '"to throw ashore": Hom., *Od.* 19,278 τὸν δ'ἄρ' <…> νεὸς ἔκβαλε κῦμ' ἐπὶ χέρσου: "a wave threw him from the ship on the beach"'. Naturally there are other possible substrates, like ἐκφέρω (cf. LSJ, s.v. [I.3] 'to cast ashore'), ἐξάγω (cf. LSJ, s.v. 'to carry ashore'), ἐξωθέω (cf. LSJ, s.v. [II] 'to drive out of the sea').

Ephesiorum (RA/RB): In regard to Ephesus' location on major highways and waterways, and its population (over two hundred thousand inhabitants), see Oster (1976), nn.2,3. Ephesus was also known for its medical school and the so-called *Artemisium* of Artemis, the patron deity of Ephesus. Both aspects play an important role in the *HA* (cf. notes to 26, RA/RB 2 *medicus* and 27, RA 22/RB 19 *sacerdotes Dianae feminas*). The now following story has quite a few connections with Asia Minor, cf. Introd. VI.1. For this episode, cf. A.M.G. McLeod, 'Physiology and Medicine in a Greek Novel. Achilles Tatius' Leucippe and Clitophon', *JHS* 89 (1969), pp.97-105; D. Amundson, 'Romanticizing the Ancient Medical

Profession. The Characterization of the Physician in the Graeco-Roman Novel', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 48 (1974), pp.320-37; for the *HA* in particular: E. Wolff, 'Médecine et médecins dans *l'Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*', in *Les textes médicaux latins comme littérature, Actes du VI*[e] *Colloque International*, Nantes (2000), pp.371-2.

non longe a praedio (RA/RB): Greek expresses itself likewise (?) οὐ μακρόθεν ἀπὸ χωρίου; for χωρίον, cf. LSJ, s.v. (3) 'landed property', 'estate'. This word is very frequent in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. χωρίον (b) '*campagna, podere*'. The Glossaria point in the same direction, cf. CGL VII, 116. The word *praedium*/χωρίον need not indicate great wealth. Perhaps Ephesus assigned it to him (temporarily?) to practise his profession, as a τὸ ἰατρεῖον 'surgery' or ἐργαστήριον 'workplace', cf. 26, RA 4. The grounds must have been fairly extensive as even a πυρκαίη 'funeral pyre' could be erected there.

cuiusdam medici (RA) ~ *medici cuiusdam Chaeremonis* (RB): Though it is not a hard-and-fast rule, Latin prefers to put *quidam* in second place: *Homo quidam fecit cenam magnam*. Ephesus was also the birth-place of Soranus (2nd c. AD), author of a medical treatise Περὶ ὀξέων καὶ χρονίων παθῶν 'On Acute and Chronic Diseases', one of the main sources of so-called methodical medicine, cf. A.E. Hanson ~ M.H. Green, 'Soranus of Ephesus' in: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II.37.2, 1994, pp.1042-1061. This work was translated in the 5th century by Caelius Aurelianus under the title *De morbis acutis*. Xen. Eph. 3,5,11 features a doctor from Ephesus, called Εὔδοξος 'The famous one', to whom Anthia turns for a lethal poison, cf. *Less.* In later periods, too, Ephesus was well-known for its doctors, cf. Oster (1976), p.26; Billault (1991), pp.133-4; Roueché, *Aphrodisias*, p.110. They were united in a corporation, cf. van Nijf (1997), p.41 (n.45), p.61 (n.152), p.173; LSJ (Suppl.), s.v. ἀρχιατρός 'head of the physicians'. For ἀρχιατροί in Ephesus, cf. R. Pohl, *De Graecorum Medicis Publicis*, Berolini 1905, p.38 (nos. 65-66).

Chaeremonis (RB): Only *RB* has this as the name of the doctor (see also 26, RB 20; 27, RB 1). According to Klebs, p.42, the name has dropped out in *RA* (very problematical in terms of procedure) and should be added. A more likely scenario is that *RB* has added the name here too from **R(Gr)**, cf. Introd. VII.2.2.2. The more so because the name occurs sparingly in Latin (cf. ThLL, *Onomasticon*, vol. II 362,33-52; Garbugino, p.40 n.57) but frequently in Greek, cf. Fraser ~ Matthews (1987-), I, II, III[A]. We know of a tragedian called Χαιρήμων from the 4th c. BC (cf. Edmonds, *The fragments of Attic Comedy* I, pp.507, 885, 899; II 145, 151; C. Collard 'On the Tragedian Chaeremon', *JHS* 90 (1970), pp.22-34).

The *Hist. Laus.* (ed. Bartelink) c.47, l.26 [comm., p.383]) also has an ascetic of this name. So it seems reasonable that the name derives from **R(Gr)** and probably goes back to **HA(Gr)**. (Lapaume, *Erotici Scriptores Graeci* [ed. Hirschig, Parisiis 1856], p.598 implausibly suggests an etymology κηραμύντης 'averter of evil' [ἀποτρέπων ὄλεθρον].) In Heliod. 4,7,4 the doctor has the apt name Ἀκεσῖνος, probably connected with ἀκέομαι 'to heal', 'to cure'.

26, RA 2-4	Qui in illa die cum discipulis suis deambulans iuxta litus vidit loculum effusis fluctibus iacentem et ait famulis suis: 'This man was walking on the shore that day with his pupils and saw the coffin lying where the waves had flowed away. He said to his servants:'
26, RB 2-4	Qui die illa cum discipulis suis deambulans in litore vidit loculum ex fluctibus expulsum iacentem in litore. Et ait famulis suis:

in illa die (RA) ~ *die illa* (RB): *RA* could go back directly to Greek (?) ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. *RB* follows the classical rule and prefers to omit the preposition in adjuncts of time, cf. Wackernagel, *Vorl. über Synt.* II, p.216 ff.; Salonius, *Vitae Patrum*, p.131.

deambulans iuxta litus (RA) ~ *deambulans in littore* (RB): Cf. 8, RA/RB 11 (comm.) *deambulans*. The direct source is probably περιπατῶν. But this verb also has the meaning (cf. LSJ, s.v. [2]) 'to walk about while teaching' 'to discourse': in Antiquity teachers walked while lecturing, cf. the Peripatetics, the philosophical school of Plato and Aristotle. So the image emerges of a professor crowded around by students, cf. M. Laistner, *Christianity and Pagan Culture* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1951, p.11): 'overpopular professors, while students "leap about them like Bacchants about Dionysus"' (Dio Chrys., *Orat.* 35,8). This phenomenon was also familiar in Rome, cf. Mart., *Epigr.* 5,9.

secus litus maris (Red. Tegerns.): Cf. Blatt, *Acta Andreae*, p.41,6 *cepit ambulare secus litus maris*. For this local meaning of *secus*, cf. Charis. (in Keil C.G.L. I 80,19) *id quod vulgus usurpet* "secus illum sedi", *hoc est* "secundum illum", *et novum et sordidum est*. This *secus* is frequent in the Vulg. and in Late Latin (Linderbauer, 216; Garvin, p.94; Svennung, *Wortstudien*, p.120; Salonius, *Vitae Patr.*, p.55).

effusis fluctibus iacentem (RA) ~ *ex fluctibus expulsum iacentem* (RB): *RA* is good Latin, cf. OLD, s.v. *effundo* (4) '(refl. or pass., of rivers or sim.)': Ov., *Met.* 1,570 *Peneus ab imo effusus Pindo*; Tacit., *Germ.* 1,3; Liv. 1,4,4. So a literal translation of *RA* would be: 'lying where the waves had flowed out', i.e. the extreme edge of the sea's surf. Despite the passive form, the waves play an active role here, cf. Svennung, *Wortstudien*, p.137 and compare (?) ἐκχέω '*to pour out*', properly of liquids. *RB* probably though this description too bland and preferred a phrase like: 'cast out from the waves'.

famulis suis (RA/RB): The doctor (ἰατρός) was thronged by students, with the technical name ὑπουργός, ὑπηρέτης, διάκονος, cf. L. Robert, *À travers l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1980, p.419: 'Quant à ὑπηρέτης <…> le terme est technique pour désigner l'élève et assistant du médecin, qu'il aide; il donne certain soins, cf. *Bull. Épigr.* (1955), p.292; (1958), pp.82 et 86.' Such assistants seem to be denoted here too: 'le roman est donc, ici encore, fidèle à la realité' (Billault [1991], p.134), cf. Introd. VI.2.

26, RA 4-5	"Tollite hunc loculum cum omni diligentia et ad villam afferte." '"Pick up that box with the greatest care and carry it to my house."'
26, RB 4-5	"Tollite cum omni diligentia loculum istum et ad villam p<er>ferte."

hunc loculum (RA) ~ *loculum istum* (RB): A classical use of the demonstr. pron. in *RB*.

cum omni diligentia (RA/RB): A standing phrase, cf. (?) Xen. Eph. 2.10 μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας 'with every possible accuracy'.

afferte (RA) ~ *p<er>ferte* (Red. Tegern., Erf.): The correct reading in *RB* (*proferte* **bβM**) is difficult to establish. In many versions the coffin is already opened on the beach. But the *villa* (or χωρίον) was spacious enough to have the further events (l.18 *rogus*; ll.19/20 *supervenit discipulus*) take place there too, cf. above 26,RA 2 (comm.).

26, RA 5-7 Quod cum fecisse<n>t famuli, medicus libenter aperuit et vidit puellam regalibus ornamentis ornatam, speciosam valde et in falsa morte iacentem, et ait: 'When the servants had done this, the doctor eagerly opened it, and saw a very beautiful girl lying there adorned with royal jewels, apparently dead. He said:'

26, RB 5-7 Et ita fecerunt. Medicus leviter aperuit et videns puellam regalibus ornamentis decoratam et falsa morte speciosam, obstipuit et ait:

cum fecissent (RA) ~ *ita fecerunt* (RB): *RB* uses the standing formula and so creates a new main clause, cf. 33, RA 27/RB 25 (comm.).

libenter (RA) ~ *leviter* **bβ**: *leniter* **Mπ**: As Archibald, ad loc. suggests, we should probably retain the *RA* reading 'readily': the avidity and greed of doctors is a literary τόπος, both in Greek and in Latin, also in the Novel, cf. Achill. Tat. 4,4,8 ἐστὶν ἰατρὸς ἀλαζὼν καὶ τὸν μισθὸν πρῶτος αἰτεῖ 'like a quack doctor insists on prior payment' (J. Winkler), cf. S. Reinach, *Dict. Saglio-Poitier*, s.v. *Medicus* 1694-97. A Greek substrate is purely subjective and hypothetical: (?) ἑτοίμως, ῥᾳδίως, προφρόνως, προχείρως. (A Latin conjecture by Weyman, *Wochenschrift kl. Philol.* 10 [1893], p.577 *diligenter* is inadvisable.) The alternation in *RB* between *levis* and *lenis* is frequent in codd. (cf. 27, RA 9/RB 8), the more so because the meanings 'gently' and 'softly' merge. Classically minded editors (Welser, Schmeling) argue for *leniter*. For *leviter* 'without violence', 'gently', cf. OLD, s.v. *leviter* (2): Cels. 7,16,3 *leviter homo concutiendus est*; Stat., *Achill.* 1,187 *leviter* <...> *expertas pollice chordas*.

ornatam (RA) ~ *decoratam* (RB), cf. the same change 25, RA 28 *ornat puellam* / RB 22 *decoratam puellam*.

speciosam valde et in falsa morte iacentem (RA) ~ *falsa morte speciosam* (RB): *RA* and *RB* coincide in their statements: both are based on the concept of 'apparent death', which is reported as an objective fact, cf. 26, RA 28 *in falsa morte iacere*. *RB*'s succinct expression is close to an oxymoron 'beautiful in her apparent death'. There is no need to hypothesize an interpolation (Landgraf, *Neue Philol. Rundschau* [1888], p.120; Schmeling [1988]). But it can be seen as evidence of a somewhat awkward choice of words in **R(Gr)**, cf. 25, RA 12 (comm.).

speciosa valde (RA): The position in second place of *valde* (and *nimis*) is regarded as a Graecism, cf. Vulg., Gen. 12:14 *viderunt Aegyptii mulierem,*

quod esset pulchra nimis (LXX ὅτι καλὴ ἦν σφόδρα). For the phenomenon, see Salonius, *Vit. Patr.*, p.190; Hofmann, *Beiträge*, p.105. Later versions and adaptations expand on the description of Archistratis' beauty, cf. Klebs, p.370 (*Gesta Romanorum*); Nilsson, pp.75,106. Typically, *RB* ignores this aspect.

falsa morte (RA/RB), cf. above 25, RA 12 *Non fuit mortua, sed quasi mortua* (comm.). For the collocation '*falsa mors*', cf. 26, RA 30 *cum morte adultera* (RB 26 *cum morte*); OLD, s.v. *falsus* (6) 'that never happened' 'fictitious': Quint., *Instit.* 6,3,84 *audita falsa Vatini morte*. Perhaps we can compare Philostr., *Vita Apollonii* 4,45 ἀφύπνισε τὴν κόρην τοῦ δοκοῦντος θανάτου 'he woke up the maiden from her seeming death'.

26, RA 7-8	"Quantas putamus lacrimas hanc puellam suis parentibus reliquisse!" '"Think how many tears this girl bequeathed to her relations!"'
26, RB 7-8	"Quas putamus lacrimas hanc puellam parentibus reliquisse!"

Quantas (RA) ~ *Quas* (RB): *Quantas*, instead of *quot*, is found throughout Latinity, cf. OLD, s.v. *quantus* (2): Plaut., *Mil.* 813 *quantas res turbo, quantas moveo machinas!*; Verg. *Aen.* 6,692 *quas ego te terras et quanta per aequora vectum accipio*; Stat., *Silv.* 4,3,39 *o quantae pariter manus laborant*. A similar use in exclamatory sentences occurs with πόσος, cf. Bauer, s.v. πόσος 'how many', Ljungvik, p.28: a translation from **R(Gr)** (?) πόσα δάκρυα is not impossible. For *quas* in rhetorical questions, cf. OLD, s.v. *quis* 'what' 'which': Flor., *Verg.* p.184 R *quae loca quasve regiones*; for juxtaposition of the two forms: Liv. 4,2,5 *quas quantasque res C. Canuleium adgressum*.

putamus (RA/RB): Classical Latin would have preferred the dubitative subjunctive.

lacrimas <...> **reliquisse** (RA/RB): A stock complaint, esp. in tomb inscriptions, Latin and Greek, with countless personal variations; the earliest instance is Hom., *Od.* 1,243 ἐμοὶ δ'ὀδύνας τε γόους τε κάλλιπεν 'to me he bequeathed grief and wailing in abundance', cf. ibid. 11,279. The list of possible quotations is almost inexhaustible, cf. e.g. CIL X 2496 (= CE 613,5) *qui dolor abs te nobis, Harmonia Rufina, relictum est!*; Anth. Pal. VII 343,9 Λεῖψε φίλοις δὲ τοκεῦσι γόον καὶ πένθος ἄλαστον; Alciphr., *Epist.* I,38 (ed. Herscher, *Epistologr. graeci*, p.58) οἴχεται Βακχὶς <...> πολλά τέ μοι καταλιποῦσα δάκρυα.

26, RA 7-9	Et videns subito ad caput eius pecuniam positam et subtus codicillos scriptos et ait: 'Suddenly he saw the money which had been put at her head and the tablet underneath it; he said:'
26, RB 8-9	Et videns sub capite eius pecuniam positam et codicellos scriptos ait:

subito (RA) ~ (RB /): *RB* prefers to omit this kind of *subito*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v.

ad <…> **subtus** (RA) ~ *sub* (RB): For *ad* (RA), cf. 25, RA 29 *ad caput eius* (comm.)/RB *super*; for *subtus* (classical *subter caput* [*capita*]), cf. OLD, s.v. *subtus* 'underneath' 'below': in laying out a body it was customary to place a cushion under the head, cf. *Vita S. Melaniae*, Sources chrétiennes, c.69 (p.268). Such a προσκεφάλιον 'cushion for the head' 'pillow' (or later – with the Latin term *cervicarium* – called κερβικάριον) could also be used (as in this case) as a repository for information, cf. LSJ, Suppl., s.v. κερβικάριον with many references from the 2nd/3rd c. AD: this period corresponds with **H(Gr)**.

codicillos scriptos (RA/RB): Most likely a smallish πινακίδιον/πιττάκιον or γραμματίδιον/γραμμάτιον, inscribed (cf. Plato, *Leg.* 735^{c} εἰς πινακίδιον γράφειν) and sealed. For the situation, cf. *Vie et récits de l'abbé Daniel* (ed. L. Clugnet, *ROC* 5, 1900, p.50 ff.), p.374,30 καὶ μετὰ τὸ θάψαι με εὑρήσεις πιττάκιον κείμενον πρὸς κέφαλά μου. Ἀναγνῶθι καὶ δὸς αὐτὸ τῷ ἀββᾷ Ἀνδρονίκῳ 'And after having buried me you will find a tablet for writing lying near my pillow. Read it and give it to abbot Andronicus (sc. her former husband).'

et ait (RA): *ait* (RB): The actual *RA* text requires no correction: *et videns* can be defended as a *part. pro verbo finito*, both in Latin and in Greek, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. participium pendens. But *RA* can also be defended as a main clause starting with *et*, cf. Horn (1918), pp.75-76 with many examples from later, often popular writings and authors, including e.g. Greg. Tur. (Bonnet, p.650). For the *HA*, he refers to 32, RA 53 and 44, RA 4. This phenomenon also occurs in Greek, cf. B. Radermacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik*, Tubingen 1925^{2}, pp.222-223 (so-called καί satzsprengend). From both points of view, *et* in *et ait* should be retained (many eds. delete).

26, RA 9-11	"Perquiramus, quid desiderat aut mandat dolor." Qui cum resignasset, invenit sic scrip-

tum: '"Let us find out the desires or instructions of grief." When he broke the seal he found the following message:'

26, RB 9-10 "Videamus, quid desiderat dolor." Quos cum resignasset, invenit scriptum:

Perquiramus (RA) ~ *Videamus* (RB): *RB*'s prosaic form may be opposed to (?) ἐκζητῶμεν 'let us investigate', cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐκζητέω; CGL VII 76.

desiderat aut mandat (RA) ~ *desiderat* (RB): Almost an oversimplification by *RB*. The indic. instead of the subjunct. is striking, but sufficiently attested for both recensions, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. modi. (Schmeling, *Notes* [on ed. 19,15] pp.146-147 *aliter*.)

dolor (RA/RB): Barth, *Adversariorum commentariorum libri sexaginta*, Frankfurt 1624, p.2687 already drew attention to the fivefold repetition of *dolor* (ll.10, 13, 14, 16, 18).

Qui cum resignasset (RA) ~ *Quos cum resignasset* (**π**, de- **bβM**): Though a change from *Qui* to *Quos* makes sense (sc. *codicillos*), the text can be retained (sc. medicus, Gr. ὃς). The equation *qui* = *quos* seems too bold within the Latin of the *HA*; for this phenomenon, cf. Bonnet, p.389; Blatt, p.139,14. The change within *RB* suggests itself, cf. OLD, s.v. *designo*.

sic (RA) ~ (RB /): *sic* is doubtless preferable, cf. LSJ, s.v. οὕτως: 'sometimes οὕτω or οὕτως refers to what follows: "*thus*", "as follows"'.

26, RA 11-12 "Quicumque hunc loculum invenerit habentem in eo XX ses<tertia> auri, peto ut X se<stertia> habeat, X vero funeri impendat. '"Whoever finds this coffin, which contains twenty thousand gold sesterces, I beg him to keep ten thousand, but to spend ten thousand on a funeral.'

26, RB 10-12 "Quicumque hunc loculum invenerit, habet xx sestertia. Peto, ut dimidiam partem habeas, dimidiam vero funeri eroges.

loculum <...> **habentem in eo** (RA) ~ *loculum* <...>, *habet* (sc. loculus) (RB): *RA* probably goes back directly to **R(Gr)**: (?) ἔχοντα ἐν αὐτῷ. For *habentem* = ἔχοντα, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἔχω (A. I.5): 'pres. part. with verbs almost *with*'. For

the copious use of pronouns (as here usually after a preceding noun), in Greek too, cf. Ljungvik (1926), pp.26-8. *RB* tries to eliminate this, cf. 40, RA 11-12 *navem <…> amabili aspectu eius* (RB /).

XX ses<tertia> auri (RA) ~ *XX sestertia* (RB): For the omission of *auri*, cf. 25, RA 29 (comm.). A finder's fee (εὕρετρα) consisting of half of the money found is abnormally generous by classical standards, cf. R. Taubenschlag, 'Das Attische Recht in der Komödie Menanders "Epitrepontes"', *ZRG* 46 (1926), pp.68-82, esp. p.76; R. Düll, 'Auslobung und Fund im antiken Recht', *ZRG* 61 (1941), pp.19-43, esp. p.41. Such a high finder's fee is less uncommon in Asia Minor, cf. J. Reynold, *Aphrodisias and Rome*, pp.216-7. It also occurs in the play *Querolus* (early 5th c.), cf. C. Jacquemard-Le Saos, *Querolus* (*Aulularia*), Paris 1994, "Les belles lettres", Scaena XIII, p.63, l.6 *Huic* (s.c. amico fideli) *tu medium thesauri dabis, si fides ipsius atque opera expostulat*. The importance of a burial in *terra firma* is underlined by such a finder's fee.

dimidiam partem (RB): A classical term (sometimes without *pars*), cf. OLD, s.v. *dimidia*; see also 33, RA 26 *dimidiam auri libram* / RB 24-25 *libram auri mediam*.

habeat <…> impendat (RA) ~ *habeas <…> eroges* (RB): This shift from the third to the second person, carried through consistently in the request (the person thus being directly addressed, involved in the event), is frequent: for the third person, cf. E. Svenberg, *Lunaria et zodiologia latina*, Göteborg 1963, p.25 n.3 with further lit.

impendat (RA) ~ *eroges* (RB), cf. 26, RA 17/RB 16 *erogaturum*: *RB* opts here too (cf. Introd. VI.2.1) for the technical term in a will, cf. OLD, s.v. *erogo* 'expend' (2): Tac., *Ann.* 16,17 *scriptis codicillis, quibus grandem pecuniam in Tigellinum <…> erogabat*; Gaius, *Instit.* 2,224 *totum patrimonium legatis atque libertatibus erogare*. Perhaps *RA* found in his copy a neutral verb like δαπανάω 'to spend', δατέομαι 'to give to others', cf. CGL VI 547, s.v. impendo.

26, RA 13	Hoc enim corpus multas dereliquit lacrimas et dolores amarissimos. 'For this corpse has left behind many tears and most bitter grief.'
26, RB 12	Hoc enim corpus multas reliquit lacrimas.

multas <…> amarissimos: The chiastic placement with the progressive degrees of comparison is striking.

dereliquit (RA) ~ *reliquit* (RB): *RA* has a specific verb, cf. Blaise, s.v. *derelinquere* (2): ‘laisser après soi (en mourant): Salv., *Eccl.* 2,41; Arnob. 5,8; Ambros., *Obit.* Theod. 2’.

dolores amarissimos (RA): Probably self-evident to *RB* after *lacrimas*, as it is to Klebs, p.271.

26, RA 14-15 Quodsi aliud fecerit, quam dolor exposcit, ultimus suorum decidat, nec sit, qui corpus suum sepulturae commendet.” ‘But if he does not act according to this grief-stricken request, may he die as the last of his line, and may there be no one to commit him to burial.”’

26, RB 12-14 Quodsi aliud feceris, quam quod dolor desiderat, ultimu<s> tu<orum> decidas, nec sit, qui corpus tuum sepulturae commendet.”

quam (RA) ~ *quam quod* (RB): *RA* seems a direct translation from Greek, εἰ δὲ ἄλλο τι ποιήσῃ ἤ, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἄλλος ‘another’: Thuc. 3,39 τί ἄλλο (sc. ἐποίησαν) ἢ ἐπεβούλευσαν, and ibid., s.v. ἄλλο τι ‘anything else’: Plato, *Symp.* 200 σκόπει, εἰ ἄλλο τι λέγεις ἢ τόδε· *RB*’s construction should probably be explained as a tacit antecedent: *aliud, quam <id>, quod* ‘something other than <that> which’.

ultimus suorum decidat (RA) ~ *ultimu<s> tu<orum> decidas* (RB): An unequivocal curse occurring in countless variations both in Latin and in Greek.

ultimus suorum (RA) ~ *ultimu<s> tu<orum>* (RB): *RA*’s formulation may go back to (?) ἔσχατος τῶν ἑαυτοῦ. For dying childless as the last in a line, a horrific idea in Antiquity, see e.g. CIL I 1297.5 *ultima suorum Cupeinnia L.f. Tertulla fuveit* (= fuit); ibid., VI 24697 *coniux infelicissimus ultimus suorum*; Dessau 935 [*Sex.*] *Appuleio <…> Fabia Numantina nato, ultimo gentis suae*; ibid. 8185[a] *quisquis hoc sustulerit aut laeserit, ultimus suorum moriatur*. Greek has an exactly corresponding formulation (e.g. Antonin. Lib., 8,31 ἔσχατος τοῦ ἰδίου γένους). More often we find terms there like πανώλεθρος ‘utterly destroyed’ or πανώλης (cf. LSJ, ss.vv.). *RB*’s text is uncertain: the correction goes back to a conjecture by Riese, Tsitsikli. Each scribe probably had his own idea, based on the notion of ‘the last day’ (see app. crit.). For the change from *suorum* to *tuorum*, see 26, RA 11-12/RB 10-12 (comm.).

decidat (RA) ~ *decidas* (RB): For *decidere* (a euphemism for *mori*) 'to pass away', see Klebs, p.283; OLD, s.v. *dēcido* (3): CIL 13, 6270 *decidit in flore iuvente* (i.q. -tae); Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. dēcido (2): 'mourir' 'succomber' (Vet. Lat. 1 *Reg.* 2,33 [in Lucif., *Athan.* 1,195] *decidet in gladio virorum*; Arnob. 5,28 *ex viventium numero decidere*). A Greek substrate is most uncertain. (There is no reason to follow C. Weyman, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 10, [1900], p.677/Bonnet, p.297 n.1 in reading *decedat*.)

corpus <...> **sepulturae commendet** (RA/RB): For a similar construction, cf. 28, RA 8.10-11/RB 9. CGL VII 237 offers two Greek substrate terms παρατίθημι 'to commend' (cf. LSJ, s.v. B 2) and the longer form παρακατατίθημι 'to entrust' (cf. LSJ, s.v.). The latter option is perhaps preferable on account of the standard construction π. τινὶ τι and the link with the technical term παρακαταθήκη 'deposit' 'ward' (cf. 28, RA 8 [comm.]).

This *sepulturae commendare* is of the utmost importance to Antiquity. A similar phraseology is therefore found in countless maledictory formulas, in both Greek and Latin, cf. in the most general sense G. Björck, *Der Fluch des Christen Sabinus, Papyrus Upsaliensis* 8, Uppsala 1938; R. Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln*. Ausgewählt und erklärt, Bonn 1907. The Greek Novel also emphasizes this absence at a funeral: Xen. Eph. 2,7,5 σὺ δὲ <...> οἰκτρῶς ἀποθνῄσκεις, οὐκ ἔχων οὐδὲ ὅστις σου τὸ σῶμα κοσμήσει 'But you are <...> dying miserable, with no one even to lay out your corpse.' A salient combination of both maledictions is esp. found in Asia Minor, cf. J.M.R. Cormack, *MAMA* (= *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*) VIII, Manchester 1962, no.570, ll.9-10 (Aphrodisias) ἐξώλη ἀπόλοιτο σὺν τέκνοις καὶ παντὶ τῷ γένει (May he die and decease with his children and all his offspring) combined with ταφῆς μὴ τύχοι (may he receive no grave, cf. G. Petzl, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna* I, Bonn 1982, no.422, ll.4-5)) or μὴ τύχυτο (= τύχοιτο) μνημάτων (may he receive no memorials, cf. T. Drew-Bear, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie*, Zutphen 1978, p.103). For the broader context, see J.H.M. Strubbe, 'Vervloekingen tegen grafschenners', *Lampas* 16,5 (1983), pp.248-74; McLean (2005[4]), p.212. Clearly the maledictory formula discussed here forms one of the main indications for the Asian Minor origin of the **HA(Gr)**, cf. Introd. VI.1.2.

26, RA 15-16 Perlectis codicillis ad famulos ait: "Praestetur corpori, quod imperat dolor. 'When he had read the tablet, the doctor said to his servants: "Let the corpse be granted, what grief commands.'

26, RB 14-15 Perlectis codicellis ad famulos ait: "Praestemus corpori, quod dólor desiderat (*t.*).

imperat (RA) ~ *desiderat* (RB): *RA* tends to fluctuate: (10) *mandat*: (14) *exposcit*; *RB* is consistent (9, 13, 15).

26, RA 16-18 Iuravi itaque per spem vitae meae in hoc funere amplius me erogaturum, quam dolor exposcit.” ‘In consequence, I swear a solemn oath by the hope of my life that I will spend more on this funeral, than grief demands.”’

26, RB 15-16 Iuro autem per spem vitae meae amplius in hoc funere me erogaturum.”

Iuravi (RA) ~ *Iuro* (RB): Here and in 46, RA 27 *redonavi* (i.q. *redono*) ~ (RB 21 *dono*) *RA* uses a perfect where we would a expect a present, cf. Introd. IV.B.2. In doing so *RA* is probably going back to Greek usage, where the perfect can represent the consequence of a performed action, cf. Kühner-Gerth, *Ausführl. Gramm. d. gr. Sprache* (Hannover-Leipzig 1898), II,1, p.148; Schwyzer-Debrunner, *Griech. Gramm.* (München 1950), II p.287; Headlam (on Herondas IV,2), p.175; in this connection Gildersleeve talks about an ‘emotional perfect’ (cited by Groeneboom [on Herondas I,32], p.49). The Greek Novel has this usage too, cf. Heliod. 6,8,2 δέδεγμαι, ἃ καταγγέλλεις, ἄσμενος ‘I accept everything you offer with great joy’; 7,5,4 Νικῆσαι δὴ οὖν <…> οὐκ ἀποκτεῖναι προῄρημαι ‘My purpose is to defeat him <…> but not to kill him’, cf. 7,14,2; 7,23,7; 7,24,6, etc. So **R(Gr)** probably had a form like ὁμώμοκα οὖν. A striking parallel is offered by *Vita S. Danielis stylitae* (c. 494) (BHG^3 489), ed. Delehaye 12,11 ὄντως σοι, ὄντως σοι, ὄντως σοι τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἰδοὺ τρίτον σε ὥρκισα · μὴ ἀπέλθῃς ‘verily, verily, verily, behold three times I adjure you by the Lord, do not go <…>.’ Latin can easily adopt this perfect, cf. Blaise, *Manuel* § 230, n.1 *credidi* = *credo*.

itaque (RA) ~ *autem* (RB): The *RA* reading ‘I therefore swear’ is perfectly acceptable, cf. OLD, s.v. *itaque* (1): ‘accordingly’ ‘in consequence’; (b): ‘*itaque* postponed’. A translation from (?) οὖν is possible, cf. LSJ, s.v. οὖν (III): ‘then’ ‘therefore’ (in a statement), and Heliod. 7,5,4 (see above). For the change from *itaque* **P** to *inquit* **Rα**, cf. 10, RB 5 (app. crit.). *RB* (*autem*) has probably sensed something of the contrast between *RA* 15 *sepultura* and the now following *RA* 18 *rogus*.

per spem vitae meae (RA/RB): Just as the king swears by his most valued possession, viz. ‘his well-being’ (cf. 14, RA 2), so the doctor swears by the hope in his own life, probably not without prompting some hilarity. This construction, too, is found in Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. ὄμνυμι (III): ‘“swear by”: in Prose with Preps. κατά, εἰς, ἐπί, ἐν.’

quam dolor exposcit (RA) ~ (RB /): An epic repetition (cf. *RA* 14), ignored as usual by *RB*.

26, RA 18 Et haec dicens iubet continuo instrui rogum. 'After this speech he ordered a pyre to be prepared at once.'

26, RB 16-17 Et iubet instrui rogum.

haec dicens (RA) ~ (RB /): The pres. part. stands for καὶ ταῦτα εἰπών.

instrui rogum (RA/RB): *RA* goes out of his way to use synonyms, cf. *RA* 19 *aedificatur, componitur*; *RB* confines himself to *instruitur*. Likely enough the average reader took exception to this sudden change of plan from *sepultura* to cremation. It was probably explained at length in the **HA(Gr)**, cf. Introd. V. For the expression *instruere rogum,* ThLL VII 2015,44 refers to Apul., *Met.* 7,10,5 *ignem i.*; Iustin. 18,6,6 *pyra*; but it is also found in hagiography: *Passio S. Thomae* (ed. Bonnet) p.140,5 *instrui rogum*. (For *rogus* in the sense of *sepulchrum* [cf. 32, RA 26 (comm.) and esp. 32, RA 53 *fabricantes rogum ex aere collato*]) A possible equivalent of *rogus* is πυρά or πυρκαιά, cf. CGL VII, 211; *Less.* ss.vv.

26, RA 18-20 Sed dum sollicite atque studiose rogus aedificatur atque componitur, supervenit discipulus medici, aspectu adulescens, ‹s›e‹d›, quantum ingenio, senex. 'But while they were carefully and diligently building and putting together the pyre, there arrived a student of the doctor, a young man in appearance, but an old man in wisdom.'

26, RB 17-19 Et dum sollicite rogus instruitur, supervenit discipulus medici, aspectu adolescens, sed ingenio senex.

RA's balanced sentence, with its double adverb and verb, has been halved by *RB*. A Greek substrate for *RA* is guesswork, but for *componere rogum* Greek likes to use συντίθημι or συννέω (cf. Achill. Tat. 2,18,4 ἐπεὶ δὲ συνετίθεμεν τὴν πυράν 'we had already constructed the pyre'; Herod. 1,86 Ὁ δὲ [sc. Cyrus] συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην 'after piling together a great funeral pyre', cf. ibid. 1,50).

supervenit discipulus medici (RA/RB): The student remains anonymous, but later versions and adaptations give him a name, cf. Singer, p.51; Nillson, pp.75-6; the contributions of the doctor and his student also vary, cf. Nillson, p.98. Particularly in Asia Minor the opposition ἰατρός ~ μαθητής 'disciple', 'pupil' plays an important role, cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* V, p.526.

adulescens <...> **senex** (RA/RB): A much-loved commonplace, both in Latin and Greek, and both in secular and religious literature, extending far into the medieval *artes*. Sometimes it is also applied to women. A few examples follow, focused on the textual genesis of the *HA*.

In Latin literature we can point to: Cic., *De divin.* 2,23 (50) *Is autem Tages <...> puerili dicitur visus, sed senili fuisse prudentia*; Apul. *Florid.* 9,38 *senilis in iuvene prudentia*; Plin., *Epist.* 6,26,1 *puer simplicitate <...> senex gravitate*; Rut. Namat. 1,470; Sid. Apoll., *Carm.* 2,76; 7,212; esp. in funerary inscriptions: CIL VI 24520 *mente senes, aevo sed periere brevi*; ibid. 25982 *cuius annos ingenium excedebat*. Holy Scripture, Church Fathers and ecclesiastical writers have the τόπος in many variations: Vulg., Tob. 1:4 *cumque esset iunior omnibus … nihil tamen puerile gessit in opere*, cf. Wis. 4:8: Damas., *Epigr.* 10,5 *bis denas hiemes necdum compleverat aetas | egregios mores vitae praecesserat aetas*; Prudent., *Steph.* 3,24 *moribus et nimium teneris canitiem meditata senum*; Greg. Magn., *Dial.* 2,1 (on Benedict): *ab ipso suae pueritiae tempore cor gerens senile* (cf. Mombr. I,508,12 [*Vita Greg. Papae*] *inerat ei parva adhuc aetate maturum iam studium*); Ps. Aug., *de Natale Dom.* (PL 40, p.1123): *veniat et ille Danihel sanctus, iuvenis quidem etate, senior vero scientia ac mansuetudine*. The saying was particularly successful in hagiography: Mombr. I 44,32 *Alexander <...> iuvenis quidem aetate, sed fide senior*; II 476,53 *iuvenis quidem erat tempore, sed mente et actibus senex*. So the Latin formulation in the *HA* is perfectly aligned with Roman thought.

This *puer-senex* motif, as it has come to be called since Curtius (see bibliography below), has a striking correspondence in Greek within the παῖς-γέρων motif. The development runs parallel. Originally starting in higher literature (Aesch., *Theb.* 608), it was soon incorporated in comedy (Menander, fr. 639). Historiographers were fond of using it (Philo, *Leg.* § 21), esp. in the Late Greek/Byzantine period (Eunapius, Libanius, Choricius, particularly in monastic circles, cf. Festugière [cited below] p.137). Famous Desert Fathers even became known as παιδαριογέρων 'one young in years, but old in wisdom', cf. Lampe, s.v.; Pall. *Hist. Laus.* (ed. Bartelink), c.17, ll.12-13 (comm. p.332). The motif also occurs in very simple saints' lives, e.g. in the *Martyrium S. Eleutherii*, probably to be situated in Asia Minor (ed. Franchi de' Cavalieri, Roma 1901) p.153,12: νέαν μὲν ἄγων τὴν ἡλικίαν, γηραλαῖον δὲ τὸ φρόνημα <...> κεκτημένος 'rejoicing in a youthful age, but endowed with the wisdom of an old man'.

RA (and possibly *RB*) may therefore go directly back to **R(Gr)** here; indeed, we are probably dealing with a motif of **HA(Gr)**.

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<s>e<d>, quantum ingenio (RA) ~ *sed ingenio* (RB): *sed* (or possibly *set*) (RA) has been introduced on the strength of *RB* and for palaeographical reasons: *et* **P** (i.q. and yet) is theoretically defensible. If we can assume a Greek substrate for *RA*, it is natural to connect *quantum ingenio* with a translation from ὅσον, cf. LSJ (IV), s.v.: 'so far as' 'so much as'. On the basis of the Greek sources (incorporated above) many words can function as a substrate of *ingenium* (RA/RB), e.g. ἀγχίνοια, ἐπιστήμη, νόημα, νοῦς, σύνεσις, φρόνημα. (Schmeling, *Notes*, p.147 [on ed. 19,26] argues for *quanto*.)

senex (RA/RB): The *discipulus* thus follows in the footsteps of another character in the Greek Novel, an old man who had prevented the burial of a young girl by saying that she was alive and breathing, cf. S.A. Stephens, loc. cit, p.192 on Iamblichus' Βαβυλωνιακά [74 b 42].

26, RA 21-22 Hic cum vidisset speciosum corpus super rogum velle poni, intuens magistrum ait: 'When he saw that the corpse of a beautiful girl was going to be put on the pyre, he looked at his master and said:'

26, RB 18-19 Cum vidisset corpus speciosum super rogum positum, ait:

The reanimation of an apparently dead person is a favourite theme in Latin too, cf. Plin., *Nat. Hist.* 7,124; 26,15; Apul., *Florida* 19.

corpus (RA/RB) = corpse, cf. Löfstedt, *Syntact.* II p.456; OLD, s.v. *funus* (3); *speciosum corpus* is probably an oxymoron.

velle poni (RA) ~ *positum* (RB): *Velle* + inf. is used in Late and Christian Latin simply to render the fut., cf. Löfstedt, *Per.*, p.209; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *volo* (he quotes e.g. Publ., *apud* Aug., *Epist.* 46,12 *si christianus videat se a barbaro* <…> *velle interfici*). This usage correponds with Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐθέλω (II.1): 'of inanimate things to express a *future* event' (the rest of the statement is almost ironic: 'in this sense, very rarely of living things'): Herod. 2,11 εἰ ἐθελήσει ἐκτρέψαι τὸ ῥέεθρον ὁ Νεῖλος 'if the Nile will flood'. *RB* has thus probably eliminated a Graecism.

intuens magistrum ait: "*Vnde* (RA) ~ *ait: "Magister, unde* (RB): The conversion to a term of address is one of *RB*'s customary stylistic interventions, cf. 6, RA 2/RB 2.

26, RA 22	"Vnde hoc novum nescio quod funus?" '"Where has this strange, unknown corpse come from?"'
26, RB 19-20	"Magister, unde hoc novum funus?"

Klebs, p.42 naturally wants to add *Chaeremon* after *Magister* (RB), cf. Va 1984 (= RC) *Magister Cerimon*, but see above 26, RB 1-2 (comm.).

novum <…> **funus** (RA/RB): *Novus* has the meaning 'remarkable' 'curious' here, cf. καινός, LSJ s.v. (II). This usage is also found in the Greek Novel, e.g. Achill. Tat. 6,21,2 ἀγῶνα θεάσασθε καινόν 'watch a new contest'.

nescio quod (RA) ~ (RB /): *nescio quod* may be excellent Latin, cf. OLD, s.v. *nescio* (6): Terent., *Phorm.* 193 *nescioquod magnum* <…> *exspecto malum*; Cic., *Catil.* 2,11 *non breve nescio quod tempus, sed multa saecula*; Verg., *Aen.* 2,735 *mihi nescio quod* <…> *numen* <…> *eripuit mentem*. On the other hand it suggests οὐκ οἶδα τι, cf. LSJ, s.v. εἴδω, (B) οἶδα (6-7) and 15, RA 6/RB 5 (comm.).

26, RA 22-24 Magister ait: “Bene venisti: haec enim hora te expectat. Tolle ampullam unguenti et, quod est suppremum, de<f>unctae corpori puellae superfunde.” ‘The master replied: “You have come rightly: this time needs you. Take a flask of ointment and pour it over the body of the dead girl, as a last service.”’

26, RB 20-22 Chaeremon ait: “Bene venisti: haec enim hora te expectavit. Tolle ampullam unguenti et, quod suppremum est defunctae beneficium, superfunde sepulturae.”

Bene venisti (RA/RB): Riese (1893), *Index* s.v. *bene* already referred to καλῶς. Compare also LSJ, s.v. καλός (C.II) ‘well’, ‘happily’; esp. in translation literature: *Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis* 4,9 καλῶς ἐλήλυθας, τέκνον (Christ in Paradise to Perpetua); (Lat. vers.) *bene venisti, tegnon*. See also e.g. Mombrit. I 150,54; 414,39; 452,15 etc. The phrase occurs in many variations, e.g. εἰς καλὸν ἥκεις ‘you come rightly’ (Plat., *Sympos.*, p.174^{E}; *Hipp. mai.* p.286^{E}); ἥκομεν εἰς κάλλιστον ‘we come at the very best moment’ (Plat., *Euthyd.* p.275^{b}); Xen., *Symp.* 1.4 εἰς καλὸν ὑμῖν συντετύχηκα ‘just at the right moment I encountered you’.

haec enim hora te expectat (RA: *-avit* RB): Probably a direct translation of ὁ νῦν καιρός σε ἀπαιτεῖ ‘this hour needs you’, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. καιρὸς (1) ‘Zeitpunkt’; for *RA*’s present, cf. 19, RA 16/RB 15 *hic enim locus te desiderat*! This addition to *bene venisti* is often found in Late Greek hagiographical authors, likewise in many variants, e.g. (νυνὶ δὲ) καιρὸς καλεὶ ‘this very moment calls for you’, cf. Rydén (1970), pp.49, 82 (n.1), 138.

ampullam unguenti (RA/RB): The custom of (washing and) anointing the dead is as old as Homer, cf. Hom., *Il.* 18,350 (on Patroclus) καὶ τότε δὴ λοῦσάν τε καὶ ἤλειψαν λίπ’ ἐλαίῳ, cf. ibid. 23,186; 24,587; Lucian. περὶ πένθ. 11: μύρῳ τῷ καλλιστῷ χρίσαντες τὸ σῶμα; Verg., *Aen.* 6,219 *corpusque lavant fringentis et unguunt*. Perhaps the Latin term corresponds with (?) λήκυθος (Hom., *Od.* 6,79) or ληκύθιον (Iambl. 19,8). It seems far-fetched to look for the substrate term in ἀμπούλλιον, though it is recorded precisely for 2nd/3rd c. AD, cf. LSJ (Suppl.), s.v. Anointment also served to cure a disease, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀλείφω: ‘to anoint the sick’; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ἀλείφω, Betz, p.151. Here it clearly has a beneficial effect.

suppremum (RA) ~ *suppremum beneficium* (RB): The substantivized adjective ‘the last (thing you can do)’ (cf. τὸ ἔσχατον, τὸ ὕστατον) was too vague for *RB*: he changed it to ‘the last service (you can render)’.

corpori <…> **superfunde** (RA) ~ *sepulturae* <…> *superfunde* (RB): The construction *superfundere* + acc. + dat. is found in both *RA* and *RB*. Though not occurring frequently, it is mainly attested for authors in the Imperial Era, cf. OLD, s.v. *superfundo* (1): Vell. Pat. 2,22,2 *effuso* <…> *altaribus sanguine*; Plin., *Epist.* 9,33,9 *legatum* <…> *in litus educto* (delphino) <…> *effudisse unguentum*. *RA*'s construction is thus crystal clear (cf. [?] (ἐπι)χέω ὕπερ 'to pour out'). But the construction in *RB* is not evident. Perhaps it should be interpreted as '(pour out) for the funeral'. But *RB* probably failed to understand the ancient custom, so that he has the fragrant oil poured out over the burial place, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *sepultura* (1) (see 30, RA 8 *ampullam vini* [comm.]); Souter, s.v. *sepultura*. For such a misinterpretation, see Introd. III.5 (A conjecture like *sepeliendae* [Heraeus] is unnecessary.)

26, RA 24-25	At vero adulescens tulit ampullam unguenti et ad lectum devenit puellae <…> 'The young man took the flask of ointment, went to the girl's bier'
26, RA 22	Pervenit iuvenis ad corpus puellae,

At vero <…> **unguenti et** (RA) ~ (RB /): The context makes the succession of actions obvious to *RB*; but for an epic story these points of detail are also important.

lectum (RA) ~ *corpus* (RB): *RA* as such makes good sense (Archibald 'couch'). Yet we should consider that *RA* may overlie (?) λέχος, cf. LSJ, s.v. λέχος (1): 'couch, bed'. In addition λέχος has the meaning 'bier', cf. LSJ, ibid. (2): '"bier", usually in plur.' (Hom., *Il.* 24,589.702; also in inscriptions, e.g. in Pergamum [IGRom. 4 507^{a} 25]). An exact translation would therefore have opted for *feretrum* here and in 26, RA 32. The custom was to burn a corpse with its bier on the pyre, cf. Hom., *Il.* 24,589. *RB* probably failed to understand this antique custom, cf. Introd. III.5.

26, RA 26-28 et detraxit a pectore vestes, unguentum fudit et per omnes artus suspiciosa manu retractat, sentitque a praecordiis pectoris torporis quietem. 'and drew her clothes back from her breast. He poured on the ointment and examined all her limbs with suspicious hand and, suddenly, he felt at the height of the diaphragm the warmth of a deep repose.'

26, RB 23-24 detrahit a pectore vestem, fundit unguenti liquorem, per artifices officiosa manu tactus praecordiam sensit, temptat tepidum corpus

detraxit <…> **fudit** (RA) ~ *detrahit* <…> *fundit* (RB): Present-tense forms enliven the story. For RA, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. tempora verborum.

vestes (RA, βMπ) ~ *vestem* (**b**): Archistratis' body was probably clothed in a chiton, a royal robe, and wrapped in a cloth (φάρος). Perhaps *vestes* **βMπ** should be retained.

unguentum (RA) ~ *unguenti liquorem* (RB): *RB*'s small change emphasizes the liquid nature of the ointment, cf. 13, RA/RB 7; OLD, s.v. *liquor* (2): 'A liquid': Stat., *Silv.* 2,1,161 *Palaestini* <…> *liquores* (*i.e. unguents*).

per omnes artus (RA) ~ *per artifices* <…> *tactus* (RB): An artful paraphrase in *RB*, based on almost the same word shape in *RA*, cf. *retractat* (RA); both *artifex* 'skilful' and *tactus* 'touch' are part of medical jargon, cf. OLD, s.v. *artifex* (1): 'such as belongs to a craftsman'. But *RA* does not need this paraphrase, being perfectly clear (Gr. [?] ἀνὰ/κατὰ πάντα τὰ μέλη 'limb by limb').

suspiciosa manu (RA) ~ *officiosa manu* (RB): *RA* is is very graphic 'with suspicious hand' (cf. [?] ὕποπτος, cf. LSJ, s.v. II: 'suspecting'). *RB* probably thought this too tentative and wanted to insist more on skill, cf. OLD, s.v. *officiosus* 'dutiful' 'attentive'. Note, too, the hyperbaton. For the frequent periphrastic use of *manu*, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. manus; ThLL VIII 349,75-351,8.

retractat, sentitque (RA) ~ *tactus* <…> *sentit* (RB): At first sight *RA*'s formulation seems awkward, hence *RB*'s change. Yet *RA*'s reading is wholly plausible. (1) The prefix *re-* in *retractat* has little value, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.* § 204 (*retractat=pertractat*); the object is of course (a tacit) *corpus*. (2) Underlying *retractat, sentitque* may be a Greek formulation. CGL VII 205, s.v. The verb *retractat* suggests a form of ἀναψηλαφάω 'to retry'/ἀναψη-

λάφησις 'close search', cf. LSJ, ss.vv. This would go well with (*sentit*)*que*, cf. LSJ, s.v. καί (A.III.3): 'to express simultaneity'. *RA*'s translation would therefore read: 'he examined (her) carefully and suddenly noticed shallow breathing.' *RB* objected both to *re*(tractat) in the sense of *per*- and to the bare observation, by means of (sentit)*que*, that Archistratis was still alive. Thus *retractat* was recast as the *terminus technicus*; *tactus* 'touch' and the notional content of *sentitque* was completely changed.

a praecordiis (RA) ~ *praecordiam* (*sensit*) (RB): The *RA* reading is clear, viz. 'from the midriff', cf. OLD, s.v. *praecordia, -orum,* neut. pl. 'The parts of the body immediately below the heart'. For *a*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *a* (II): (provenance) 'de, à'. Translation from (?) ἀπὸ πραπίδων 'from the midriff'. Entirely according to the rules of the linguistic development (neut. pl. becomes fem. sing. 1st decl., cf. Väänänen, *Introd.* §§ 215-7), *RB* substitutes *praecordia, -ae,* with early attestations, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *praecordia, -orum*: Barnab., *Epist.* 8,3; 9,1: *castitatem praecordiae nostrae* (Gr. τῆς καρδίας). This is made the object of *sensit*.

temptat tepidum corpus (RB): An addition in medical jargon, cf. OLD, s.v. *tempto* (1) and *tepidus* (2): 'spec. of things having the warmth, natural to a living body'. The gesture of touching is part of medical practice, esp. in the NT, cf. Matt. 9:29; 20,34; Mark 1:31,41; 5:41; 7:33; 8:22; Luke 7:14; 13:13; 14:4; Acts 3:7; 9:41; 28:8; cf. Weinreich, *Antike Heilungswunder*, 1 ff. *RB*'s wide reading made the addition easy.

26, RA 28-29	Obstupuit iuvenis, quia cognovit puellam in falsa morte iacere. 'The young man was amazed, for he realized that the girl was lying in a coma.'
26, RB 24-25	et obstipuit.

obstupuit <...> **iacere** (RA) ~ *obstipuit.* (RB): For *RB*, *RA*'s statement is merely a pointless repetition of 26, RA 6-7, which he already modified there. Critics, from the earliest (cf. Landgraf [1888], p.120) to the most recent, have followed *RB* and delete the entire sentence *quia* <...> *iacere*, cf. Tsitsikli (1981), ad loc.: 'manifesta interpolatio'; Schmeling (1988), ad loc. In my view, the transmitted text should be retained on account of the epic parallelism between the doctor and his student. The awkward formulation should probably be attributed to **R(Gr)**.

26, RA 29-30 Palpat venarum indicia, rimatur aur<a>s narium; labia labiis probat; 'He checked her veins for signs of a pulse, examined her nostrils for breathing, tried her lips with his own.'

26, RB 25-26 Palpat indicia venarum, <rimatur> aur<a>s narium: labia labiis probat: *tricolon*, in which every sentence contains 3 element; chiastic arrangement. All the actions are intended to find signs of life in the (apparently) dead person.

palpat venarum indicia (RA/RB): A brachylogy for: he feels (cf. [?] ψηλαφάω 'to feel' 'to touch', LSJ, s.v. [II]: 'especially in Medicine') the veins to see what they indicate. For the view that breath (*spiritus*, πνεῦμα) is transported via the veins (*venae*, φλέβες), cf. 27, RA/RB 3 (comm.).

rimatur aur<a>s narium: The dominant tradition in both *RA* and *RB* records *aures*, which is clearly impossible and requires the correction *auras*. Manuscripts often confuse *aura* and *auris*, cf. ThLL II, (s.v. *auris*) 1502, 8-11. This fits with the interpretation of *narium* (**P**, **b**) as 'nostrils', cf. OLD, s.v. *naris* (b) and 44, RA 6 *de naribus eius sanguis coepit egredi*. The corresponding term in Greek is ῥῖνες 'nostrils', cf. LSJ, s.v. ῥίς 'nose' (2). The gesture is clear, cf. Hom., *Il.* 16,502 τέλος θανάτοιο κάλυψεν|ὀφθαλμοὺς ῥῖνάς θ'. 'Death's end covered eyes and nose': no breath could be detected. Greek may have had (?) πνοή.

labia labiis probat (RA/RB): According to ancient belief, the soul in death lies ἐπὶ χείλεσιν (*in primis labris*), cf. Headlam, p.119 (on Herondas 3,4), ready to be blown away. Sometimes piety prompts an attempt to catch this *spiritus* (ψυχή): Cic., *Verr.* 5, § 118 (*extremum*) *spiritum ore excipere liceret*; Verg., *Aen.* 4,684 *extremus si quis super halitus errat* | *ore legam*; Ov., *Met.* 12,424 *oraque ad ora* | *admovet atque animae fugienti obsistere temptat*, cf. ibid., 7,860. Sometimes, as here, respiration is thus checked to see whether someone is still alive or can be reanimated. The latter occurs in the famous story of Elisha, when he brings back to life the dead son of the Shunammite: 2 Kgs. 4:34 *incubuit super puerum posuitque os suum super os eius* (LXX καὶ ἔθηκεν τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ) <…> *et calefacta est caro pueri*, cf. 1 Kgs. 17:21. This gesture had great resonance in later literature, cf. Sulp. Sev., *Vita Mart.* 7,3. Kerény, *Romanliteratur*, p.38 proposes a direct link, perhaps rightly. The expression itself is also found in an entirely different, amorous context: Lucian., *Amor.* 53 χείλη προσεγγίσας χείλεσι 'having approached lips to lips', Anthol. Pal. 5,127 (Marc. Arg.) συμπιέζω χείλεα ζείλεσι. Understandably, the Greek Novel in particular offers many examples: Xen. Eph. 1,9,6 τὰ χείλη τοῖς χείλεσι

φιλοῦσα συνηρμόκει 'she (sc. Anthia) joined his lips (sc. of Habrocomes) to hers in a kiss', cf. Achill. Tat. 2,37,7 (Vilborg comm.). But there are attestations in Latin too: Gell., *Noct. Att.* 20,9,2 *labra labris conserere*. Despite this amorous connotation, the phrase itself can perhaps be traced back to the earliest phase of **HA(Gr)**.

probat (RA/RB): Perhaps we can compare Theodosios (ed. Usener) p.35,20 ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐκ ἀπηξίου χείλη χείλεσιν προσαρμόζων γνησίως ἀσπάζεσθαι τοὺς τὴν σάρκα λελωβημένους 'and in fact he did not disdain to kiss in reality the lepers, touching his lips with theirs.'

26, RA 30-31	sentit gracil<e> spirantis vitam prope luctare cum morte adultera, et ait: 'He felt that the life of the maiden only breathing was almost struggling with a false death, and he said:'
26, RB 26-27	sensit spiramentum gracilem, luctantem vitam cum morte, et ait famulis suis:

gracil<e> spirantis vitam (RA) ~ *spiramentum gracilem* (**b**: *gracile* **βMπ**): There are no problems with *RA*: *gracile* (neut. sing.) is adverb to *spirare,* cf. ThLL VI,2 1232,11 ff. As for *spiramentum gracilem* (RB): classical Latin would have had *spiramen* (*spiraculum*) *gracile,* cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *spiramentum*; the form *gracilem* has been retained because of the declining sense of the neuter in *RB* too, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. neutrum; Väänänen, *Introd.* § 214. The spelling *-e* **βMπ** is probably no more than a correction.

(vitam) prope luctare (RA) ~ *luctantem vitam* (RB): *Prope,* cf. OLD, s.v. *prope* (6) 'almost' 'nearly' (translated from [?] ὡσάν/ὡσανεί 'as if' 'as it were'). *RB* probably omits *prope* because it weakens the comparison in his view.

luctare (**P**) ~ *luctantem* (RB): As often in Late and Church Latin, active and medial forms occur side by side, cf. Ind. verb., s.v.; Väänänen, *Introd.* § 294. *RA*'s active form recurs in 40, RA 37 (**Va^{c} P**), cf. ThLL VII $^{II\ 2}$ 1730,36-42. (Klebs, p.257 can be ignored.) The image itself is familiar to Roman readers: Verg., *Aen.* 4,695 *(Iris), quae luctantem animam* (sc. Didonis) *nexosque resolveret artus*; Lucan. 3,578 *hic luctantem animam lenta cum morte trahentes*; Sen., *Oed.* 344 *animamque fessus vix reluctantem exprimit*. (The image persists far into the Middle Ages, cf. Sequentia *Victimae paschali laudes: Mors et vita duello conflixere mirando: dux vitae mortuus, regnat vivus*.) Translated from (?) παλαίω 'to wrestle'; ψυχομαχέω 'to fight to the last'. The latter verb is often used by Late Greek authors to represent the throes of death, cf. Lampe, s.v.; Gelzer (1893), s.v. p.194.

cum morte adultera (RA) ~ *cum morte* (RB): Elswhere Archistratis' apparent death is called more comprehensibly *falsa mors* (26, RA/RB 6), cf. the crocodile tears in 32, RA 25 *falsis lacrimis* (RB /). But on what is the word *adulter* based? ThLL I 881,41 records only this place without adducing parallels. I believe the usage comes from the monetary sphere. The equation *adulter = falsus* is often used in Latin in relation to counterfeit money, e.g. Apul., *Met.* 10,9 *ne forte aliquis* <…> *istorum aureorum nequam vel adulter repperiatur*, cf. ThLL I 881,29-30; ibid. X.1.1 942,21-3. In Greek we often find κίβδηλος, κιβδηλεύω in the sense of 'false, to falsify', cf. LSJ, s.v. κίβδηλος (I): 'especially of coins', (II): 'deceitful'; Lampe, s.v. κιβδηλεύω (2.b): 'debased' (of money). It may well be that *adulter = falsus* goes back to κίβδηλος 'uncertain' 'deceitful'. Compare LSJ (Suppl.), s.v. κίβδηλος: '*Trag. adesp.* 638,17 K-S. κίβδηλος φίλος' (a false friend). If the above assumption is correct, *RB* has not only eliminated a striking term but also a Graecism that was probably part of the original vocabulary of **HA(Gr)**, cf. Introd. VI.3. (For a similar usage, cf. ThLL X.1.1 942,18-23.)

ait (RA) ~ *ait famulis suis* (RB): Probably added by *RB*, cf. 26, RA 31/RB 27 from 26, RA/RB 4. But it is unlikely that the *discipulus medici* had his own servants.

26, RA 31	"Supponite faculas per IIII partes." '"Put little torches underneath at all four sides."'
26, RB 27	"Subponite faculas per quattuor angulos lentas."

The solution devised by the *discipulus* suggests a popular etymology, a literal interpretation of terms like (ἀνα)ζωπυρέω 'to revive' / (ἀνα)ζωπυρίς 'kindling up' 'reviving', consisting of the elements ἀνά 'again', ζωός 'alive' and πῦρ 'fire', cf. Achill. Tat. 1,17,5 καὶ ἀνέψυξε μὲν ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ φυτοῦ, τὸ δὲ σῶμα ἀποθνῆσκον πάλιν ἀνεζωπύρησε καὶ ἐξανέστη 'And the tree's life revives; its dying body is renewed and stands upright', cf. id. 6,18,2.

sup(sub-)ponite (RA/RB): A technical term, esp. in hagiography (descriptions of martyrdom), cf. e.g. Mombrit. I 444,42; 444,49; 445,8; 535,51; 540,15 etc.; compare also Xen. Eph. 4,2,8 τὸ πῦρ ὑπετέθειτο 'the fire had been lit underneath'.

faculas (RA) ~ *faculas* <…> *lentas* (RB): For *RA*/*RB*, cf. OLD, s.v. *facula* 'a torch'; Adams (1976), p.104. This word may derive from (?) λαμπάς 'torch' (or possibly λαμπάδιον, λαμπτήρ, also found in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, ss.vv.). Starting from a difficult collocation with *manus* (see 26, RA

33 comm.), *RB* has connected the word *lentas* (RA 30) with *faculas* in the sense of 'slow-burning', cf. OLD, s.v. *lentus* (4.b): Verg., *Aen.* 5,682 *lentus* <...> *carinas est* (= edit) *vapor*; Ov., *Trist.* 3,11,47 *lentis carbonibus*: a clever 'emendation'.

partes (RA) ~ *angulos* (RB): *RA* handles this well: *partes* 'sides' is regarded as the standard translation of μέρη, cf. LSJ, s.v. μέρος (IV); Ljunvik (1926), p.92. For the choice of the term μέρος, cf. Heliod. 6,14,3 πυρκαϊὰν ἐκ θατέρου μέρους ἐξῆψε 'she kindled the pyre from the other side'. The cremation of Archistratis' 'corpse' is evidently arranged with all possible expedition: the pyre is lit from four sides. This emphasizes her miraculous revival, at the very last moment, from death. It is unclear why *RB* changes to *angulos* 'angles'. (Schmeling (1988), p.62,3; *Notes*, p.392 *aliter*.)

26, RA 31-34 Quod cum fecisse<n>t, lentas lectoque suppositas <puella coepit> retrahere manus, et sanguis ille, qui coagulatus fuerat, <per unctionem> liquefactus est. 'When they had done this, the girl began to draw back her hands, which were dangling immobile from the bier, and her blood, which had coagulated, became liquid, thanks to the rubbing with ointment.'

26, RB 28-29 Quibus subpositis puella teporis nebula tacta, coagulatus sanguis liquefactus est.

Quod cum fecisse<n>t (sc. famuli) (RA) ~ *Quibus suppositis* (RB): *RA* offers a standard formulation, sometimes altered by *RB*, cf. above 26, RA 5 (RB *aliter*); 36, RA/RB 5.

lentas lectoque (lentoque **P**) **suppositas retrahere manus** (RA) ~ (RB /): These lines are very hard to interpret. Various manoeuvres have to be carried out: *lentas* <...> *manus* should probably be interpreted as 'weak'. 'lifeless', cf. ThLL VII$^{II\ 2}$ 1163,58: Verg., *Aen* 11, 829 (*Camilla moritura*) *lenta*<...> *colla et captum leto posuit caput*; Hor., *sat.* 1,9,6 *pressare manu lentissima bracchia*. For rare instances of *lenta manus* 'weak', 'motionless' ibid., 71-2. Also we should probably follow Riese (1893) in changing *lento* **P** to *lecto*, i.e. 'dangling from the bier'. Finally, a subject and main verb are missing: *retrahere manus* could be regarded as a historical infinitive (lively narrative), but, as the Romance languages show, this is virtually obsolete in Late Latin, cf. Austin, on Verg., *Aen.* 4,422. For the sake of readability I have added *puella coepit*, cf. ed. m. (1984), ad loc. A possible parallel is Charit. 1,8,1 ἔπειτα κινεῖν ἤρξατο κατὰ μέλη τὸ σῶμα 'Then she began to

move her body, limb by limb'. Perhaps an overall solution should be sought in Greek. Many translation possibilities offered by the Glossaria point in the direction of 'weak' 'inoperative', cf. CGL VI, 636 s.v. *lentus*: ἀργός 'not working'; βραδύς 'slow'; ἤρεμος 'quiet'; ἥσυχος 'quiet' 'inactive'. Naturally commentators are divided on this place. Thus Konstan/Roberts assume that the hands belong to the *discipulus*: 'He began to withdraw his supple hands that had been placed beneath (the body)', rightly questioned by Archibald, p.181. See also Hunt, 'More on the Text of Apollonius of Tyre' (1984), pp.360-1. For a critical assessment of textual changes and explications, cf. McGowan (1997), pp.239-40. Perhaps the curious term *lentus* involves a translation from ὑγρός 'wet' 'moist' 'fluid'. This adjective also has the meaning 'languid' 'feeble' (= *lentus*) and is specifically used 'of one dying', cf. LSJ, s.v. ὑγρός II.2. They refer to Soph., *Antig.* 1236 ἐς ὑγρὸν ἀγκῶνα <...> παρθένῳ προσπτύσσεται 'he clasped the maiden in a limp embrace'; Eurip., *Phoen.* 1439 κἀπιθεὶς ὑγρὰν χέρα 'having placed a flaccid hand' (cf. D.J. Mastronarde ad loc.) This meaning would go well with Tharsia's limply dangling hands. For the transposition of *RB lentas*, see 26, RA 31 (comm. above).

puella t̲eporis nebula t̲acta (RB) (sc. est): An addition by *RB*, probably as subject. The formulation is highly poetic, cf. OLD, s.v. *nebula* 'mist' 'fog'.

sanguis ille, qui coagulatus fuerat (RA) ~ *coagulatus sanguis* (RB): A classical emendation by *RB*, eliminating both *ille*, with virtually the function of an article, and *fuerat* (i.q. *erat*). **P** actually reads *qui per unctionem coagulatus fuerat*; Riese (1893) rightly moves this *per unctionem* to the main clause. For *unctio*, cf. 26, RA 26/RB 24. The phrase *coagulatus fuerat* may derive directly from (?) αἷμα συμπεπηγός, cf. *Protev. Jacobi* 24,2 αἷμα πεπηγός, 'clotted blood': both πήγνυμι and συμπήγνυμι are often used in the sense of 'to curdle', 'to churn', cf. LSJ, ss.vv.; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, ss.vv. Another good candidate is ἀποπήγνυμι 'make to freeze', since it is specially used for the congealing of blood, cf. LSJ, s.v. 2): Hipp. *Morb. Sacr.* 9.

<**per unctionem**> **liquefactus est** (RA) ~ *liquefactus est* (RB). For an explanation of the medical terms *coagulatus – liquefactus*, see 27, RA 6-8/RB 5-7 (comm.), where the text offers a further cause of the medical phenomenon. It is said there to be *a perfrictione* 'through supercooling'. This may have disrupted the *RA* reading: *et sanguis ille, qui a perfrictione coagulatus fuerat, per unctionem* ('through anointment') *liquefactus est*. I have not ventured to intervene further in the text. The error may have arisen in several textual phases.

CHAPTER 27

27, RA 1	Quod ut vidit iuvenis, ad magistrum suum cucurrit et ait: 'When the young man saw this, he ran to his master and said:'
27, RB 1	Quod ut vidit iuvenis, ait:

An understandable reaction from the *discipulus*: no doubt the *magister* kept some distance from the *rogus*. For *currere* we should probably take τρέχω as substrate, cf. *Less.*, s.v. τρέχω. To *RB* it is a negligible detail.

27, RA 1-3	"Magister, puella, quam credis esse defunctam, vivit! Et ut facilius mihi credas, spiritum praeclusum patefaciam!" '"Master, the girl whom you believe dead is alive! And so that you may believe me more readily, I will unblock her obstructed breathing!"'
27, RB 1-3	"Chaeremon magister, peccasti. Nam quam putas esse defunctam, vivit! Et ut facilius mihi credas, ego illi adhibitis viribus statim spiritum patefaciam!"

Magister (RA) ~ *Magister Chaeremon* (RB): Naturally in *RB*'s view the student, even in this kind of enervating situation, addresses his teacher by his full title (Klebs sees this too, p.42).

peccasti (RB): Cf. OLD, s.v. *pecco* (I) 'to blunder in action or thought' 'make a mistake'. For the rest: a series of stylistic emendations (RB) to the young man's spontaneous exclamation (RA).

adhibitis viribus (RB): Transposed from *RA* 3 *Adhibitis secum viribus*, probably in the classical sense of 'with the use of all my powers', cf. OLD, s.v. *vires* (20). For another explanation, see *RA* 3-4 (comm.).

spiritum praeclusum (RA) ~ *statim spiritum* (RB): *RB* has replaced the principal notion *praeclusum* ('obstructed') by the evident *statim* ('immediately'). For a further explanation of *praeclusum*, cf. 27, RA 6-8 (comm.).

27, RA 3-4 Adhibitis secum viribus tulit puellam in cubiculo suo et posuit super lectulum, 'Taking some men with him, he brought the girl into his own room and put her on his bed.'

27, RB 3-4 Et his dictis pertulit puellam in cubiculo suo et posuit in lectum.

Adhibitis secum viribus (RA) ~ (*Adhibitis viribus* RB 3): Various translations seem possible: (1) most obviously 'after having applied his powers', i.e. with the exertion of all his powers ('mit Aufbietung aller Kräfte' Heraeus notes in his copy). A problem here is *secum*: what does it mean? And could the *discipulus* transport the bier (cf. 26, RA 25.32) to his *cubiculum* by himself? (2) A totally different translation reads (Konstan/Roberts ad loc.): 'taking with him remedies' with the annotation: '*vires* is used of the power of drugs or other restoratives' (cf. e.g. Peters, p.125 'Er steckte Arzeneien zu sich'). Though this is a theoretical possibility (cf. OLD, s.v. *vires* [23.b]), the *HA* does not mention special herbs, spices etc.; (3) The translation which seems most likely is 'After having taken with him (other) <u>men</u> by way of assistance', cf. 'with some assistance' (Sandy). This translation is based on the confusion, in form and content, between *vis* and *vir*, not uncommon in Late Latin: Ven. Fort., *Carm.* praef.4 (MGH IV p.1,21) *quia viritim* ('with urgency') *flagitas*; CGL 5,489,54 *viritim*: *fortiter*, cf. Svennung, *Wortstudien*, p.142; Blomgren, p.8. Also: *adhibitis secum* is mostly said of persons, cf. *HA* 27, RA 20/RB 18; Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* 1,19,2 *adhibito secum Aaron, Nabod et Abiud*; id., *Vita Mart.* 11,3 *paucis adhibitis secum fratribus*; Oros., *Hist.* 3,12,25 *adhibitis secum Atheniensibus*; Paul. Diac., *Hist. Lang.* 4,29 *paucis secum, sed expeditis ex Langobardis adhibitis*. For the omission of *aliquot*, cf. 24, RA 1 (comm.). The expression *adhibere aliquem secum* corresponds exactly with παραλαμβάνειν τινὰ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. παραλαμβάνω, e.g. Vulg., Matt. 18:16 *adhibe tecum unum vel duos* (παράλαβε μετὰ σοῦ). Obviously this confusion between *vis* and *vir* forms an important time-marker for *RA*. *RB*'s transposition is classical.

super lectulum (RA) ~ *in lectum* (RB): In Late and Christian Latin *lectulus* has a number of specific meanings, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *lectulus* (sickbed or deathbed, marriage bed, grave), hence perhaps *RB*'s modification. Adams (1976), p.105 argues for complete interchangeability between *lectus* and *lectulus* in Vulgar Latin. But *RA* may be a direct translation of κλινάριον/κλινίδιον, diminutive of κλίνη 'bed', but with the value of a simple noun. A predilection for diminutives occurs mainly in Greek hagiographers. So the expression is probably the work of **R(Gr),** cf. 24, RA 2 (comm.): it is lacking in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.* (Klebs, p.274 n.4 is entertaining.)

27, RA 4-5 velum divisit, calefecit oleum, madefecit lanam et effudit super pectus puellae. 'He opened her shroud, warmed the oil, moistened some wool, and applied it to the girl's breast.'

27, RB 4-5 Calefecit oleum, madefecit lanam, fudit super pectus puellae.

velum divisit (RA) ~ (RB /): Probably an erroneous translation of ὀθόνη: (1) 'fine linen', 'fine linen cloth(s)'; (2) 'sail cloth' 'sail', cf. LSJ, s.v. ὀθόνη; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, ss.vv. ὀθόνη; ὀθόνιον. For this standard custom, see Pall., *Hist. Laus.* (ed. Bartelink), c.10, l.35 ὀθονίοις τὸ σῶμα ἑλίξασα 'she, after having wrapped up the dead body in winding sheets'. *RA* probably failed to grasp this meaning: whereas the first meaning was required, i.e. 'winding-sheet' (i.q. linteum, pannus), he took the second. *RB* was not able to deal with this usage either and consequently omitted the detail. But it probably stems from **HA(Gr)**, cf. *Less.*, s.v. ὀθόνη: Achill. Tat. 8,13,1 ὀθόνης ὁ χιτών 'a chiton, made of fine linen'. (An erroneous translation could also go back to φᾶρος 'a large piece of cloth', with a similar double meaning, cf. LSJ, s.v. φᾶρος. But this word does not occur in the Greek Novel. (Garbugino, p.45 n.71 doubts whether the phrase *velum dividere* is original: 'soltanto in RA'.)

calefecit oleum <...> **madefecit** <...> **effudit (fudit)** (RA/RB): A customary procedure in classical medicine, cf. ThLL III, s.v. *calefacio* 145,51: Cels. 3,12 *oleo calefacto*. For anointment with oil, cf. Mark 6:13 ἤλειφον ἐλαίῳ πολλοὺς ἀρρώστους 'They embrocated many sick persons with ointment'; Epist. Iac. 5,14 ἀλείψαντες αὐτὸν ἐλαίῳ. For general information, see L. Elaut, *Antieke geneeskunde,* Antwerpen 1960, p.387 'thick layer of wool with warm oil of nard' (Galen's prescription). The specialist involved even had his own professional name: ὁ ἰατραλείπτης 'surgeon who practises by anointing, friction'. In Artemidorus (ed. R. Hercher 1864) 4,82 an apparently dead person is also revived by anointment with warm oil. For the alteration *effudit* (RA) ~ *fudit* (RB), cf. (?) ἐκχέω LSJ, s.v. 'to pour out', 'properly of liquids'.

27, RA 6-8 Sanguis vero ille, qui intus a perfrictione coagulatus fuerat, accepto tepore liquefactus est coepitque spiritus praeclusus per medullas descendere. ‘Her blood, which had congealed in consequence of the swoon (extreme cold?), liquefied as it was warmed, and her breath which had been blocked, began to descend through the depths of her vitals.’

27, RB 5-7 Sanguis, qui ad perfectionem coagulatus erat, accepto tepore liquefactus est et coepit spiritus praeclusus per medullas descendere.

Sanguis <…> (8) **Venis itaque patefactis** (RA/RB): A succinct but probably fairly precise rendering of Hippocrates’ view of the role played by the veins (*venae*; φλέβες), inasmuch as they transport liquids of various kinds (*spiritus*; πνεῦμα) through the entire body and may cause (apparent) death (and sometimes even complications during childbirth) in the case of obstruction (*praeclusio*: ἀπόληψις ‘intercepting’), cf. 25, RA 10-11/RB 8-9). The **HA(Gr)** probably expanded on this medical view (in particular the role of the *medullae* [μυελός]). As usual, *RA* most likely offers a literal translation of **R(Gr)**; the medical events are beyond *RB* (cf. RB 5 *ad perfectionem*).

vero (RA) ~ (RB /); **ille** (RA) ~ (RB /): Both omissions are systematic.

intus (RA) ~ (RB /), cf. ἔνδον ‘within’; an important detail: the entire process takes place inside the body, in a virtually unverifiable manner.

a perfrictione (RA) ~ *ad perfectionem* (RB): *Perfrictio* is a difficult term to interpret here. Etymologically it is related to both *perfrigesco* and *perfrico* and can therefore mean both (1) ‘a catching cold’ ‘a violent cold’, cf. LSJ, s.v. and (2) ‘a rubbing’ ‘abrasion’ (not mentioned as such in LSJ, but see Lewis & Short, *Dict.*, s.v. (2); Georges, *Wörterb.*, s.v. *perfrictio* (2)). Neither meaning is appropriate in this subordinate clause. It is hard to see what the apparently dead Archistratis has to do with a cold, or how her blood can congeal through the oil massage. But if we start from a Greek substrate, and specifically ψύξις ‘cooling’ ‘chilling’, the connection with Archistratis becomes clear, because ψύξις is often used for blood that is too cold (Plato, *Tim.* 85^{d} αἵματος ἐν ψύξει ὄντος ‘blood in cooling’), just as various compounds serve to describe cooling and, as a consequence, unconsciousness (ἀπόψυξις, ἔκψυξις ‘cooling’, ‘loss of consciousness’). In translating (?) ψύξις (or a compound) *RA* probably chose the wrong shade of meaning: where *frigus* ‘cold’ (sometimes extreme cold) would have suf-

ficed, he opted for *perfrictio* '(the common) cold'. Perhaps he was also led astray by the confusion between the roots *fric-* and *frig-*, cf. Svennung, *Wortstudien* p.89. More likely, however, it is a translation error and *RA* was misled by the further context: *perfricari* is often used for medical massage: Cels. 1,3,4 *multo oleo ungui leniterque perfricari*; ibid. 1,3,5 *totum corpus* <…> *leviter* <…> *perfricare ex oleo*. Such translation errors are quite frequent, esp. in relation to medical terminology, cf. M. Niedermann, *Neue Jahrbücher* 29 (1912), pp.320-2; Blatt, *Acta Andreae*, p.40 n.1. The reading *ad perfectionem* (RB) is a perfect certificate of incompetence: though this expression occurs in major authors (OLD quotes Cic., *Leg.* 2,29 *quas* [sc. ferias] *compositio anni conferre debet ad perfectionem operum rusticorum*), it should be taken literally there: 'the action of bringing (a task, building, etc.) to completion'. *RB* intends to say *perfecte, plane*, but by adhering too closely to the word-shape in *RA* he came up with this reading, cf. Introd. III.5. For a possible consequence, cf. Introd. VII.2.2. (Schmeling [1988], p.62,10 *aliter*; ThLL X 1,2 1350,53-5; p.1405,33-5 'agitur de rigore mortis' requires correction in my view.)

coagulatus fuerat (RA) ~ *coagulatus erat* (RB), cf. 26, RA 33/RB 28. *RB* could not resist 'changing' *fuerat* to *erat*.

accepto tepore (RA/RB): Though terms like καίω 'to set on fire', θερμόω 'to make hot' suggest themselves, one cannot help thinking of θάλπος 'warmth', cf. LSJ, s.v.: 'Hippocr., *Aph.* 3,4 θάλπος, opp. ψῦχος'.

liquefactus est (RA/RB): A direct parallel is not (yet) available: perhaps (?) λελυμένον (cf. LSJ, s.v. λύω [II,6] 'to dissolve'), ὑγροπεποιημένον (cf. LSJ, s.v. ὑγροποιέω 'to make moist').

spiritus praeclusus (RA/RB), cf. LSJ, s.v. πνεῦμα 'spirit' (II 2.6): '*plur.* of the air imagined as filling the veins': Hippocr., *Acut.* (*Sp.*) 7 πνευμάτων ἀπολήψιες ἀνὰ φλέβας 'intercepting of the breathing throughout the veins'.

praeclusus (RA/RB): Naturally, as far as the Greek goes, we can only hypothesize here. The Glosses suggest ἀποκλείω 'to shut up, close', cf. CGL II 237,42. This would fit very well.

per medullas descendere (RA/RB) 'through the marrow': The bonds of the soul are assumed to be firmly secured around the marrow (μυελός). For the function of this compressed marrow, which descends from the head along the neck and spinal cord, see Plato, *Timaeus* 69^{c} ~ 92^{a}, *Phaedo* 116^{a}; for *descendere* **R(Gr)** probably offered καταβαίνειν, cf. LSJ, s.v. (5): 'of streams (Plato, *Crit.* 118^{d})'.

venis itaque patefactis (RA/RB): Several verbs may have served as a model here: ἀνοίγω/ἀνοίγνυμι, but also more remote verbs like ἀνίημι, cf. Heliod. 7,11,4. For the *HA*, see E. Wolff, 'Médecine et médecins dans *l'Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*', in *Les textes médicaux latins comme littérature, Actes du VI*^{e} *Colloque International*, Nantes, 2000, pp.371-2.

27, RA 8-9 Venis itaque patefactis aperuit puella oculos et recipiens spiritum, quem iam perdiderat, leni et balbutienti sermone ait: 'When her veins were cleared, the girl opened her eyes and recovered her breath, which she had already lost; in a soft and quavering voice she said:'

27, RB 7-9 Venis itaque patefactis aperuit oculos et recipiens spiritum, quem iam perdiderat, leni et balbutienti sermone ait:

aperuit oculos (RA/RB) – **recipiens spiritum** (RA/RB): A standard description, cf. Charit. 1,8,1 μόγις καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον ἀνέπνευσεν <…> διανοίγουσα δὲ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αἴσθησιν ἐλάμβανεν 'with difficulty, and gradually, she began to breathe <…> Then she opened her eyes and came to her senses.'

quem iam perdiderat (RA/**b**): There are many possible synonyms for this in Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. πνεῦμα (II,b) 'to give up the ghost': πνεῦμα ἀφεῖναι; ἀνεῖναι; μεθεῖναι. The reading *tradiderat* **β(M)π** seems based on the Vulgate, cf. John 19:30 *Et inclinato capite tradidit spiritum* (καὶ κλίνας τὴν κεφαλὴν παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα).

leni et balbutienti sermone (RA/RB): The codd. in both recensions offer *lenis* (**Rα[F]**); **bβ**) as well as *levis* (**P**; **Mπ**). In general these two adjectives are often confused in manuscripts, cf. ThLL VII,2 1142,79 (s.v. *lenis*) and ibid. 1201, 21 (s.v. *levis*) and 26, RB 5 (app. crit.). As regards content, similar descriptions are found in the Greek Novel, cf. Achill. Tat. 3,17,6 δίς που καὶ τρὶς ἐπάταξε τὴν σορόν, καὶ κάτωθεν ἀκούω φωνῆς πάνυ λεπτῆς 'He tapped on the top of the coffin a second and a third time, and I heard a delicate voice from under the lid'; Charit. 1,9,5 ἱκέτευε, λεπτὴν ἀφεῖσα φωνήν 'she begged him in a small voice'; id. 3,1,4 ἐκεῖνος ἀνανήψας ἀσθενεῖ φωνῇ <…> φησίν 'Dionysius regained consciousness. In a weak voice he said'. For *balbutio* 'to stammer' 'to lisp', cf. (?) Heliod. 8,15,3 ταῦτα ἔλεγεν ὁ Βαγώας <…> ψελλιζόμενος τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνήν 'Bagoas said this <…> in a faltering Greek'.

27, RA 10-11 "Deprecor itaque, medice, ne me contingas aliter, quam oportet contingere: uxor enim regis sum et regis filia." '"I implore you, doctor, not to touch me except as is proper; for I am the wife of a king and the daughter of a king."'

27, RB 9-10 "Rogo, ne me aliter contingatis, quam contingi oportet regis filiam et regis uxorem."

Deprecor itaque, medice (*ne*) (RA) ~ *Rogo* (*ne*) (RB): Probably prompted in part by *RB*'s example, Klebs (p.37, p.221 [wrong reference; wrong quotation]) proposes to delete *RA*, the more so because both *itaque* and *medice* seem to make no sense there (Klebs, p.37: 'das ist Unsinn, weil die eben vom Scheintod Erweckte nicht wissen kann, wer vor ihr steht'). But this logic is spurious: *RA* is correct Latin, inasmuch as *deprecor* ('I beg') is used when someone asks to be spared something (cf. OLD, s.v. *deprecor* [1,3.c]). Moreover, *itaque* has a weak sense (cf. 9,RA 4; 26, RA 16), while the term *medicus* is rightly used by Archistratis in relation to someone who has just saved her from apparent death. After all, she cannot be expected to see a difference between *magister* and *discipulus*. These counter-arguments are all the more cogent if we can supply a substrate (?) ἀπαιτέω οὖν σε, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀπαιτέω 'to demand something' and οὖν, s.v. (III) 'then' 'therefore'. Later versions often correct: thus Vatic. 1984 (Schmeling [1988], p.103,9) *rogo, quisquis es*.

contingas (RA) ~ *contingatis* (RB): Since Old Latin *contingere* has had a sexual connotation, cf. OLD, s.v. (1): Plaut., *Amph.* 834 *mi extra unum te mortalis nemo corpus corpore contigit*; Cato, *Orat.* 219 *illa te <…> digito non auderet contingere*; Apul., *Met.* 5,6 *(ne) suum postea contingat amplexum*; for Late Latin, cf. Greg. Tur., *Lib. de Mirac. B. Andreae* (ed. Bonnet) p.839,17 *At illa ingressa lupanar, orabat assidue, cumque venissent, qui eam contingerent, ponebat evangelium <…> ad pectus suum*; p.842,32 (words of a *mulier meretrix* in a *lupanar*) *Ne contingas me*, cf. Bremmer (2000), p.23. The corresponding term in Greek is probably θιγγάνω 'to touch', cf. LSJ, s.v. I.2; CGL II 114,26. *RB*'s change from *contingas* to *contingatis* is connected with the elimination of *medice* and a more rational view of the disposal of corpses, which requires the involvement of superiors. The other stylistic alterations (*contingere* [RA] → *contingi*; *filia* → *filiam*) need no explication.

27, RA 11-13	Iuvenis ut vidit, quod in arte viderat, quod magistro fallebat, gaudio plenus vadit ad magistrum suum et ait: 'When the young man saw that through his skill he had noticed what his teacher had missed, he was overjoyed. He went to his teacher and said:'
27, RB 10-11	Iuvenis ut vidit, quae in arte viderat, quae magistro fallere<n>t, gaudio plenus vadit ad magistrum et dicit:

quod[1] <...> **quod**[2] (RA) ~ *quae*[1] <...> *quae*[2] (RB): *RA* is probably a literal translation of (εἶδεν), ὅτι (conjunction) <...> (ἑωράκει), ὃ (relat. pron.); *RB* construes (*vidit ea*), *quae* (relat. pron.) <...> (*viderat*), *quae* (relat. pron. + conj.) <...> *fallere<n>t* and so is able to avoid the analytical construction *videre, quod* (instead of *acc. cum inf.*). From the vast amount of literature we can mention LHS II, p.573[1]; Norberg, *Beiträge zur Spätlat. Syntax*, Uppsala 1944, p.58. (Schmeling, *Notes*, pp.147-8 [on ed. 20, 18-19] *aliter*.)

in arte (RA/RB): Probably identical to *arte* 'in his art' 'through his art' and corresponding to ἐν + dat. of instrument/manner; for Late Latin, cf. Löfstedt, *Synt.* II, pp.452-456; Bonnet, p.616; Bieler (on Patrick, *Epist.* I,9). For Greek, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ἐν (III.2; Sp. 517): 'Zur Kennzeichnung von Art und Weise'; Blass-Debrunner, *Gramm. des N.T. Griechisch*, Göttingen (1913[4]), § 219,4. This ἐν plays an important role particularly in Late and Byzantine Greek, with phrases like ἐν ἁγίῳ φιλήματι (*in osculo sancto*), ἐν τρόπῳ, ἐν λόγῳ, ἐν νόμῳ, cf. Usener, *Theod.* p.124; Wolff II p.46; Ghedini, 'La lingua dei vangeli apocrifi greci', in: *Studi dedicati a Paolo Ubaldi*, p.452. *Ars* (RA/RB) is probably a direct translation of τέχνη 'art', 'skill', cf. LSJ, s.v.: II *POxy*, 40.5 (2nd c. AD) ἰατρὸς τὴν τέχνην; N. van Brock, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire médical du Grec ancien*, Paris, 1961, p.16. For the expression (κατὰ) τὴν ἰατρικὴν τέχνην, cf. L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.* 1939, p.164 n.2. Our expression would thus coincide with ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ (**R[Gr]**?).

magistro fallebat (RA) ~ *magistro fallerent* (RB): *Fallere* + dat. is most unorthodox (ThLL VI,1 189,53 one doubtful example), cf. A. Hudson-Williams, *Vig. Christ.* 7 (1953), p.91; Bieler, *Irish Penitentials* (Index Grammaticus), p.342: Pa I,8 *clerico fallat*. But the construction has been retained, (1) because both recensions offer it in the main manuscripts **P** and **b**, (2) because there may be an analogy with e.g. *latere alicui* (in Varro LL., Cic., Sen. Poeta), (3) because of possible carelessness in translating, (4) and finally because of a possible substrate from λανθάνειν + dat. This

last possibility should be considered very seriously, cf. Pall., *Dial. de vita Jo. Chrys.* c.6 (PG 47,5 p.22) οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐλάνθανε τῶν πανταχοῦ πραττομένων καὶ λαλουμένων 'nothing escaped his notice of what was done or spoken everywhere'; Niceph., *Vita Andr. Sali*, AASS Mai, p.96[b] λαθὼν τῷ ἀντιχρίστῳ 'escaping the notice of the Antichrist'; *Apophegmata patr.* (PL 65), p.153[a] καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ἐλάνθανεν. Because we are dealing here with a late construction (not recorded in LSJ/Suppl., s.v. λανθάνω nor in Bauer, *Wörterb.*), we can perhaps attribute it to **R(Gr)**. *RB*'s change to the subjunct. *fallere<n>t* is grammatically very fine.

vadit ad magistrum (RA/RB): For *vadere* = *ire*, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. *magistrum suum* (RA) ~ *magistrum* (RB): obvious.

27, RA 13	"Veni, magister, <en> discipuli tui apodixi<n>!" "'Come, master, look at your pupil's master-proof!'"
27, RB 11-12	"Magister, accipe discipuli tui apodixin!"

en (RA) ~ *accipe* (RB): *en* comes closest to transmitted *et* **P**; for the constr. *en* + acc., cf. OLD, s.v. *en* (c): Cic., *Att.* 8,5,1 *en meam mansuetudinem*! The basis for *RB*'s change is uncertain. Perhaps he thought *RA* too popular ('Lo! behold!' Konstan), cf. 24, RA 28 *en* ~ (RB /).

apodixin (RA/RB): Romans will certainly have understood this word, cf. OLD, s.v. *apodixis* (with references from Petron., Quintill., Gell.); it is also found in hagiography, cf. *Passio Agn.* c.10 (AASS. Jan. XI, p.352) *ad filium meum voluisti apodixin tuae artis magicae demonstrare*; Mombr. I (*Gregorius Papa*) 594,33 *duos magos pecuniis conducit* (sc. vir quidam anathematizatus), *ut in virum apostolicum* <...> *apodixem* (sic, cf. **P**) *artis suae exercerent*. But clearly this word evokes Greek ἀπόδειξις 'proof' 'demonstration' [*pace* Klebs, p.274], the more so because the word is also used in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. ἀπόδειξις (Charit.; Heliod.). Directly Latin might have used *specimen*, cf. Welser, *editoris censura* p.679. For the spellings *apodixin* **b**, *apodixen* **Ra(F)**, **βMπ** and thence probably *apodixiem* **P**, see Heraeus, *Kleine Schriften*, p.100.

27, RA 14-15 Magister introivit cubiculum et ut vidit puellam iam vivam, quam mortuam putabat, ait discipulo suo: 'The teacher came into the bedroom, and, when he saw that the girl he thought was dead was now alive, he said to his pupil:'

27, RB 12-13 Et introivit cubiculum iuvenis et vidit puellam vivam, quam putaverat mortuam. Et respiciens discipulum ait:

cubiculum (RA) ~ *cubiculum iuvenis* (RB): A pedantic addition by *RB*.

iam vivam (RA) ~ *vivam* (RB): Only a hypercorrect attitude (Riese [1893]; Schmeling [1988]) can come up with the idea of deleting *iam*, especially if we see it as based on ἤδη, cf. LSJ, s.v. (1) 'by this time', and (3) 'actually'.

putabat (RA) ~ *putaverat* (RB): The *RA* reading represents the firmly and continuously held opinion of the *medicus*. The change is not uncommon, cf. VPE 5,13,11 *audiebat ad vesperam* (sc. vespertinum officium) *processurum* (sc. eum), *quem putaverat* (v.l. putabat) *eodem die moriturum*. For *RA*'s reading, cf. Achill. Tat. 7,9,10 τὴν ἐρωμένην εὑρών, <…>, ζῶσαν, ἣν ᾤετο νεκράν 'rediscovering his beloved <…> alive, whom he thought dead', cf. Heliod. 5,2,9.

27, RA 15-16 "Probo artem, peritiam laudo, miror diligentiam. '"I commend your skill, I praise your knowledge, I admire your attentiveness.'

27, RB 14 "Amo curam, probo providentiam, laudo diligentiam.

An artfully formed tricolon, both in *RA* (chiastic arrangement: increasing number of syllables in the objects) and in *RB* (three times the same word order: homoioteleuton both in the verbs and in the objects, with alliteration). The combination *amo curam* (RB) is sometimes found in an epistolary style, cf. ThLL 1,1957: Plin., *Epist.* 5,6,1 *amavi curam et sollicitudinem*, cf. Cic., *Att.* 5,21; 13,6,4. In terms of content the formulation of *RA* makes a Greek impression. For *artem*, cf. above l.12; for *peritia* (probably a translation of ἐμπειρία 'experience'), a cardinal virtue for physicians in Hellenistic inscriptions, see *Hellenica* XI-XII, p.463 n.5. Often τέχνη and ἐμπειρία are found combined or contrasted, cf. LSJ, s.v. τέχνη (III): Arist. *Metaph.* 981^{XL} 4 (Polus) ἡ ἐμπειρία τέχνην ἐποίησεν ('practice makes perfect'). Finally, as regards *diligentia*, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀκριβής 'accurate, precise' (2): '*in the strict sense of the word*' Plato, *Resp.* 342^{d} ὁ ἀκριβὴς ἰατρός. *RB* has failed to grasp *RA*'s actual intention.

27, RA 16-17 Sed audi, discipule, nolo <te> artis beneficium perdidisse: accipe mercedem. Haec enim puella secum attulit pecuniam." 'But listen, my pupil, I do not want you to lose the benefit of your skill. Take the reward: for this girl brought money with her."'

27, RB 14-16 Et audi, discipule, ne te artis beneficium aestimes perdidisse: accipe pecuniam. Haec enim puella mercedem cóntulit sécum (*pl.*)."

Sed (RA) ~ *Et* (RB): Interchangeable, cf. 1, RA 6 *Et*/RB 6 *Sed*.

<**te**> (RA) ~ *te* (RB): *te* has been added from *RB* and may have easily dropped out as a monosyllabic word. Perhaps an addition is unnecessary from a Greek perspective, where sometimes an infin. is found instead of *acc. c. infin.*, cf. A. Nuth, *De Marci Diaconi vita Porphyrii Episcopi Gazensis quaestiones historicae et grammaticae*, Bonn (1897), p.59; Vogeser, loc. cit., p.39.

artis beneficium (RA/RB): The idea is '*fructus*' 'benefit': Greek has many terms for the salary of *medici*: μισθός (cf. ROC (1912), p.299 n.350), τιμή (cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v.), ἴατρα (cf. Headlam on Herond. 4,16).

mercedem <…> **pecuniam** (RA) ~ *pecuniam* <…> *mercedem* (RB): The aim of *RB*'s transposition is perhaps not to anticipate a sum of cash, see n.27, RA 17. For *merces* as 'payment', cf. ThLL VII 793,70-74 and Å. Fridh, *Contributions à la critique et à l'interprétation des Variae de Cassiodore*, Göteborg 1968, p.54. Perhaps *merces* (RA) is a direct translation of μισθός, cf. LSJ, s.v. (2): 'physician's fee'; N. van Brock, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire médical du Grec ancien, soins et guérison,* Paris, 1961, p.71 n.2.

27, RA 17-19 Et dedit ei decem sestertia auri et iussit puellam salubribus cibis et fomentis recreari. 'So he gave him the ten thousand gold sesterces. Then he ordered that the girl should be restored to health with nourishing foods and compresses.'

27, RB 16-17 Et iussit puellam salubrioribus cibis et fomentis recreare.

The reward for the *discipulus*, viz. ten thousand gold sesterces, is probably the reward offered for the funeral in the accompanying letter, cf. 26, RA

12. It is cancelled by the reanimation of Archistratis. This implies that the *medicus* himself has pocketed the other half, an act of greed probably expanded on in **HA(Gr)**. Presumably to avoid this discussion, *RB* has left out the entire statement. (But others assume a lacuna in *RB*, see Riese [1893], Schmeling [1988], p.62,20; p.103,17.) Later versions do not mention a direct sum of money either, cf. Nilsson, p.77.

salubribus cibis (RA) ~ *salubrioribus* (RB), cf. OLD, s.v. *saluber* 'conducive to a healthy condition'; *RB*'s comparative characterizes the care. Greek probably had ὑγιεινός 'wholesome': Plat., *Ion.* 531^{e} ΣΩ.: 'πολλῶν λεγόντων περὶ ὑγιεινῶν σιτίων <…> τίς τὸν ἄριστα λέγοντα γνώσεται <…> ·'; ΙΩΝ: ' Ἰατρός' 'When many are discussing nourishing foods, who can best discern the argument?' Ion: 'The doctor'; Isocr. 1,45 σιτία ὑγιεινότατα.

fomentis (RA/RB), cf. LSJ, s.v. *fomentum* 'a soothing application (hot or cold), compress', probably as a remedy against muscular stiffness; cf. Cels. 2,17,9 *fomenta <…> calida sunt milium, sal, harena, quidlibet eorum calfactum et in linteum coniectum*; Suet., *Aug.* 81,1 *quia calida fomenta non proderant, frigidis curari coactus*. The corresponding term in Greek is probably θαλπτήριον,cf. CGL II 326,19; *Less.*, s.v. θάλπω 'heat'.

recreari (RA) ~ *recreare* **bMπ**, cf. 8, RA 1 *praeparari* / RB 1 *praeparare* (comm.)

27, RA 19-20 Post paucos dies, ut cognovit eam regio genere esse ortam, adhibitis amicis in filiam suam sibi adoptavit. 'After a few days, when he learned that she was of royal birth, he summoned his friends and adopted her as his daughter.'

27, RB 17-18 Et post paucos dies, ut cognovit eam regio genere ortam, adhibitis amicis adoptavit eam sibi filiam.

ut cognovit eam regio genere esse (RA: RB /) **ortam** (RA/RB): It is curious that the *medicus* failed to conclude this straightaway from the *regalibus ornamentis* (25, RA 28/RB 21; 26, RA/RB 6): was he told afterwards by his *discipulus*, cf. 27, RA 11/RB 10? An awkward formulation in **R(Gr)** probably plays a role here.

adhibitis amicis <…> **adoptavit** (RA/RB): Naturally *adoptio* occurs in both the Roman and the Greek world, in a strictly formal, legal sense as well as in a looser context, cf. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford 1957^{4}, s.v.

adoptio. Usually the procedure applies to males (υἱοθεσία ‘adoption as a son’), in exceptional cases to a woman (cf. LSJ, ss.vv. θυγατροθετέω ‘to adopt as a daughter’; θυγατροποιία ‘adoption of a daughter’). For adoption in the Oriental world, see Cumont, pp.185,188 (nn.2-3). The Greek Novel reflects the free procedure, cf. Garin, loc. cit. p.203. We can cite: Xen. Eph. 5,1,2 ὑπεδέξατο (sc. ὁ Αγιαλεύς) δὲ τὸν Ἁβροκόμην ἄσμενος καὶ παῖδα ἐνόμιζεν αὑτοῦ καὶ ἠγάπα διαφερόντως ‘He gladly took Habrocomes in, considered him as his own son and was exceptionally kind to him’, cf. id. 5,14,4; Heliod. 5,20,2 ἐπόμνυμι <…> ἦ μὴν αὐτόν τε σὲ ὡς ἀδελφὸν παῖδάς τε τοὺς σοὺς ἴσα καὶ παισὶν ὁρᾶν τοῖς ἐμοῖς ‘I swear <…> that I love you as a brother, and your children as much as my own children’; id. 2,32,1 αὐτόθεν τε ἐμαυτοῦ θυγατέρα καὶ ἐνόμιζον καὶ ὠνόμαζον ‘From that day forward I thought of her, and spoke of her as my own daughter.’ Such an adoption is arranged in the presence of friends etc., as witnesses, cf. Isaeus 9,13.

in filiam suam <…> **adoptavit** (RA) ~ *adoptavit eam* <…> *filiam* (RB): Latin has both constructions, cf. ThLL I 810; the form offered by *RB* is the most common. For *adoptare filium*, see e.g.: Plaut., *Poen.* 1059, *Men.* 60; Cic., *Dom.* 37; Hygin., *Fab.* 186; Iord. Get. 53,274; 57,289; CORP. XIII, 2036. For *in filium*: Novat., *Tract.* 3(24,12); for *in filiam*: Vulg., Esth. 2:7; 2:15. Other looser constructions also occur, e.g. *pro filio*: Plaut., *Poen.* 76,119. For the phenomenon in a broader context, cf. Löfstedt, *Late Latin*, p.36; Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 359. (Schmeling, *Notes*, pp.148-149 [on ed. 20,26] wrongly argues for *in familiam* instead of *in filiam*.)

27, RA 20-21 Et rogavit cum lacrimis, ne ab aliquo contingeretur. ‘She made a tearful plea that no man should touch her.’

27, RB 18-19 Et rogante cum lacrimis, ne ab aliquo contingeretur,

A sudden reversal: Archistratis does not want to stay in the physician’s charge, despite being adopted. As a victim of shipwreck she was effectively without rights. Had *Archistratis* in fact been harassed? For *contingere*, cf. above *RA* 10/RB 9. In any case her request to be received in the sanctuary of Artemis, the so-called *Artemisium* with a universally respected right of asylum, (ἀσυλεία), is unlikely to have been made on impulse. Did **R(Gr)** obscure facts here?

rogavit <…>**. Exaudivit** (RA) ~ *rogante* (**b**): *RA* offers no difficulties. *RB* on the other hand is hard to explain: the reading *rogante* **b** seems preferable.

M(*rogavit eam*)**π**(*rogante ea*) try to improve. Perhaps the construction of **b**, intended as an abl. abs., has gone wrong owing to contamination with *RA*: the constructie *rogantem eam <in>fulsit* **β**, *Baehrens* is worth considering, see next note.

27, RA 21-23 Exaudivit eam et inter sacerdotes Dianae feminas <in>ful<civ>it et collocavit, ubi omnes virgines inviolabiliter servabant castitatem. 'He assented to her request and placed and established her among the priestesses of Diana, where all the virgins preserved their chastity inviolate.'

27, RB 19-20 inter sacerdotes Dianae femina<s> fulsit, ubi omni genere castitatis inviolabíliter servabátur (*v.*).

A correct appreciation of this text and translation requires a rather detailed explication, (1) first, regarding the real role of Diana/Ἄρτεμις, (2) next, her role in the Greek Novel and (3) specifically her role in the *HA* and who should be held responsible for this particular statement. Only after examining these points of detail (4) can we proceed to attempt a translation.

1. In fact everything about Artemis in the earliest stages is shrouded in mystery. The etymology of her name, her provenance, her image and the earliest cult have been subjects of widely diverging speculations. We do know that an Asian Minor origin can be assumed and she can be seen as a Mother Goddess, the giver of growth and vegetation. Her original cult involved wild orgies and was far from focused on purity. In the Greek sphere of culture and in more tangible historical situations it made way for the Greek cultic pattern of the chaste Artemis, both in Greece and in Asia Minor. Her cult became increasingly organized and centralized in sanctuaries. Responsibility for the cult was entrusted to priests (ἱερεῖς), assisted by virgins (παρθένοι). Absolute sexual abstinence was demanded of the priests (Pausan. 8,5,11, cf. 8.13.1). Prostitutes were refused (Artemid., *Onir.* 4,4). Her greatest cultic centre was the so-called *Artemisium* in Ephesus, one of the seven Wonders of the World. Founded in prehistoric times, it had gradually developed into probably the most important and wealthiest cultic centre of Ionia. Acts 19:37 offers a lively picture of her worship in the middle of the 1st century, with the famous cry: μεγάλη ἡ Ἄρτεμις Ἐφεσίων 'great is Artemis, the goddess of the Ephesians'. She was worshipped there in the shape of a larger-than-life female figure, covered in cultic

symbols, of which the actual significance is still a mystery, cf. 48, RA 11 (comm.). This *Artemisium* owes its fame and importance not only to its size and wealth, but also to the fact that since ancient times it was a refuge, originally for female slaves. This right of asylum was later claimed by bankrupts and criminals as well, which often prompted the secular authorities to intervene. For general information on the right of asylum in Ephesus, cf. K.J. Rigsby, *Asylia. Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1996, pp.385-93.

2. The Greek Novel reflects the popularity of Artemis. It can be properly measured by the occurrence of her name, which also provides a relative indication for the various authors, cf. *Less.*, s.v. Ἄρτεμις. Thus the name occurs 4x in Charit., 7x in Xen. Ephes., 33x in Achill. Tat., 9x in Heliod. and is absent in Longus. The image which the Greek Novel evokes of Artemis, her cult and influence, is basically true to reality. Thus there is talk of a τέμενος 'domain' (Xen. Eph. 1,2,7), a ἱερόν 'sanctuary' (Xen. Eph. 5,15,2; Achill. Tat. 8,10,6), also called ναός /νεώς. The short distance from Ephesus to the temple is repeatedly mentioned (Xen. Eph. 1,2,2; Achill. Tat. 7,13,2). The temple itself is served by παρθένοι 'virgins', with the help of temple servants, πρόπολοι 'servants' (Achill. Tat. 7,15,1). The real position of authority was held by the priest (Achill. Tat. 7,12,2), though *virgines* were also involved in the cult. Thus Achill. Tat. 8,6,14 speaks of a παρθένος ἱέρεια τοῦ τόπου 'a virgin priestess of the place', while Heliod. 1,22,2 uses a term like ἱερατεύειν 'to be a priestess' for Charikleia's activities in Ephesus. Achill. Tat. writes at length about the ἀσυλία 'right of sanctuary' (Achill. Tat. 7,13,2-4; 8,2,1). He says that it was particularly claimed by female slaves. In the beginning married, free women were not allowed to enter the temple at all, but in his time (end 2nd c.) this rule had apparently been relaxed, cf. Achill. Tat. 7,13,2 τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ἄβατος ἦν γυναιξὶν ἐλευθέραις οὗτος ὁ νεώς, ἀνδράσι δὲ ἐπετέτραπτο καὶ παρθένοις. 'In ancient days this temple had been forbidden to free women who were not virgins. It was entrusted only to men and virgins.' For the right of asylum in Ephesus, cf. L. Robert, *À travers l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1980, pp.252, 256, 401; K. Plepelits, *Achilles Tatios, Leukippe und Kleitophon*, Stuttgart 1980, p.3. More generally: E. Schlesinger, *Die griechische Asylie* (diss.), Giessen 1933. The Greek Novel idealizes views on purity: Achill. Tat. 6,21,2 talks about Ephesus as ἐν πόλει παρθένου 'in the city of the virgin'. His female protagonist, Leucippe, yearns for the temple: Achill. Tat. 8,5,7 ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἤρα ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱεροῦ 'For she has long been longing for Artemis' temple.'

3. If we compare this information with what the *HA* says about Ephesus, Artemis and her cult, we find that the *HA*, even in its present, abridged form, is entirely true to the facts (see esp. cc.48-49, with the role of

Artemis/Diana in the recognition episode). (Klebs, p.187 is downright simplistic in his attribution to ‘Die Lateinische Urform’.) In my view, we can safely assume that the narrative of Archistratis’ reception in the *Artemisium* should be ascribed to **HA(Gr)**.

4. Applied to the present text, Archistratis’ reaction is perfectly understandable. As a castaway without rights she appeals for right of asylum. The *medicus* grants her request and is able to procure a place for her in Artemis’ sanctuary. Yet a number of problems arise here. First of all, what prompted this choice? Did Archistratis feel threatened or had something actually happened to her (see above RA 20)? Was she perhaps in reality a slave? As for the *medicus*, his decision to entrust her to the sanctuary also requires clarification. As well as ῎Αρτεμις ᾿Εφεσία (*Diana Ephesia*), people in Ephesus worshipped a large number of gods and goddesses such as Zeus, Asclepius (hence the school of *medici*, cf. above 26, RA 1-2), Demeter, Kore, Isis, Serapis, Anubis, cf. Osler (1976), pp.25-7. **HA(Gr)** probably discussed the matter in more detail to clarify the choice. But the problems are focused on the nature of this place of refuge. The forms of address used in 48, RA 16 *mater omnium sacerdotum* and 49, RA 12 *(sacerdos), quae ei secunda erat* reveal a closed institution where the *virgines* devoted themselves *ex professo* to purity under the guidance of an abbess and a ‘mère assistante’. It is natural to assume that **R(Gr)** made radical changes in the original structure of **HA(Gr)** precisely in relation to Archistratis’ stay in the temple. He made the *Artemision* into a μοναστήριον παρθένων ‘nunnery’ headed by a μειζότερα ‘abbess’ and a δευτεραρία, *secunda*, ‘deputy head of a nunnery’. Both term lead us to Asia Minor and to the rise of monasticism (see comm. on 48, RA 16 and 49, RA 12, Introd. V.2). After these preliminary explanations the actual work of interpretation has become rather easier.

Exaudivit eam et <in>fulcivit et collocavit (RA) ~ **fulsit** (i.q. fulcivit) (RB): A radical simplification by *RB* with retention of *RA*’s principal terms.

sacerdotes <…> **feminas** (RA/RB): No doubt Romans understood this immediately (cf. ThLL VI,1 462,1-15 s.v. *femina: pro adiectivo fere* i.q. *femineus, feminus* [Capitol., *Pius* 3,3 *sacerdos femina*]). But it is natural to think of the Greek combination with γυνή, often connected with a noun, cf. Hom., *Il.* 9,477 δμῳαὶ γυναῖκες ‘servants’, cf. above Achill. Tat. 8,6,14 παρθένος ἱέρεια ‘virgin priestess’ and 25, RA 25 *ex servis* <…> *fabri*. The term ἱέρεια ‘priestess’ is very frequent in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v.

<in>fulcivit <…> **collocavit** (RA) ~ **fulsit** (RB): This has long been a controversial place where an exact reading and interpretation are difficult to establish. Many conjectures have been proposed in the course of time,

cf. ed. m. (1984), ad loc. and Schmeling (1988), ad loc.; id. Notes, p.149 (on ed. 21,1). Translations diverge widely as well: 'he supported her and established her among the priestesses' (Archibald); 'he placed her within the cloistered confines of the priestesses' (Sandy). In my view, a solution should start from Greek. My point of departure in the debate is the more difficult term *<in>fulcivit,* sinceit is clear that the term *collocavit* has been placed as a gloss alongside *<in>fulcivit,* not the other way round. Moreover, the term *<in>fulcivit* is echoed in *fulsit* (RB). In actual fact **P** reads *se fulcivit*. On the basis of Tsitsikli's conjecture (1981) I propose to delete *se* as resulting from the preceding *feminas* (cf. a similar error in 31, RA 4 [**P**]). Perhaps *se* can be replaced with *in* (written as î). This *<in>fulcivit* occurs in Late Latin as a doublet form alongside *infulsit*, cf. ThLL VI,1 1502 ff. (the main source is Greg. Tur., *Hist. Franc.* 5,45) and the annotation: 'etiam formae in *-si* exeuntes raro inveniuntur <…> paulo saepius apud Ictos' (i.q. jurists). *RA* probably took *(in)fulcio* in the sense of 'to place in', cf. OLD, s.v. infulcio: 'to push in'; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *infulcio*: 'introduire', 'inserer'. For the construction with *inter*, cf. ThLL VII 1501,15. The verb may be a literal translation from στηρίζω (cf. LSJ, s.v. [I]: 'to make fast') or the compound ἐνστηρίζω (cf. LSJ, s.v.: 'to fix in'). Such a translation is supported by CGL VI 473, and by two examples from actual practice, cf. ThLL VI,1 1503,60.79. So the translation could read: 'He placed her with the virgin priestesses'. The *RB* reading *fulsit* can be easily deduced from the above. (In)*fulcivit* was written lawyer-style as *fulsit*, combined (possibly) with the preference for simple verbs (for both aspects, cf. Introd. VII.2.1). In terms of meaning *RB* was able to retain the translation 'to place in'. We are left with the difficult problem of *collocavit* 'he procured a permanent place for her there'. *Collocare* is the technical term for 'to place in a monastery', cf. Ruf., *Hist. mon.* 16 *collocat hominem <…> in cellula quadam*. This corresponds to συνίστημι 'to place together'/-σύστημα 'community'. Both terms are used in a monastic sense, cf. Lampe, s.v. συνίστημι (B.3); Pall., *Hist. Laus.* (ed. Bartelink), c.1, l.37 σύστημα παρθένων ἑβδομήκοντα 'a nunnery of seventy virgins'. It is completely unclear how these two verbs *<in>fulcire* and *collocare* were related to each other. Theoretically *collocare* could be due to three factors:

1. *Collocavit* may have arisen in Latin in the course of time as a annotation to *<in>fulcivit*. *Collocare* is used several times by *RA*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. Riese [1893] ad loc. in fact regards *collocavit* as an interpolation.
2. It may have been introduced by *RA* as a duplicate translation alongside the difficult (?) (ἐν)στηρίζω. For these duplicate translations, cf. W.J. Aerts ~ G.A.A. Kortekaas, *Die Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius. Die ältesten griechischen und lateinischen Übersetzungen*, Lovanii 1998, Pars I, p.27; H. Martin, *Übersetzer der Augustin-Zeit*, München 1974, p.334 *Sachregister*, s.v. Doppelung.

3. Finally, it may already have occurred in the text of **R(Gr)** as a gloss on (συν)εστήριξε = συνέστησε. Given the uncertain textual development, it seems better not to interfere with the text.

omnes virgines <…> **servabant castitatem** (RA) ~ *omni genere castitatis servabatur* (RB): *RA* is the Christian formulation of an ancient, pagan ideal. *RB* wanted to play down the idea of a nunnery and focus the narrative on Archistratis. Derivative recensions and popular representations (woodcuts) embroider on the theme of 'Archistratis in the nunnery'. Thus e.g. the Redact. Stuttgart (cod. Vienna 480, 13th c., ed. m. [1984] RSt. 11): *tandem vero inter moniales fuit constituta* (cf. Klebs, 219). See in particular 48, RA 11 (comm.). The combination *omne genus* + gen. (RB) is literary, cf. Friedrich, p.550 (on Catull. 114,3), but is very frequent in hagiography, cf. e.g. Mombr. II 411,28 *novis poenarum generibus excruciatus*. *RB*'s change is therefore more correct, since *castitas* can applied to various phases in a human life, both morally and physically, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v.

inviolabiliter (RA/RB): Classical Latin would have used *inviolate*, cf. OLD, s.v. *inviolate*: Cic., *Sen.* 81, *memoriam nostri pie inviolateque servabitis*; Gell., Noct. Att. 6(7),18,1 *iusiurandum inviolate sancteque habitum*. Esp. around Augustine we find the form *inviolabiliter*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v.: Aug., *Serm.* 117,4,6; c. Faust. 23,10; Boeth., *Cons.* 3,10. It is particularly applied to *castitas*, cf. ThLL VII$^{II\ I}$ 216,10-5. A possible Greek equivalent is wholly hypothetical. The Glossaria (cf. CGL VI, 602) suggest ἀθραύστως 'without breakage', ἀμιάντως 'undefiled' 'pure', ἀχράντως with quite the same sense. (Panayotakis [2002] deals at length with the *RA* reading partly in connection with Tharsia's stay in the *lupanar* [cc.33-36]. He sees a parallel between mother and daughter: both preserve their chastity in very different places. I believe that Apollonius' stay in Egypt [28, RA 17-18/RB 18] should be judged from the same perspective. See also the Introductory note on c.33; 48, RA 15.)

CHAPTER 28

This chapter is rife with improbabilities and internal contradictions in relation to the further context. Though these are not perhaps noticeable to the reader at first sight, they do raise a number of questions.

1. (RA 1/RB 1) Apollonius lands in Tarsus under God's guidance. In 29, RA 18 (RB /) this arrival is said to have taken place *luctantibus ventis*. This seems almost a contradiction: God's guidance versus the intervention of fate, which stirs up wind and waves at will (cf. 6, RA 20/RB 21 [comm.]).
2. (RA/RB 2) *descendit ratem*; 29, RA 17 (RB /) talks more realistically about *naves*, a royal fleet; at the end of 28, RA/RB 17 we are back to *navem*.
3. (RA/RB 2) He directly goes to meet his guest friends, Stranguillio and Dionysias. Was the population of Tarsus quite unaware of this and didn't they wonder what was going on, also in view of the statue they erected to him (c.10, RA 17-19/RB 15-17)? This applies to both the arrival and departure in this lightning visit. Did it perhaps take place in the dark, without others seeing anything?
4. (RA/RB 3) The reunion is described briefly and unsentimentally. Didn't the couple raise the question of fate's role, the more so because this had been the motive for Apollonius's flight, cf. 11, RA 2 *premente fortuna* (*RB aliter*)?
5. In the parallel story of the nurse, Apollonius leaves royal garments behind (29, RA 20/RB /), probably as a means of identification; this element is absent here.
6. Apollonius' excuse for not returning to his father-in-law (cf. 25, RA 31/RB 24 [comm.]) is hard to accept in relation to Archistratis' own words on taking leave (24, RA 28/RB 22-23). Did Apollonius have more weighty reasons?
7. Apollonius' intention to become a merchant, apparently as a way of getting over his grief (28, RA/RB 8), is at odds with his solemn oath regarding his appearance (28, RA/RB). This would frighten people off (cf. 37, RB 3).
8. His request to call his daughter Tharsia seems to be a tribute to the city (cf. 32, RA 39/RB /): in fact it is a slave's name given to an orphan. She was therefore to remain hidden as much as possible. Not until c.31 is she mentioned. The citizens do not even know her name (31, RA 5/RB 4). There is no evidence that the citizens have been told about her real

descent. On the contrary, the *nutrix* advises her pupil to reveal her identity only in the case of an emergency (cf. 29, RA 25).

9. The period for which Apollonius' is to keep his oath (28, RA/RB) is not made explicit. The reader can only guess that the term is 14 years. This leads to the '*nubiles annos*' (28, RB 22, cf. 32, RA 18-19).
10. The stay in Egypt (though lasting 14 years [cf. 37, RA 1/RB 2], coinciding with the period described above) is neither motivated (the reason given in 28, RA/RB 8 is spurious) nor narratively fleshed out.

A solution to the above difficulties would seem to lie in the fact that *RA* is based on a Greek epitome with Christian colouring. Its author has tried to minimize the role of fate and human attempts to escape it (**HAGr**).

28, RA 1-3	Inter haec Apollonius cum navigat ingenti luctu, gubernante deo applicuit Tharsos, descendit ratem et petivit domum Stranguilionis et Dyonisiae. 'Meanwhile Apollonius had sailed on, in deep mourning. Steered by God, he arrived at Tarsus, he disembarked and made for the house of Stranguillio and Dionysias.'
28, RB 1-3	Interea Apollonius dum navigat cum ingenti luctu, gubernante deo applicuit Tharso. Descendit ratem, petit domum Stranguilionis et Dyonisiadis.

Inter haec (RA) ~ *Interea* (RB): The text jumps back to 25, RA 32. The two intervening chapters are devoted to Archistratis. Other transitions in *RA* are marked by 29, RA 1 *Itaque* (RB *Interea*) and 33, RA 1 *Igitur* (RB *interea*). *RB* consistently prefers *Interea*. This division of *RA* obviously goes back to **R(Gr)** [Rohde [3], p.441 n.1 makes a bold connection with Xen. Eph. ἐν τούτῳ, cf. ibid. p.435 n.3.]. Further *cum* (RA) ~ *dum* (RB), cf. 1, RA 4 *dum* ~ RB 4 *cum*; *luctu* (RA) ~ *cum* ‹...› *luctu* (RB): minor stylistic emendations in *RB* as usual.

gubernante deo (RA/RB): Deleted by Klebs, p.190 as a Christian interpolation, but rather to be regarded as an integral part of **R(Gr)** (cf. Introd. V.2; VII.1), together with similar ablatives absolute, cf. Introd. II.2. Perhaps the phrase is used here to mask the fact that a severe storm blew after Archistratis' delivery, cf. 29, RA 17 (RB /) *naves quoque luctantibus ventis* ‹...› *pervenerunt* (the epitome character of **R[Gr]**). At the same time it superbly describes divine 'governance'. The expression itself as

abl. abs. occurs quite commonly in ecclesiastical authors. ThLL VII,2 s.v. *gubernare* (2349,35-2353,70) quotes only Nicet., *Vigil.* 7 *deo gubernante profectus est*; Pass. Mariani et Jacobi (ed. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Studi e testi 3*, Romae 1900) 2 (p.48,15) *sua Christo gubernante ad ipsum coronae* (sc. martyrii) *locum directa vestigia* (sc. pedes). Blaise, *Dict.* s.v. *guberno* adds: Aug., *c. Pelag.* 4,12,33 *Domino* <...> *ecclesiam gubernante*; Rustic. (Conc. S. I,4 p.13,16) *divino Spiritu gubernante*. But the conceptual field is much broader, since related terms should also be taken into account, cf. Blaise, s.v. *gubernaculum, gubernator*. The success of the formula as abl. abs. is highlighted by the hagiography of seafaring nations, e.g. Mombr. I 607,28 (Passio Winiforti) *deo gubernante*; II 629,50 (Vincentius) *dei manu gubernante*; Patrick, *Confessio* 37, *gubernante Deo*; Adamn., *Vita S. Columbae* (ed. Fowler, p.102) *ipso gubernante*; Vita Sams., (ed. R. Fawtier, *La vie de Saint Samson*, Paris 1912) 1,39 *iter prosperum Deo gubernante perrexerunt*, cf. Navig. Brendani 6,4 *Deus enim adiutor noster est et nautor* (sic!) *et gubernator et gubernat*. Similar expressions are found in Greek, reflecting the conviction that a sea voyage was a hazardous enterprise, impossible without God's assistance, cf. e.g. Herod. 4,152 ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ταρτησσόν, θείῃ πομπῇ χρεώμενοι 'They arrived at Tartessos with divine assistance'. In particular the *Acta* of the various apostles testify to this belief, cf. R. Söder, p.86 n.84; p.168 n.13. In the *Acta Philippi* c.95 Christ says straight out ἔσομαι ὑμῶν καλὸς κυβερνήτης 'I shall be your skilful steersman'. The *Acta Andreae* make this image a reality when Christ himself is the helmsman who brings Andrew to the land of the Anthropophagi, cf. Greg. Tur. *De miraculis S. Andreae* (ed. Bonnet, p.827,31) *ego enim ero dux itineris tui*; MacDonald (1990), c.5 (p.80) ὁ γὰρ κύριος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμει κατεσκεύασεν πλοῖον καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπος πρῳρεὺς ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ 'The Lord himself with His divine power prepared a ship and He himself sat in the ship just like a steersman'; ibid., c.8 (p.88) ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐκάθισεν παρὰ τὸ πηδάλιον καὶ διεκυβέρνα τὸ πλοῖον 'Jesus sat down beside the steering-paddle and piloted the vessel'. Though it is hard to prove, the image in *RA/RB* may derive from this tradition. The Greek may have had an adj. θεοκυβέρνητος 'God-controlled' (with matching adv. -ως), cf. Lampe, s.v. θεοκυβέρνητος; A. Westerbrink, *Passio S. Dionysii Areopagitae, Rustici et Eleutherii*, Diss. Leiden, 1937, pp.48,85. Given the easy translatability of the ablatives absolute listed above, often corresponding to a genitive absolute in Greek, it is natural to assume a similar construction here, to be laid at the door of **R(Gr)**. Perhaps the Greek Novel contributed by means of a similar construction, cf. Charit. 8,4,10 πλὴν οὐ φοβοῦμαι σοῦ μοι συμπλεούσης 'but I am not frightened if you are sailing with me'.

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applicuit Tharsos (RA) ~ *applicuit Tharso* (RB): For *applicuit* (sc. navem), cf. OLD, s.v. *applico* (4) 'to land'. For the ellipsis of *navem*, cf. Sen., *Epist.* 40,2 *cum istuc applicuisset*; Liv. 26,44,11 *dum applicant, dum* <...> *in terram evadere properant*. Here *applicare* is construed with acc. (see below). For this phenomenon, cf. Blaise, *Manuel* § 75; Hier., *Epist.* 53,1 *perrexit Aethiopiam*. The longer construction *applicare ad* is found in 32, RA/RB 5 *applicantes ad litus*, also with an ellipsis of *navis*. For the survival of *applicare* in the Romance languages, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, p.184: Salonius, *Vitae Patrum*, p.156,272.

Tharsos (RA) ~ *Tharso* (**βMπ**): The form *Tharsos* (acc. pl.) occurs in two other places in *RA* (consistently 'corrected' by *RB*), viz. 29, RA 9 *puella ait: 'patriam Tharsos'* (RB *Tharso*) and 48, RA 7 *Post haec veniens Tharsos vindica* (RB 4 *Postea Tharso filiam tuam vindica*). Most likely *RA* goes back directly to the form Θαρσούς, an alternative form to (τοὺς) Ταρσούς, cf. Introd., n.65. In fact the city of Tarsus (see 8, RA 3 comm.) can be rendered by both ἡ Ταρσός and (less usually) οἱ Ταρσοί, cf. e.g. Xenoph., *Anab.*, 1,2,26 Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τήν τε πόλιν τοὺς Ταρσοὺς διήρπασαν <...> καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ 'The other soldiers plundered the city of Tarsus and the palace there'. For the aspirated form θαρσ-, see LSJ, s.v. ταρσικάριος 'weaver of Tarsian fabrics' and ταρσικός and in a broader context Introd. VIII.1.9. For the phenomenon of doublet forms in geographical names, cf. Friedrich, p.193 on Catull., *Carm.* 36,12. The form *Tharso* should be regarded as a locative, cf. 7, RA 5/RB 6 *Tyro* (comm.). For all the skill of this correction (elimination of one *-s*), it also takes out a Graecism, cf. Introd. IV.3. [The remark by Klebs, p.256 is wrong in terms of both material and interpretation.]

descendit ratem (RA/RB): Though normally intransitive, *descendere* is sometimes used transitively, cf. OLD (1): Apul., *Met.* 5,21 *altum soporem descenderat*; Juv. 14,266 *rectum descendere funem* (internal acc.). Perhaps we should also take Greek influence into account, cf. e.g. (?) ἐκβαίνω 'to disembark', LSJ, s.v. (3): Herondas 6,53 τὴν πλατείαν ἐκβάντι.

domum Stranguilionis et Dionysiae (RA: *Dionysiadis* RB): The original name, derived from στραγγαλίζω 'to strangle' 'to cut the throat of', must have sounded like a '*nomen est omen*' to the ancient reader, cf. 9, RA/RB 2 (comm.); Introd. V.1. For the alternation in the codd. of *Dionysia/-*

Dionysiadis and the further transmission of names, see Singer (1895), p.46; Nilsson (1949), p.78. For the crucial implication of the different names in *RB* in relation to *RA*, cf. Introd. VII.2.2.2.

28, RA 3-4	Qui cum eos salutavisset, omnes casus suos eis dolenter exposuit et ait: 'After greeting them he sadly recounted all his misfortunes, and said:'
28, RB 3	Quos cum salutasset, casus suos omnes exposuit.

Qui cum eos (RA) ~ *Quos cum* (RB): A customary correction by *RB*, cf. 26, RA 10. The manuscript reading for *Qui cum* (RA) is *Quid* **P**: on this basis Heraeus (in his copy) proposes to read *Qui dum*, cf. 34,3 *RA Sed dum fuisset ingressus*.

dolenter (RA) ~ (RB /): A standard adverb since Cic., *Pro dom.* 98, cf. ThLL V,1 1830,46 ff. For the combination with *exponere*, cf. Cic., *De Orat.* 2,211 *casus humanarum miseriarum graviter accipiuntur, cum dicuntur dolenter*. The adverb *dolenter* is lacking in CGL; ἀλγεινῶς 'feeling pain' 'suffering' would do well, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀλγεινός 'painful'. *RB* has removed (RA 3) *dolenter* and changed it to (RB 3) *dolentes* in view of the further changes (RB 4) *deflent*, (RB 5) *gratulantur* (see RB 4, comm.)

casus suos exponere (RA/RB): This expression occurs nine times in *HA* from c.28 to c.48, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. casus.

et ait: (RA) ~ (RB /): A change connected with *RB*'s view of the more joint role of the wicked foster parents.

28, RA 4-5	"Quantum in amissam coniugem flebam, tantum in servatam mihi filiam consolabor. '"However many tears I have shed for the loss of my wife, I shall receive equal consolation from the survival of my daughter.'
28, RB 3-6	At illi dolentes, quantum in amissam coniugem deflent iuveni, tantum in reservatam sibi fíliam gratulántur.(*v.*) Apollonius intuens Stranguilionem et Dyonisiadem ait:

quantum <…> **tantum** (RA/RB): Just as common as e.g. ὅσον <…> τόσον.

flebam <…> **consolabor** (RA) ~ *deflent* <…> *gratulantur* (RB): *RB* probably changes because he wants to paint a black picture of the game played by the wicked foster parents. *RA* immediately gives the reasons why Apollonius reached this momentous decision. A constant background factor is the astrological motivation: the threat of incest with his own daughter.

in amissam coniugem: in servatam (RA: *re-* RB) <…> **filiam** (RA/RB): A striking parallelism, extending even to the number of syllables. Classical Latin would have preferred the abl. Perhaps we can consider a Greek substrate like εἰς + acc., cf. LSJ (IV), 'in regard to', 'in respect of'; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. εἰς (5) 'hinsichtlich'. Such a phrase is very common in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. εἰς (I.b.β) 'nei confronti di'.

iuveni (RB): Riese's conjecture has been retained on account of the parallelism mentioned above, i.e. *iuveni* ~ *sibi* (= ei): perhaps *iuvenis* **b** can be retained. As regards the form *sibi* = *ei* in particular, this use of refl. pron. instead of pers. pron., incorrect in classical grammar, is rare in the *HA* (besides here, see 31, RA 19), though it is very common in Late Latin, cf. LHS Gramm. II, § 103a).

28, RA 5-8 Itaque, sanctissimi hospites, quoniam ex amissa coniuge regnum, quod mihi servabatur, nolo accipere, sed neque reverti ad socerum, cuius in mari perdidi filiam, sed potius opera mercat<ur>us, commendo vobis filiam meam: 'And so, most respectful hosts, because since my wife's death I do not want to accept the kingdom being held for me, nor to return to my father-in-law, whose daughter I have lost at sea, but, as I will rather merchandise the fruits of my labour, so I entrust my daughter to you.'

28, RB 6-9 "Sanctissimi hospites, quoniam post amissam coniugem caram mihi servatum regnum accipere nolo, neque ad socerum reverti, cuius in mare perdidi filiam, sed potius mercaturus, commendo vobis filiam meam,

Itaque (RA) ~ (RB /): The removal, into the smallest details, of an original astrological motivation, cf. Kortekaas (1991) (cited as '*Astrology*'), pp.71-85. This motivation plays an important role from this point until Apollonius' departure to Egypt (28, RA/RB 18).

Sanctissimi hospites (RA/RB): This combination 'most respectful hosts' is extremely rare in Latin literature. ThLL VI,3 3023,31 mentions only this place, with the parallel 37, RA 13/RB 15 *hospites fidelissimi*. The most likely equivalents in Greek, ὅσιος 'holy' and εὐσεβής 'pious', occur very frequently, precisely in the relationship host (here Stranguillio and Dionysias) ~ guest (here Apollonius). From a long series of examples we can mention: Hom., *Od.* 16,421; Aesch., *Suppl.* 27; Sophocl., *Oed. Col.* 282; Eurip., *Cycl.* 125. The Cyclops are asked whether they are φιλόξενοι 'loving strangers, hospitable' and ὅσιοι περὶ ξένους 'pious towards guests'. The Cyclops as the opposite of hospitable are called ἀνόσιος (Cycl. 26, 348, 438, cf. 30 δυσσεβής). Polymestor, who violates the *ius hospitii* most flagrantly, is ἀνοσιώτατος 'most impious' (*Hec.* 714, 788, 852, 1235). In Herod. I,159 Aristodicus is said to be ἀνοσιώτατος ἀνθρώπων 'most impious of men' because he drives birds, the ἱκέται 'wards' of the deity, out of the sanctuary. According to Plato, *Epist.* 334[a], the betrayal of a ἑταῖρος and ξένος is to be regarded as ἀνόσιον. In Xenoph., *Hell.* 4,3,20 Agesilaos forbids his soldiers to harm fugitives in a temple: οὐκ ἐπελάθετο τοῦ ὁσίου 'he did not forget divine right'; ibid. 4,14,3: people who commit an ἀσέβεια (killing ἱκέται in a temple) are called ἀνοσιώτατοι 'most impious'. These examples show the appropriateness of the salutatory formula now that Apollonius is about to place his daughter with foster parents: Apollonius appeals precisely to their integrity (cf. *Astrology*, p.82 n.35). The expression doubtless goes back to **HA(Gr)**, cf. Introd. VI.3.

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A. Harder, *Euripides' Kresphontes and Archelaos*, Leiden 1985, pp.62-63;

M.H.A.L.H. van der Valk, 'Zum Worte ὅσιος', *Mnemosyne* III, vol. 10 (1942), p.113 ff.

ex amissa coniuge (RA) ~ *post amissam coniugem caram* (RB): A fine 'emendation' by *RB* in which a Graecism (?) ἐκ/ἐξ is probably eliminated, cf. 16, RA *ex quo agnovisti veritatem* (Gr. [?] ἐξ οὗ) ~ (RB *aliter*). For the addition *caram*, see 49, RA 12/RB 14.

regnum, quod mihi servabatur (RA) ~ *mihi servatum regnum* (RB): Cf. 24, RA 14/RB 11 (comm.).

sed neque (RA) ~ *neque* (RB): *RB* may have removed a Graecism, cf. Riese (1893), Index p.128 (s.v. *sed et*): *sed neque* ἀλλ' οὐδὲ (likewise 40, RA 20/RB 16 *sed nec vivere*). But the combination also occurs independently of a Greek background (cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *nec, neque* (2);

Linderbauer, p.309), e.g. Ven. Fort., *Carm.* 9,2,55 *ploramus, gemimus, sed nec prodesse valemus*. For the idea, cf. 25, RA 32/RB 25.

opera mercat<ur>us (RA) ~ *opera mercaturus* (**βM**): The text here is difficult to establish, cf. ed. m. (1984); Schmeling (1988), ad loc. Garbugino p.164 n.43 *sed potius <facere> opera mercatus*. Comparison of the two recensions can provide a solution without drastic interventions. The construction must read *sed quoniam potius*: in other words, *mercat<ur>us* **P** and *mercat<ur>us* **βM** are either to be regarded as anacoluthic or as participles with the value of finite verbs, cf. 9, RA/RB 16 (comm.). (Hence the reading *opera mea mercaturus sum* **π**.) The form *mercatus* **P** could perhaps be retained, since confusion with a fut. part. cannot be ruled out, cf. Svennung (1935) 425; Corbett (on Regula Mag. 1,156), p.144. From a palaeographical point of view it seems more natural to assume a mutilation in **P**.

opera (RA/RB): 'Products', probably a deliberately vague formulation for *opera cerealia*, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἔργον (III-IV); Bauer, s.v. ἔργον (β.3) 'von dem, was durch die Arbeit zu Stande gebracht wird'; Lampe, s.v. ἔργον (B) 'result'. Most likely there is an allusion to Egypt as the 'granary' of Europe, in particular Rome, cf. *Astrology* n.15; N. Hohlwein, 'Le blé d'Égypte', *Études de Papyrologie* 4 (1938), pp.33-120. A totally different interpretation regards *opera* as fem. noun 1st decl. and connects *opera* with *mercatus* 'trade relationship': this presupposes the addition in both recensions of e.g. *potior* (Ring), *fungar* (Riese, with reference to Xen. Eph. 3,11,2 κατὰ χρείαν ἐμπορίας 'with the aim to do business'; Konstan). Clearly Apollonius' remark offers a spurious reason, devised and formulated by **R(Gr)**: Apollonius' visit to Egypt and the decision to change his appearance were actuated by very different motives, cf. Introd. VI.

commendo vobis filiam meam (RA/RB): The heart of Apollonius' argument for leaving his daughter behind, the so-called παρακαταθήκη, cf. LSJ, s.v., 'ward'; Robert, *Pionios*, p.118 'le dépôt fait à un ami'. This term is used for persons who put themselves under the tutelage of a god/goddess, for children who are placed with a guardian, or for persons who claim state protection. The general problem of child abandonment in Antiquity may also involve a more specific form of 'child abandonment', e.g. entrustment to foster parents, cf. F. Kudlien, 'Kinderaussetzung im antiken Roman. Ein Thema zwischen Fiktionalität und Lebenswirklichkeit', in: H. Hofmann, *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel*, Bd. 2, Groningen (1989), pp.25-44. Apollonius here practices this specific form of child abandoment, which is repeatedly mentioned in the Greek Novel: Charit. 8,4,5 εἰμὶ γὰρ τῇ ψυχῇ μετὰ σοῦ διὰ τὸν κοινὸν υἱόν, ὃν

παρακατατίθημί σοι ἐκτρέφειν τε καὶ παιδεύειν ἀξίως ἡμῶν 'I am with you in spirit through the son we share; I entrust him to you to bring up and educate in a way worthy of us', cf. ibid. 8,4,8. When the situation had changed for the better, the depositor (cf. *Less.*, s.v. παρακαταθήκη 'deposito') could return to collect his deposit, cf. Charit. 1,13,9 ἐνταῦθα δὲ δὴ παραθήσομαί σε φίλοις πιστοῖς, ἐπανιὼν δὲ παραλήψομαι καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας ἄξω 'So what I am going to do is leave you here (sc. at Miletus) in the care of reliable friends; on the return journey I shall pick you up and subsequently take you back very carefully (to Syracuse)'; Heliod. 8,3,5 δικαιῶν δὲ ἀνακομίζεσθαι τὴν αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ παρακαταθήκην 'judging as his right to fetch back personally his own deposit'. Meanwhile the child thus entrusted was of course the charge of Ζεὺς ξείνιος who, according to Hom., *Od.* 9,271, says ξείνοισιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ 'Zeus, the protector of the rights of hospitality who accompanies the venerable guests'; Verg., *Aen.* 1,731 *Iuppiter, hospitibus nam te dare iura loquuntur*. This respect is lacking in Stranguillio and Dionysias, with disastrous consequences (c.46). In the rest of the contract between Apollonius and his guest friends **R(Gr)** has introduced drastic and essential changes (name of the foundling; condition; duration), cf. Introd. V.1.

28, RA 8-10 cum filia vestra nutriatur et eam cum bono et simplici animo suscipiatis atque patriae nomine eam cognominetis Tharsiam. 'may she be raised together with your daughter; may you accept her honestly and simply and name her Tharsia after the name of your city.'

28, RB 9-11 ut cum filia vestra Philotimiade nutriatur. Quam bono et simplici animo suscipiatis et patriae vestrae nomine cognominetis Tharsia.

nutriatur <…> **suscipiatis** (RA) ~ *ut* <…> *nutriatur. Quam* <…> *suscipiatis* (RB): By means of two simple, stylistic interventions *RB* has softened *RA*'s harsh sentence structure.

filia vestra (RA) (cf. 31, RA 2 *Philomusia*) ~ *filia vestra Philotimiade* (RB): We are faced with a thorny problem here: the name of the step parents' daughter. The name *Philomusia* (RA) doubtless has credentials as a descriptive name, cf. φιλομουσία 'love of music' or 'love of the Muses'. The name itself is unique (only Φιλόμουσος is recorded), but well suits an ambitious girl that likes to go to school, cf. c.31. Moreover, the name is singularly appropriate to the high level of culture in Asia Minor, particularly in Tarsus, cf. 17, RA 13/RB 12 *amatrix studiorum* (Gr. φιλομαθής) with

the article (cited there) by L. Robert, Hellenica XIII, Limoges-Paris 1965; 29, RA/RB 1-2 (comm.). (Klebs, p.145 on *Philomusia*: 'so **P** schwerlich richtig'.) The fact that *RA* does not mention the name here but waits until 31, RA 2 is probably due to the careless nature of **R(Gr)**, cf. Introd. V. As usual, *RB* has immediately added a name, cf. Introd. VII.2.2.2. *RB*'s change (the conjecture is based on *Filothimiade* **Va**, cf. app. crit.) is reasonable: a laudatory, general term is replaced by a harsher name which brings out the character of the foster parents' daughter, cf. φιλοτιμία 'love of honour, distinction'; φιλοτιμέομαι 'to be ambitious, emulous, jealous'. The consequences of this character trait are clearly demonstrated by further developments in the *HA* (Klebs, p.470 therefore indicates a preference for *RB*, specifically the form *Philotimia*). But where does *Philotimias* 'Miss Dignity' ~ Φιλοτιμιάς, -άδος (RB) come from? This name is unique too (only Φιλότιμος is recorded). Perhaps he supplied it from his wide literary reading, from a certain familiarity with the genre and its often Greek names, cf. LSJ, s.v. φιλοτιμία (III): 'punningly, the conduct of one *Philotimus*, Cic., *Att.* 6,9,2; 7,1,1.' But it may also be that, precisely for the Greek names, *RB* consulted a Greek original, an *epitome aucta*, cf. Introd. VII.2.2.2.

nutriatur (RA/RB): This reflects Greek phraseology, cf. παιδοτροφία 'rearing of children'; τρέφω 'to bring up' 'to rear', cf. LSJ, s.v. 'espec. of children bred and brought up in a house'; C. Moussy, *Récherches sur τρέφω et les verbes grecs signifiant "nourrir"*. Études et commentaires, 70, Paris 1969.

bono et simplici animo suscipiatis (RA/RB): Cf. 32, RA 38-39 (RB /) *tantam simplicitatem et amorem circa* (cf. comm.) *nos gerens, ut civitatis nostrae filiae suae* (dat.) *nomen imponeret*. For *simplex* we can perhaps substitute ἁπλοῦς, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἁπλόος (II) 'simple' 'plain': Eurip., *Iph. Aul.* 927 ἁπλοῖ τρόποι; Plato, *Rep.* 316^{b} ἁπλοῦς καὶ γενναῖος 'plain and honest'; for *suscipiatis* perhaps (?) ἀναδέχομαι 'to receive', cf. LSJ, s.v.: Acts 28:7. For the idea, cf. Hermas Pastor, Vis. 3,9,1 ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἐξέθρεψα ἐν πολλῇ ἁπλότητι καὶ ἀκακίᾳ 'I have reared you with much simplicity and innocence.'

patriae (RA: – *vestrae* RB) (RA/RB): Fem. sing. either of *patria* 'fatherland' (cf. Gr. πατρίς) or (with an ellipsis of *urbs, civitas*) of *patria* (*civitas*) 'city', cf. *tit.* (comm.)

patriae (RA: – *vestrae* RB) **nomine eam** (RA: RB /) **cognominetis Tharsiam** (RA: *-a* RB): Probably a perversion of the facts, to be blamed on **H(Gr)**. Both Greeks and Romans had the custom of naming a foundling after the place where he or she was found. Thus we are told of Anthia: Xen. Eph. 4,3,6 Ὅποτε δὲ αὐτῆς πύθοιτο ἥτις τε εἴη καὶ πόθεν, τὸ

μὲν ἀληθὲς οὐκ ἔλεγεν, ἔφασκε δὲ Αἰγυπτία εἶναι ἐπιχώριος, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα Μεμφῖτις 'whenever he (sc. Hippothous) asked who she was and where she was from, she did not tell the truth but said she was a native Egyptian called Memphitis'; the protagonist in Longus owes his name to the Δαφνή 'bay' where he was found, cf. Aelian., *Var. hist.* 10,18 ἐκτεθῆναι ἐν δάφνῃ; Serv. on Verg. *Ecl.* 5,20 *hunc* (sc. Daphnin) *pastores invenerunt inter lauros et Daphin vocaverunt*, cf. Schönberger, comm. (on Long. 1,2,1), p.174; Leukippe complains that she is totally anonymous: Achill. Tat. 6,16,5 οὔκ εἰμι Θετταλή· οὐ καλοῦμαι Λάκαινα. ὕβρις αὕτη ἐστὶ πειρατική· λελῄστευμαι καὶ τοὔνομα. 'I am not Thessalian, and my name is not Lakaina. This is an insult imposed by pirates who robbed me even of my name.' Indeed, there were no qualms about assigning the name κοπρία 'found on the dunghill', cf. LSJ, s.v. κοπρία: ἀναιρεῖσθαι ἀπὸ κοπρίας 'said of foundlings'; Perdrizet, *Revue des études anciennes* 23 (1921), p.90 ff. For the aspirated form, cf. 8, RA 3 (comm.). So, far from being honorary, the name *Tharsia* is rather a cover for anonymity. Hence, too, her withdrawn life in earliest youth.

cognominetis Tharsiam (RA: *-a* RB): Standard terminology, cf. OLD, s.v. (3) 'To name (after a person, object, cause, etc.)'; the form *Tharsia* (RB) can be regarded as a noun in apposition, cf. Blaise, *Man.* § 67. In geographically inspired names the ending -ία is especially used for female slaves, cf. A. Fick, *Die Griechischen Personennamen*, Göttingen 1894², pp.343-5: Αἰγυπτία, Ἐφεσία, Κασία, Μιλησία, Ῥοδία, Φρυγία, Χῖα.

28, RA 10-13	Praeterea et nutricem uxoris meae, nomine Lycoridem, vobis commendo pariter et volo, ut filiam meam nutriat atque custodiat." 'Together with her, I also hand over to you my wife's nurse Lycoris by name and I want her to rear my daughter and look after her."'
28, RB 11-12	Praeterea nutricem uxoris meae Lycoridem, quae cura sua custodiat puellam, vobis relinquo."

Praeterea et (RA) ~ *Praeterea* (RB): An expansive phrase (*et* to be connected with *nutricem*) curtailed by RB.

vobis commendo pariter (RA) ~ *vobis relinquo* (RB): *RB* probably gives a legal twist to this sentence, cf. OLD, s.v. *relinquo* (8.b): 'to leave behind'; Gaius, *Inst.* 2,262 *cum* <...> *aliena res per fideicommissum relinquitur*; Cic., *Caec.* 74 *fundus a patre relinqui potest*; Terent., *Eun.* 120 *qui mihi reliquit haec*

quae habeo omnia; Petron. 43,4 *ex qua* (sc. hereditate) *plus involavit, quam illi relictum est*; Tacit., *Ann.* 4,43 *bona sua rei publicae eorum reliquerat*. For the usual omission of *paritur* (= una), cf. Ind. verb., s.v.

volo, ut filiam <…> **custodiat** (RA) ~ *quae cura sua custodiat puellam* (RB): *RA* is colloquial, cf. OLD, s.v. *volo* (6): Cic., *Vat.* 21 *volo uti mihi respondeas*; id., Att. 13,35,1 *volueram, inquit, ut quam plurimum tecum essem*; Mart. 5,52,6 *si vis ut loquar, ipse tace*. Κοινή Greek has a similar construction: Matt. 7:12 Πάντα οὖν ὅσα ἐὰν θέλητε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι (Vulg. *Omnia ergo quaecumque vultis ut faciant vobis homines*), cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. θέλω (1). So *RB*'s elegant modification may eliminate a Graecism. For the subjunctive, cf. 27, RB 11 *fallere<n>t* (RA 12 *fallebat*), for the collocation *cura custodire*, cf. Cic., *Fam.* 15,2,6 *regi sui vitam* <…> *omni cura custodiaque defenderent*.

nutriat atque custodiat (RA) ~ *custodiat* (RB): In Antiquity the nurse would sometimes remain in the house of her nursling, in a certain confidential position, especially if the mother had passed away. Her advice could be good or bad (cf. the part played by the nurse in *HA* c.2). This extended role was also subsumed under the term τρέφειν (cf. 28, RA 8 comm.)/*nutrire*, cf. OLD, s.v. *nutrio* (3.a) 'to rear'. *RB* probably thought *nutrire* too much in relation to *custodiat* and eliminated it.

28, RA 12-13	His dictis tradidit infantem, dedit aurum, argentum et pecunias necnon et vestes pretiosissimas, 'After these words he handed over the baby and gave gold, silver and money as well as very valuable clothes.'
28, RB 12-14	Haec ut dixit, tradidit infantem. Dedit aurum multum et argentum et vestes pretiosissimas

infantem (RA,**b**) ~ *filiam* **β(M)π**: This change is highly interesting: *infans* wins out in the Romance languages; the Vulgate much prefers *puer, puella* / *filius, filia*.

aurum, argentum et pecunias (RA) ~ *aurum multum et argentum* (RB): This **P** reading has had many supporters (Ring, cf. ed. m. [1984]; ThLL X,1,1 939,23-5; Schmeling) and detractors (including Riese) on account of the curious formulation, suggesting in the first place 'pieces of gold', 'pieces of silver' (hence probably the omission in *RB*). Nevertheless *et pecunias* can be retained as a translation of χρήματα, cf. *Less.*, s.v. χρῆμα 'pl. beni, ricchezze, denaro'. This χρῆμα, requiring a interpretive choice

between 'possessions' and concretely 'money', is very frequent in the Greek Novel (Charit. 5x; Xen. Eph. 12x; Achill. Tat. 2x; Long. 2x; Heliod. 17x), cf. Charit. 7,4,12 κατέλιπε μετὰ τῆς βασιλίδος καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον τὸν βασιλικόν 'He (sc. the Persian King) left behind <…> along with the Queen the possessions, the clothing, and the royal treasure'. For the combination *aurum, argentum, vestes*, cf. 6, RA 19-20/RB 20 (comm.).

nec non et (RA) ~ *et* (RB): For the pleonasm, cf. 7, RA 20 *sed etiam et* (RB *sed etiam*); 36, RA 4 *et ac deinde* **P**. Originally it was used in familiar speech, Löfstedt, *Per.* 95-97; LHS II, pp.524-5. It was introduced into poetry by Verg., *Aen.* 4,140 *nec non et Phrygii comites*; its occurrence in Late Latin is very frequent, cf. ThLL 915,49-60; Linderbauer, p.407; Garvin, p.108; Salonius, p.338. For *RB*'s retrenchment, see also the next note.

28, RA 13-15	et iuravit fortiter nec barbam nec capillos nec ungues dempturum, nisi prius filiam suam nuptui traderet. 'and he swore a great oath not to cut his beard nor hair nor nails until he had given away his daughter in marriage.'
28, RB 14-15	et iuravit se barbam, capillos et ungues non dempturum, nisi filiam suam nuptam tradidisset.

iuravit fortiter (RA) ~ *iuravit* (RB): *Fortiter* occurs 2x in the *HA*, here and in 48, RA 40 *uxorem flens fortiter*. On both occasions *RB* omits. Probably following *RB*'s example, Klebs, p.273 proposes to delete the word in both places. But everything argues for retention of *fortiter*, cf. (for this place) OLD, s.v. (2.b): 'with strong conviction, stoutly, uncompromisingly': Quint., *Instit.* 2,4,42 *ne ii quidem qui hoc fortissime adfirmant*. This meaning in particular tallies with Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. ὅρκος (2) 'oath, mostly with epith. μέγας 'great', καρτερός 'mighty, potent'. The original text may therefore have read: (?) ὀμώμοκεν καρτερῶς, cf. Hom., *Il.* 19,108 νῦν μοι ὄμοσσον, 'Ολύμπιε, καρτερὸν ὅρκον 'And now, swear to me, Olympian, a solemn oath'. In Greek the combination also occurs with ἰσχυρός 'severe', cf. LSJ, s.v. (3): Anthipho 5,11 ὅρκος ἰσχυρότατος 'a most severe oath'. (For ὅρκος in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v.: Xen. Eph. 13x; Achill. Tat. 6x; Long. 5x; Heliod. 17x.) For 48, RA 40 *flens fortiter*, see comm. there.

nec <…> **nec** <…> **nec** (RA) ~ *se* <…> *non* (RB): Two elementary 'improvements' in *RB* in one sentence. First, *RA* has left out the subj. acc. in the

acc. c. inf., viz. *iuravit se* <...> *dempturum*. This colloquial usage is already found in the earliest Latin (cf. Kühner-Stegeman 2,1, pp.700-1; LHS II, p.362[3-4]), esp. with monosyllabic, easily suppliable forms like *me, te, se* (cf. Kroll, Fordyce on Catull. 36,7). This casualness only increases in Late Latin (cf. Garvin, p.72; Corbett, p.252). *RB* himself is culpable in the corresponding passage 29, RB 20-21 *votumque faciens barbam, capillum neque ungues dempturum* (see comm.). Second, *RB* has emended away the solemn, thrice-repeated *nec*, reflecting the gravity of the oath (RA 15 *graviter*). But this kind of series is found not only in Latin, cf. OLD, s.v. *neque* (7.b): Plaut., *Amphit.* 553 *id quod neque est neque fuit neque futurum est*; Terent., *Andr.* 279 *ut neque me consuetudo neque amor neque pudor commoveat*. The corresponding term in Greek is οὐδέ 'nor', cf. LSJ, s.v.: 'may be repeated any number of times, e.g. three times in Soph., *Oed. Rex* 1378 οὐδ' ἄστυ γ', οὐδὲ πύργος, οὐδὲ δαιμόνων | ἀγάλμαθ' ἱερά 'nor this town, nor its towered walls, nor the sacred statues of the gods'. Perhaps *RB*'s simplification has eliminated a Greek mode of expression.

nec barbam nec capillos nec ungues dempturum (RA) ~ *barbam, capillos et ungues non dempturum* (RB): A vague formulation attributable to **R(Gr)** and explicable in many ways. The most natural explanation sees Apollonius suffering deeply after losing his wife and giving up his baby. A point of reference here is Liv. 27,34,5 (on a consul discharged from office) *M. Livius erat veste obsoleta capilloque et barba promissa, prae se ferens vultu habituque insignem memoriam ignomiae acceptae*. Klebs, p.188 therefore finds a Roman custom here: 'Allgemein bekannt ist die Erzählung Suetons (*Aug.* 23), daß Augustus nach der Niederlage des Varus Monate lang Haupthaar und Bart nicht schor' (= Garbugino, p.163 n.45). A more sophisticated reader will have found something curious about Apollonius' oath, since it was customary for castaways (cf. HA cc.11-12) to shave their hair and devote it to the deity, cf. Iuven 12,81 (with comm. by Friedländer, Leipzig 1895, p.518). Others have seen a vow in the gesture. Riese (1872, p.IX) found the specific vow of the *Nazirei* here ('votum Nasireorum illud proprium', but see T. Page, *Acts of the Apostles*, London 1930, p.222). The view that Apollonius' oath entails a vow is evidenced in e.g. Greg. Tur., *Hist. Franc.* (ed. Bonnet, p.214,5) *nullus se eorum barbam neque capillos incisurum, nisi prius se de adversariis ulciscerent*. Others look for an astrological solution, esp. on account of the detail *ungues dempturum* ('dichterische Uebertreibung' for Klebs, p.188 n.2); the main source for this interpretation is Petron. 104: *audio enim non licere cuiquam mortalium in navi neque ungues neque capillos deponere, nisi cum pelago ventus irascitur*. For hair and nails in astrology, cf. A. Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius*, Gießen 1908, pp.179-82.

But if we sweep together the extant remains of ancient astrology (and read between the lines the now hidden motivation), it becomes clear that

Apollonius' vow identifies him with the so-called κάτοχοι 'the possessed', 'prisoners (of God)'. The κάτοχοι play an important role in Heliod., cf. *Less.*, s.v. κάτοχος (noun) 3,17,2; 4,17,1; 8,11,3; 10,9,3 (for the adj. 2,20,5; 2,21,2; 5,32,1). By neglecting cosmetic aspects like hair and beard (κομοτροφία 'wearing long hair'), by fasting (νηστεία 'fast') and by observing sexual continence (ἀφροδισίων ἀποχή 'abstinence of sexual intercourse'), they endeavoured to harmonize their way of life with the deity. For this purpose they often spent a number of months, years, sometimes even an entire life in a temple compound in so-called κατοχή 'reclusion'. For the custom of wearing long hair during a journey abroad, cf. Diod. Sic., *Biblioth.* 1,18,3 (I owe this reference to Dr B.H. Stricker) πάντων δ' εὐτρεπῶν γενομένων τὸν Ὄσιριν εὐξάμενον τοῖς θεοῖς θρέψειν τὴν κόμην μέχρι ἂν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀνακάμψῃ, τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι δι' Αἰθιοπίας· δι' ἣν αἰτίαν μέχρι τῶν νεωτέρων χρόνων ἐνισχῦσαι τὸ περὶ τῆς κόμης νόμιμον παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ τοὺς ποιουμένους τὰς ἀποδημίας μέχρι τῆς εἰς οἶκον ἀνακομιδῆς κομοτροφεῖν. 'And when all his preparations had been completed, Osiris made a vow to the gods that he would let his hair grow until his return to Egypt and then made his way through Ethiopia; and this is the reason why this custom with regard to their hair was observed among the Egyptians until recent times, and why those who journeyed abroad let their hair grow until their return home.' No doubt a crucial factor here for Apollonius was the virtual impossibility of incest with his daughter (but cf. c.40). Clearly this aspect in particular must have been the subject of a lengthier discussion in the **HA(Gr)**. This assumption sheds clear light on the journey to Egypt, the long sojourn there (14 years), and the suppression of details in **R(Gr)**, cf. Introd., VI.1 with n.49.

capillos (RA,**b**) ~ *et* (*add.* β[1]) *capillum* **β[1]π**: A return to classical usage, cf. Charisius, *Gr. Lat.* I 104,20 *capillum priores singulariter dicebant* (for the broader context, see: J. Bruch, 'Die Wörter für "Haar" im Latein und ihr Fortleben im Romanischen', *Wiener Studien* 70, 1957, p.44 ff.).

dempturum (RA/RB): A specific term, cf. ThLL V.1 496,16-8 e.g.: Plaut., *Aul.* 2,4,33 *quin ipsi pridem tonsor ungues dempserat*.

nisi prius filiam suam nuptui traderet (RA) (= 29, RA 22) ~ *nisi filiam suam nuptam tradidisset* (= 29, RB 21 **βπ**). Three phrases play a role in the *HA*: (1) *nuptui tradere*, (2) *nuptam tradere*, (3) *nuptum tradere* [phrases like *nupto tradere, nuptu tradere* do not occur in the *HA*]. A brief note on each. (1) *nuptui tradere*: this expression can be reduced to *nuptus*, 4th decl. noun 'marriage (of a woman to a man)' and is very late, cf. OLD, s.v. *nuptus*: Hyg., *Fab.* 257,4 *ut sororem suam nuptui collocaret* (Kühner, *Ausführl. Gramm. d. lat. Spr.* I, p.451: '*nuptui collocare* erst sehr spät'). The combination with

tradere occurs sporadically: Vulg., Matt. 24:38 *nubentes et nuptui tradentes (*Gr. *ἐκγαμιζόντες) (*= Hier., *Adv. Iovin.* 2,16); Opus imp. in Matth. 45 (p.888) *si virgo* <…> *nuptui tradatur*. For hagiography, cf. Mombr. I 450,41 (Vita S. Euphrosyne, translated from Greek) *quia nuptui eam volumus tradere*; II 114,48 *nuptum contemnens, virginitatem custodiens*. It is not surprising that *RB* switches to (2) *nuptam tradere*. This form, actually agrammatical, is sometimes found in Late Latin, esp. hagiography: Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* 2,24,4 *filiam* <…> *nuptam dat Demetrio*; Pass. Thomae (ed. Bonnet, p.135,17) *erant enim nuptiae, in quibus rex civitatis filiam suam nuptam tradebat*, cf. Pass. Theclae c.8 (Bonnet, p.21,17.23) *nuptam accipere* (v.l.). The commonest form (3) *nuptum tradere* (as Supinum II) occurs in the *HA* in 29, RB 21 *nuptum* **b** (see also 28, RB 15 in app. crit. Riese [1893], p.55,5). This form is found in both secular and religious authors, e.g. Dict. Cret. 2,25 (Meister p.34,21) *Cassandram* <…> *nuptum* <…> *Menelao tradendam*; Claud., *Rapt. Pros.* 1,217 *dari nuptum*; Ruf., *Hist. mon.* 3,30,1 *filias* <…> *viris nuptum dederunt*; Vulg., Matt. 24:38 *nuptum tradentes* (v.l.); Aug., *Pecc. mer.* 1,29,57 *qui non dat nuptum* (sc. virginem suam) *melius facit* (cf. id., Civ. d. 6,7 p.259,26 D. *ubi nuptum data est Iovi*).

28, RA 15-16 At illi stupentes, quod tam graviter iurasset, cum magna fide se puellam educaturos promittunt. 'But the hosts were amazed that he had sworn such a solemn oath, and promised to bring up the girl most faithfully.'

28, RB 15-17 Et illi stupentes, quod tam gravi iuramento se obligasset, cum magna fide se puellam educaturos promiserunt.

stupentes (RA/RB): Again we need to point out that Apollonius, by swearing this oath, places himself as κάτοχος under the tutelage of the deity. He will only cast off (cf. 31,RA 12) the external marks (see previous note) when he knows that his daughter no longer runs the risk of incest or in this case will marry Athenagoras (cf. 46, RA 10-12). The wicked foster parents in ***HA*****(Gr)** must have realized the purport of this oath.

graviter <…> **iurasset** (RA) ~ *gravi iuramento se obligasset* (RB): The stylistic refinement is appropriate to *RB*, who displays a certain legal knowledge elsewhere too, cf. Introd. VII.2.1. For *iuramentum* (classical *ius iurandum*) as a postclassical word, cf. OLD, s.v.: Ulp., *Dig.* 12,2,34,5 *si de qualitate iuramenti fuerit inter partes dubitatum*; for *se obligasset*, cf. also OLD, s.v. *obligo* (7): 'to bind oneself, pledge'.

cum magna fide (RA/RB): To be connected with *educaturos* (RA/RB).
se puellam educaturos (RA/RB): The *RB* reading is a conjecture based on *RA* and *puellam se educaturos* **π**. The reading *puellam educaturos* (**β**; *edoc-* **b**) **bβ**, with the omission of *se*, is perhaps defensible, cf. above 28, RA 13-14 *iuravit* <…> *dempturum* (comm.).

28, RA 17-18 Apollonius vero commendata filia navem ascendit altumque pelagus petens ignotas et longinquas Aegypti regiones devenit. 'When Apollonius had handed over his daughter he boarded his ship, made for the open sea, and arrived in the unknown and far-off parts of Egypt.'

28, RB 17-18 Tunc Apollonius commendatam filiam navem ascendit: ignotas et longas petiit Aegypti regiones.

commendata filia (RA) ~ *commendatam filiam* **b** (*-a -a* **βMπ**). The acc. abs. in **b** has been retained, cf. 13, RB 1 *demonstratam sibi viam* b, β^{1} (*a. corr.*) M.

altumque pelagus petens (RA) ~ (RB /): Probably omitted as obvious by *RB*: to reach Egypt from Tarsus it was necessary to head for sea.

longinquas (RA) ~ *longas* (RB): The same change as in 24, RA 19-20 *longinquo* <…> *itinere* ~ 24, RB 16 *longo itinere*; *longinquus* is often used in the sense of 'far-off', cf. OLD, s.v. *longinquus* (1) 'situated at a distance, far-off, remote': Cic., *Agr.* 3,14 *agros* <…> *desertos atque longinquos*; Liv. 5,32,7 *longinqua eoque ignotior gens erat*; also in Vulg., e.g. Luke 19:12 *Homo quidam nobilis abiit in regionem longinquam* (Gr. εἰς χώραν μακράν). For *longus* as an equivalent of *longinquus*, cf. Löfstedt, *Late Latin*, p.114; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *longus* (2): Cypr., *Epist.* 75,3 *longissimis regionibus ab aliquo separari*; Hilar., *Frgm.* p.58,27 *longae provinciae*.

Aegypti regiones (RA/RB), cf. 48, RA 39 *duxi me in Aegypto per annos XIIII uxorem flens fortiter* ~ RB 30-31 *in Aegypti partibus luxi XIIII annis uxorem*. For Apollonius' sojourn in Egypt, probably as a κάτοχος 'recluse' in an asylum temple, cf. Introd., n.49. He could speak Greek there, so that such a long retreat did not sound too implausible to the reader of **HA(Gr)**, cf. A. Jördens, *Griechische Papyri aus Soknopaiou Nesos* ['island of the Crocodile-God'], (P. Louvre, I) (Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 43), Bonn [Habelt] 1998. The most likely place for this retreat is the so-called Sarapeum, the temple of Sarapis, in Memphis, cf. F. von Woess,

Das Asylwesen Ägyptens in der Ptolemäerzeit und die spätere Entwicklung, München 1923, *passim*; G. Heuer, *Die κατοχή im Serapieion bei Memphis*, Marburg (diss.) 1935. The position occupied by Apollonius in the mixed population of temple and temple compound is a matter of pure speculation (a hypothesis worth considering is that Apollonius worked the temple lands as a ἱερόδουλος 'temple slave' and was able to support himself with the produce, cf. K.W. Welwei, 'Abhängige Landbevölkeringen auf "Tempelterritorien" im hellenistischen Kleinasien und Syrien', *Ancient Society 10-12* (1979-1981), pp.97-118. This could help to explain the wording of **R(Gr)**, cf, 28, RA/RB 8.) We can infer that, despite his appearance, he did not occupy the lowest position from the fact that, on breaking off the κατοχή 'detention' in Egypt, he immediately had transport at his disposal, cf. 37, RA 1 (comm.).

The Greek Novel has explicit connections with Egypt, cf. J.W.B. Barns, 'Egypt and the Greek Romance' in: H. Gerstinger (ed.), *Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussamlung der National-Bibliothek in Wien*, n.s. 5 (1956), pp.29-36; D. Bonneau, 'Les *realia* du paysage égyptien dans le roman grec: remarques lexicographiques' in: Baslez (1992), pp.213-9; J. Tait, 'Egyptian Fiction in Demotic and Greek' in: Morgan and Stoneman (1994), pp.203-22. Egypt looms large in Xen. Eph., the model of the *HA*, and Heliod., cf. H. Henne, 'La Géographie de l'Égypte dans Xénophon d'Éphese', *Revue d'Histoire de la Philosophie et d'Histoire de la Civilisation* 4 (1936), pp.97-106.

Regarding the *Historia Apollonii* as a Greek original, the natural supposition is that, in view of the probable content, the Christian epitomator **R(Gr)** was forced to make cuts in **HA(Gr)** here. *RA* and *RB* have simply followed the abridgement. The large gap in Apollonius' life, 14 years, dismissed in a few words, has not gone unnoticed, cf. Rohde[3], p.446; Klebs, pp.307-8; S. Singer, *Aufsätze und Vorträge*, Tübingen, 1912, p.79, Perry (1967), p.310. This series could be easily and greatly extended. There has been no official response to the κάτοχος theory (1991) which I support and have elaborated above. Garbugino, p.163 dismisses it as 'poco persuasiva, perché nel testo si accenna indubbiamente a una attività di mercante' (but this is precisely the argument devised by the Christian adaptor!). He himself believes that Archistratis' supposed death led Apollonius to feel unworthy of the role of both king and father. The sojourn in Egypt is said to be an 'autopunizione' which Apollonius imposes on himself. Though this explanation is clever, I do not think that it fully accounts for the real event, cf. ch. 37 (comm.). Later adaptations have tried to fill this gap with all kinds of adventures, both in the Latin codices and in the various vernacular versions. Thus *cod. Paris. lat. 8503*, Bibliothèque Nationale, s.XIV, ff. 1^r-7^v (= RC 11, ed. m. [1984] p.21, with n.82) fills the gap at the end of c.28 with various battles. In the version '*Apollonius von*

Tyrland' by the *medicus* Heinrich von Neustadt the hero even fights against figures like Gog and Magog, against Centaurs and Sirens, meanwhile marrying three women (cf. Archibald, pp.194-5). The 16th-c. Spanish version by Juan de Timoneda, in his Patrañuelo (Patraña 11) shows Apollonius fighting in the interim against the wicked King Antiochus and against a usurper of his own throne in Tyre. The solution suggested by Apollonius himself (cf. 28, RA 7-8/RB 8 *sed potius opera mercaturus*) is of course the one found oftenest, e.g. in the Διήγησις Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τύρου.

devenit (RA) ~ *petiit* (RB): Poetry often connects *devenio* with acc. leaving out a preposition: Verg., *Aen.* 1,369 *devenere locos, ubi nunc ingentia cernes | moenia*; id. 6,638 *Devenere locos laetos et amoena vireta* <…> *sedesque beatas*; id. 4,125 *speluncum Dido dux et Troianus eandem | devenient*, cf. OLD, s.v. *devenio* (1) 'to come (to a destination), arrive'. Greek may also figure here e.g. (?) καταβαίνω, LSJ, s.v.: 'also c. acc. loci'. *RB* simplifies, probably due to the influence of *devenio* + acc.

As well as the essay on '*Astrology*', see for more literature:

Fr. Cumont, *l'Égypte des astrologues*, Bruxelles 1937, pp.142-151 'Les hôtes des temples'.

P. Debord, *Aspects sociaux et économiques de la vie religeuse dans l'Anatolie gréco-romaine*, Leiden [Brill] 1982, pp.92-4 with n.135.

L. Delekat, *Katoche, Hierodulie und Adoptionsfreilassung*, Munich (Beck) 1964.

G. Heuser, *Die κατοχή im Sarapeion bei Memphis*, Marburg 1935 (see bibliography p.30).

P.J. Louw, 'Note sur les thérapeutes comme ἐγκάτοχοι au Sérapéum à Memphis', *Acta Classica* III 1960, pp.65-6.

R. Scholl, 'Ιερόδουλος im griechisch-römischen Ägypten', *Historia* 34, 1985, pp.466-92.

K. Sethe, *Ein bisher unbeachtetes Dokument zur Frage nach dem Wesen der κατοχή im Serapeum von Memphis*, Papÿrusinstitut, Heidelberg, Schrift 2 – Berlin und Leipzig 1921.

S. Witkowskí, *Epistulae privatae graecae quae in papyris aetatis Lagidarum servantur*, Leipzig 1911[2].

D.J. Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies*, Princeton 1988, Ch. VII: Between two worlds: the Sarapieion, pp.212-265.

U. Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit,* I. *Papyri aus Underägypten*, Berlin – Leipzig 1922, pp. 120-1.

F. von Woess, *Das Asylwesen Ägyptens in der Ptolemäerzeit und die spätere Entwicklung*, München 1923.

CHAPTER 29

29, RA 1-2 Itaque puella Tharsia facta quinqu<enn>is traditur stus artium liberalibus et filia e<o>rum cum ea docebatur: 'When Tarsia was five, she was put to study the liberal arts, and their daughter was taught with her.'

29, RB 1-2 Interea puella Tharsia facta est quinque annis. Mittitur in schola, deinde studiis liberalibus datur.

Itaque (RA) ~ *Interea* (RB): *RA* is probably based on οὖν, cf. LSJ, s.v. (II): 'to continue a narrative, *so*, *then* <…>; οὖν is also used alone, merely to resume after a parenthesis, *well, as I was saying*.' Here it harks back, beyond the astonishment of the wicked foster parents and Apollonius' departure to Egypt, to the act of 'depositing'. As usual, *RB* has *Interea,* cf. 28, RA 1 *Inter haec* ~ RB 1 *interea* (comm.).

facta quinqu<enn>is (RA) ~ *facta est quinque annis* (**b**): *RA* is based on a correction by Riese: *quinquienalis* **P** 'occurring every five years' cannot be correct, cf. OLD, s.v. For *quinquennis*, cf. Plaut., *Poen.* 85 *duae fuere filiae, altera quinquennis*, *altera quadrimula*. This word is common throughout Latinity. Also in the Glossaria, cf. CGL VII, s.v. *quinquennis* πενταετής. It is unclear why **b** changes, cf. ThLL II, 118, s.v. *annus*: Scaev., *Dig.* 26,1,80,12 *cum fuerit annis XV*, cf. Vlp., *Dig.* 30,30,6; LHS II, p.148[4]. Perhaps *quinquennis* **βπ** should be considered. By both Latin and Greek standards, going to school at the age of five is early, cf. Greg. Tur., *Vit. patr.* 8,2 (p.692,20) *in adolescentia mea cum primum litterarum elementa coepissem agnoscere et essem quasi octavi anni aevo*. The normal age is 6 or 7, cf. Regula S. Caesarii ad virgines (Migne P.L. 67, p.1108[D]) *aut difficile, aut ulla umquam in monasterio infantula parvula, nisi ab annis sex aut septem quae iam et litteras discere et obedientiac possit obtemperare, suscipiatur*. But the youthful age is typical of Tarsus, whose citizens were renowned for their eagerness to learn, cf. Strabo 14,5,13. The daughter of the wicked foster parents is significantly called *Philomusia* (as opposed to 28, RB 9 *Philotimias*). In fact this place can probably be seen as an indication for the provenance of **HA(Gr)** from Tarsus, cf. Introd. VIII.1.7.

traditur studiis artium liberalibus (RA) ~ *mittitur in schola, deinde studiis liberalibus datur* (RB): At first sight the Latin formulation seems rather

ponderous: *studia artium liberalia* (RA) ~ *studia liberalia* (RB). Perhaps there is some contamination between *studia liberalia* and *artes liberales*. The combination *studium* <...> *artes* corresponds to the formulation of e.g. Cicero, cf. *De Orat.* 1,11 *qui in harum artium liberalissimis studiis sint doctrinisque versati* (cited by OLD, s.v. *liberalis* 'worthy or typical of a free man, gentlemanly or ladylike'; see also s.v. *ars* (6): Cic., *Fam.* 15,4,16 *societas studiorum et artium nostrarum*; for the *artes liberales* Plin., *Nat.* 22,4; 35,77). In hagiography, too, the expression must have sounded familiar to Romans, cf. Greg. Magn., *Dial.* 2, *praef.* (life of Benedict) *Qui* <...> *Romae liberalibus litterarum studiis traditus fuerat*. Yet the term is broad, like the programme advocated by these *studia artium liberalia*, cf. Cic., *De Orat.* 3,127 *has artis, quibus liberales doctrinae atque ingenuae continerentur, geometriam, musicam, litterarum cognitionem et poetarum, atque illa, quae de naturis rerum, quae de hominum moribus, quae de rebus publicis dicerentur*. Rather taxing for a five-year-old, who had yet to start on the *cognitio litterarum* in the literal sense of the ABC. Hence *RB*'s logical insertion *mittitur in schola*, i.e. a *schola* run by a *grammaticus* or *ludi magister*, with or without a *ferula* (cf. OLD, s.v. *schola* [2.c]). The school programme in fact turns out to be less ambitious and more realistic: *RA* 2-3 *et* <*in*> *ingenio et in auditu et in sermone et in morum honestate docentur*.

traditur (RA) ~ *datur* (RB): In this situation Greek likes to use παραδίδωμι 'to give' 'to hand over to another', cf. LSJ, s.v.: Herod. 1,79 παῖδάς σφι παρέδωκε τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐκμαθεῖν; Plato, *Leg.* 812[a] παραδιδόναι τινὶ τοὺς νέους διδάσκειν, cf. *Tim.* 42[d]. This could underlie *RA*. In *RB datur* has been added purely on the basis of **π**; it could perhaps be missed. (A conjecture by E. Baehrens, *Neue Jahrb.* 1871, p.857 *deditur deinde studiis liberalibus* is worth citing on account of its ingenuity.)

studia artium liberalia (RA): These should be judged in relation to the ἐγκύκλια παιδεύματα/μαθήματα of the Greeks. There προπαιδεία/προπαίδευμα 'preparatory teaching' were incorporated in the entire series of ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία/ἐγκύκλια παιδεύματα 'all-round education', cf. Strabo, loc. cit. The view that we are dealing with a Greek original in this detail, too, is crucial to the overall problem of the *HA* (Latin?/Greek?). Even W. Schmid, in his revision of the standard work by E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, 1876 (= W. Schmid 1914[3], [= 1974[5], Darmstadt]) agreed with Rohde's judgement (p.452 n.1): 'Es finden sich einige auffällige Spuren ungriechischer Sitte in der Erzählung <...> In dem griechischen Tarsos geht die freigeborene, als Freie erzogene Tharsia in eine öffentliche *scola*, ein *auditorium* <...> Das ist römische Sitte der Kaiserzeit (*vgl.* Friedländer, *Darst. a.d. Sitteng.* I[4] 443).' Naturally Klebs, p.209 was of the same opinion. The erroneousness of this view is

shown by the rest of the wording in *RA* (RB /), which abounds in expressions almost immediately suggesting a Greek equivalent.

et filia e<o>rum cum ea docebatur (RA): Evidently this means that women, too, probably under all kinds of restrictions, could take part in public education. Schmid himself, p.156 n.2 draws attention to Philostr., *Imag.* I,12,3 κόρη καὶ παῖς ἄμφω καλὼ καὶ φοιτῶντε ταὐτῷ διδασκάλῳ προσεκαύθησαν ἀλλήλοις 'A boy and girl both handsome and both going to school by the same teacher inflamed with love for each other.' He refers to Pergamum, where the role of official teachers was played by οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς εὐκοσμίας τῶν παρθένων 'the officials in charge of the good conduct of the maiden' (Inscript. Pergamum no. 463) and to Smyrna, cf. LSJ, s.v. εὐκοσμία 'orderly behaviour' 'good conduct': CIG 3185.19 ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς εὐκοσμίας καὶ τῶν παρθένων (see also the note below on *morum honestas*). So Philotimias was a συμφοιτήτρια/συμμαθήτρια 'fellow pupil' of Tarsia.

29, RA 2-3

et <in> ingenio et in auditu et in sermone et in morum honestate docentur. ~ (RB /) 'They were taught to use their intelligence, and the arts of listening, discussion and decent behaviour.'

In all its brevity this sentence describes what the school programme for girls entailed. Obviously it is impossible to make a precise reconstruction of the Greek substrate text.

<**in**> **ingenio**: Precisely in view of the repetition, *in* makes excellent sense (see also below: *docentur in*). A Greek equivalent could be σωφροσύνη 'soundness of mind', 'prudence'. This word is very frequent in the Greek Novel (cf. *Less.*, s.v. σωφροσύνη: Charit. 12x; Xen. Eph. 8x; Achill. Tat. 7x; Heliod. 11x; compare also σώφρων, σωφρόνως).

auditus: Could render ἀκρόασις 'listening to', 'obedience' (this translation also occurs in the Glosses, cf. ThLL I 1297,52). The meaning 'obedience' is rather uncommon in Latin, cf. ThLL I 1298,71-4. It occurs very frequently in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. ἀκρόασις (in various senses): Charit. 1x; Achill. Tat. 7x; Heliod. 5x.

sermo: Several terms could underlie the Latin here: (?) διάλογος, διάλεξις 'conversation', 'interview'.

morum honestas: Though much favoured in Latin literature (cf. ThLL VI,2 2897, l.54 ff., esp. Bened., *reg.* 73), this word could also well render the

Greek notion εὐκοσμία 'orderly behaviour' 'good conduct': this was precisely the role played by an official both in Pergamum and in Smyrna, cf. above.

docentur in: A distinct Graecism, cf. ThLL V,1 1732,66 with the addition: *ex graeco exemplo natum*: Vulg., Col. 1:28 *docentes omnem hominem in omni sapientia* (διδάσκοντες <...> ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ); Evang. Thom. 6,1 *cum autem doctus fuerit in studio litterarum, al.*; for the success of this usage, see Bieler on Patric., *Epist.* 1,9 *in sermonibus instructus atque eruditus*; cf. 27, RA 12/RB 10 *in arte*. The ordinary construction in Greek would be διδάσκονταί τι/περί τινος, cf. LSJ, s.v.; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. Various reasons may have led *RB* to eliminate both this and the previous sentence. An unclear, (to him) vague formulation? Superfluous information? Not appropriate to the curriculum of the *studia liberalia*?

Literature (on inscriptions regarding education for girls):

E.L. Bowie, 'Les lecteurs du roman grec' in: Baslez (1992), pp.55-61, esp. p.59 n.10.

R. van Bremen, 'Women and Wealth' in: A. Cameron & A. Kurt, *Images of Women in Antiquity*, London 1981, pp.223-41.

S.G. Cole, 'Could Greek Women Read and Write?' in: H. Foley, *Reflections of Women in Antiquity*, London 1981, pp.219-45, esp. p.232 ff.

B. Egger, in: J. Tatum, *The Search* (1944), p.276.

W. Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, Cambridge, Mass., 1989, p.244.

H.W. Pleket, *Epigraphica II*: Texts on the Social History of the Greek World, Textus minores, Leiden 1969, no. 33, pp.41-2.

S. Pomeroy, 'Τεχνικαὶ καὶ Μουσικαί: The Education of Women in the Fourth Century and in the Hellenistic Period', *American Journal of Ancient History* 2, 1977, pp.51-68.

C. Preaux, 'Lettres privées grecques d'Égypte', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 8 (1929), pp.757-800, esp. pp.772-8.

29, RA 3-5 Cumque Tharsia ad XIIII annorum aetatem venisset, reversa de auditorio invenit nutricem suam subitaneam valitudinem incurrisse, 'When Tarsia was fourteen, she came back from school to find that her nurse had suddenly been taken ill.'

29, RB 2-4 Cum ad XIIII <*annorum*> venísset aetátem (*pl.*), reversa de auditorio invenit nutricem suam Lycoridem subitaneam aegritudinem incurrisse.

reversa de auditorio (RA/RB): A sonorous term for 'school', cf. 30, RA 6 *petiit scholam suam*/RB 6 *reversa de auditorio*. The primary meaning of *audi-*

torium/ἀκροατήριον is 'lecture-room', cf. OLD, s.v.; LSJ, s.v. Nevertheless Romans will have understood the term in this weaker sense too. *RA* (and *RB*) may have found this term in **R(Gr)** and adopted it for its Greek colouring, cf. Introd. IV.2. The change to *adiutorium* **β** is not uncommon: MGH Script rer. merov. III, *Vita Genevefae virginis parisiensis* c.48 p.235,7 *stans in adito* (= *aditu*; auditorio v.l.; adiutorio v.l.) *domos* (= -us) *suae*, cf. ibid. c.42, p.233,6.

nutricem suam (RA) ~ *nutricem suam Lycoridem* (RB): The usual insertion of the full name in *RB*, cf. 25, RA 3/RB 2 and in a broader context Introd. VII.2.1.

valitudinem incurrisse (RA) ~ *aegritudinem i.* (RB): *RA*'s entire phrase is a repetition of 18, RA/RB 15 *subitaneam valitudinem incurrisse*. The term *valetudo* (*vali*-) as a euphemism for *morbus* is found throughout Latinity, cf. LSJ, s.v. *valetudo* (3) 'illness' 'indisposition'. For *incurrere* + acc. 'to incur', cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *incurro* (3): 'encourir (peine, châtiment, etc.)': Eugipp., *Vit.* p.10,7 *incurrere lepram peccati*; Ben., *Reg.* 5 *incurrere peccatum*. Greek prefers expression by means of a preposition: Aesch., *Prom.* 473 εἰς νόσον πεσεῖν 'to fall ill'; Antiph. 1,20 ἐς νόσον ἐμπίπτειν.

29, RA 5-6 et sedens iuxta eam casus infirmitatis eius <ex>plorat. 'She sat down next to her and asked about the nature of her illness.'

29, RB 4-5 Et sedens iuxta eam super thorum casus infirmitatis exquirit.

sedens iuxta eam (RA) ~ *sedens iuxta eam super thorum* (RB): Greek expresses itself similarly, cf. *Less.*, s.v. παρακαθέζομαι 'to set oneself down beside one' (Charit. 1x; Xen. Eph. 3x), παρακάθημαι 'to be seated beside or near' (Charit. 4x), and esp. παρακαθίζω 'to set/sit beside or near', cf. Charit. 2,8,6 παρακαθίσασα ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, «Ἴσθι» φησίν 'she (sc. Plangon, the servant) sat beside Callirhoe on the couch and said, "You should know"'; Heliod. 3,17,1 ἐμαυτοῦ τε πλησίον ἐπὶ τῆς εὐνῆς ἐκάθιζον 'I made him sit next to me on the bed'. The last two examples show that the addition *super thorum* (RB) agrees with the Greek Novel, but this by no means implies that *RB* is more original and/or has consulted the Greek original here. The detail may well be due to wider reading, greater empathy, and especially knowledge of the *HA*: 30, RA 4 *nutrix in gremio puellae emisit* (RB *deposuit*) *spiritum*. This requires physical proximity. Compare 18, RB 4 *sedet super thorum*, a detail ignored by *RA* there too.

casus infirmitatis eius <ex>plorat (RA) ~ *casus infirmitatis exquirit* (RB): *casus infirmitatis* (RA/RB) 'the nature of her illness' (Konstan) should probably be retained as a technical term, cf. OLD, s.v., (9.b): '(spec.) state, condition (of health), case, circumstances' (references to Cels., Plin., Scrib. Larg.). Klebs, p.56 n.3 proposes to delete *casus* for *causas* **Rα**. Against the concordance of *RA* and *RB* we should probably regard *causas* as an attempt at improvement, despite a possible Greek parallel (cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀναζητέω 'to investigate': Plato, *Leg.* 693[a] τὰς αἰτίας 'the reasons').

<ex>plorat (RA) ~ *exquirit* (RB): The reading *implorat* **P** (elsewhere too in the transmission of **Rα[FG]**) was rightly changed by Riese; *RB*'s change is probably a stylistic variant.

29, RA 6 Nutrix vero eius elevans se dixit ei: 'But her nurse raised herself up and said to her:'

29, RB 5 Cui nutrix ait:

RB offers a reading adapted in grammar and syntax by elimination of *eius* and *ei* (for the same person) and possibly *elevans*, i.e. *postquam se elevavit*: the relative link *cui* is elegant.

29, RA 7-8 "Audi a<n>iculae morientis verba supprema, domina Tharsia; audi et pectori tuo manda. '"Listen to the last words of an old woman who is dying, Lady Tarsia: listen, and remember them in your heart.'

29, RB 5-6 "Audi, domina, morientis ancillae tuae verba supprema et pectori commenda."

a<n>iculae morientis (RA) ~ *morientis ancillae tuae* (RB): **P** actually reads *et auriculae,* in which *et* comes from the next line *audi et pectori tuo manda*; *auriculae* is pointless and should be changed with Ring to *a<n>iculae*, cf. OLD, s.v. *anicula* 'old woman'. The diminutive *anicula* (from *anus*) probably goes back to γραΐς, dim. of γραῦς, γραία, cf. LSJ, s.v. γραΐς (Charit. 6,1,11). Because *anicula* is often pejorative, the change to *ancillae tuae* is apposite, like the transposition of *domina* (? κυρία). The age of the *nutrix* (around 35) probably also plays a role in the elimination, cf. 30, RB 1.

verba supprema (RA/RB): Analogous in Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. ὕστερος, (B) ὕστατος 'last': Soph., *Aiax* 864 τοὔπος ὕστατον θροεῖ 'he utters his last word'.

pectori tuo manda (RA) ~ *pectori commenda* (RB): For *manda*, cf. OLD, s.v. *manda* (3) *memoriae, animo* etc. *mandare*; *commendo* is perhaps slightly more poetic, cf. OLD, s.v. *commendo*: '(usu. poet.)': Verg., *Aen.* 2,293 *sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia penatis*.

29, RA 8-9 Interrogo namque te, quem tibi patrem aut matrem aut patriam esse aestimas?" 'I am asking you, urgently: who do you think your father and mother are, and what is your country?"'

29, RB 6-8 Et dixit: "Domina Tharsia, quem tibi patrem, quam matrem vel quam patriam, putas, habuisti (**βM**: *habuisse* **π**: om. **b**)?"

Interrogo namque te (RA) ~ *Et dixit* (RB): Emphatically introductory words of the *nutrix* to impress the importance of her words on her youthful pupil. *RA* could come directly from Greek: ἐπερωτάω οὖν σε, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. This introduction is put paratactically, so that the indicative *aestimas* can follow instead of the subjunctive which syntax strictly requires. This increases the liveliness in Latin (cf. Klebs, p.265), but the same applies to the Greek substrate text. *RB*'s solution is a poor surrogate. For *Domina Tharsia*, cf. 2, RA/RB 4. (Schmeling [1988], p.63,22; *Notes*, p.392 *aliter*.)

namque: In second place, cf. Corbett (on *Reg. Mag.* 14,112), p.211 *eadem namque die* with many other examples; Aerts-Kortekaas, *Pseudo-Method.* II, p.198, s.v. *namque*.

quem <…> patrem aut matrem aut patriam (RA) ~ *quem <…> patrem, quam matrem, <…> quam patriam* (RB): In *RA* (following the ordinary, grammatical rule, cf. 24, RA 28 comm.) the masculine predominates (? τίνα <…> ἢ <…> ἤ); *RB* sees the categories separately, probably for euphonic reasons. In the now following answer *patria* becomes primary, in both *RA* and *RB*.

aestimas (RA) ~ *putas, habuisti* (RB): The form *extimas* **P** is an orthographical variant of *aestimas*: the spelling *s* > *x* mainly occurs in Italian codd., cf. Corbett, p.81. This *aestimas* is a vulgar form for classical *existimas* (cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *aestimo* 'regarder comme') and as such should be preserved in the text (cf. Weyman, *Wo. kl. Phil.* 10,1893, [cols. 575-79], col. 577). Vulgar codd. often alternate, e.g. *Vita Genovefae virginis parisiensis*, MGH Script. rer. Merov. III, c.54 (p.237,8) *non absurdum fidelibus innotiscere <…> stimo* (stimo 1^a; aestimo 1^b; exestimo *rell.*), cf. O.G. Ahlquist,

Studien zur spätlateinischen Mulomedicina Chironis, Uppsala 1909, p.107. To avoid this more or less vulgar language, *RB* changes to *,putas, tibi* (ethical dat.) *habuisti?*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *putas* 'selon vous': Luke 12:42 *quis, putas, est fidelis dispensator?* This paratactic usage takes root in Late Latin, cf. Bieler (on Patrick, *Epist.* 1,19), p.141; Bonnet, p.257 n.4; G.J.M. Bartelink, 'Augustin und die lateinische Umgangssprache', *Mnemosyne* s.IV, vol. XXXV, Fasc. 3-4 (pp.283-9), p.288. It is also popular among translators (cf. J.B. Hofmann, 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Vulgärlateins', p.92), who can add it freely to a text. A similar *putas* is found in Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. οἴομαι (III): Plato, *Symp.* 216^{D}; id., *Rep.* 486^{c}. The Greek Novel has it too, cf. Charit. 1,10,3 πόσης οἴεσθε χαρᾶς ἐμπλήσομεν τὴν ὅλην Σικελίαν; 'How happy, do you think, we will make all Sicily'. However, the occurrence of this *putas* is too general a phenomenon to warrant the assumption that *RB* consulted a Greek text. (Schmeling, *Notes*, p.392 [on ed. 63,23] argues for {habuisti} **βM**.)

29, RA 9-10 Puella ait: "Patriam Tharsos, patrem Stranguilionem, matrem Dyonisiam." 'The girl said: "My country is Tarsus, my father is Stranguillio, my mother is Dionysias."'

29, RB 8-9 Puella ait: "Patriam Tharso, Stranguilionem patrem, Dyonisiadem matrem."

patriam <…> **patrem** <…> **matrem** (RA/RB): For the order of information, cf. Heliod. 6,2,3 ἔλεγεν ἅπαντα <…> τὴν πατρίδα ὡς Ἀθηναῖος, τὸν πατέρα ὡς Ἀρίστιππος, τὴν Δημαινέτην ὅτι μητρυία γεγόνοι 'he told <…> all <…> that his home was in Athens, his father was called Aristippos and Demainete became his stepmother.'

Tharsos (RA) ~ *Tharso* (**b**): Cf. 28, RA 2 *Tharsos* ~ RB 2 *Tharso*. Most likely the form *Tharsos* was adopted directly from **R(Gr)**, cf. Introd. n.65. (Klebs, p.256 n.3 'wahrscheinlich ist auch das falsche "*patriam Tharsos*" 29, nur in **P**, aus *Tharso* entstanden, wie **b** an dieser Stelle hat' can be ignored.) *Tharso* **b** is best seen here as a fossilized acc., frequent in geographical names, cf. L. Furman Sas, *The Noun Declension System in Merovingian Latin*, Paris 1937, p.364: *Per. Aeth.* p.27,3 *habet civitatem* <…> *Tharso*; p.28,3 *reversa sum Tharso*. Compare *Tyro* (*cl.* Tyrum), cf. Ind. nom., s.v. Tyrus. The forms *Tharsum* **βπ**, *Tarsum* **M** are 'corrections'.

29, RA 10 Nutrix vero eius ingemuit et ait: 'But her nurse sighed and said:'
29, RB 9 Nutrix ingemuit et ait:

A popular story favours linking words like *vero* and *eius*, especially if crucial information is at stake.

ingemuit et ait (RA/RB), cf. 39, RA 4/RB 6; 41, RA/RB 14: Thielmann, p.9 saw Vulgate diction in this collocation: Vulg. Dan. 13:22 *ingemuit Susanna et ait*. The collocation occurs 5x in OT and NT, e.g. Mark 7:34 *ingemuit et ait* <…> *illi* (Gr. ἐστέναξεν καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ); ibid. 8:12 *ingemescens* <…> *ait* (Gr. ἀναστενάξας <…> λέγει). Though a similar juxtaposition (in not entirely identical terms) is frequent elsewhere too (cf. ThLL VII 1518,35 ff.; Klebs, p.236 = Garbugino, p.100 n.32), the phrase does seem to reflect biblical diction within the biblical language of the *HA* (cf. Introd. II.2), cf. Paul. Nol., *Epist.* 13,6 p.89,24 (propheta) *ingemit dicens*; Aug., *serm. coll.* (Morin p.292,17) *ingemiscens* <…> *ait*. The combination στενάζω <…> φημί occurs repeatedly in the Greek Novel (cf. Charit. 1,1,9; 5,2,7; Achill. Tat. 5,12,2; Xen. Eph. 3,8,1; Heliod. 8,9,2), but not to my knowledge in such close juxtaposition. Perhaps we should assume influence via **R(Gr)**.

29, RA 11-12 "Audi, domina mea Tharsia, ste<mm>ata origin<is> tuorum natalium, ut scias, quid post mortem meam facere debeas. '"Lady Tarsia, listen to your ancestry and family origins, so that you know what you must do after my death.'
29, RB 9-11 "Audi, domina, natalium tuorum originem, ut scias, quid post mortem meam agere debeas.

Audi (RA/RB): **P** actually has *audis*, which could perhaps be defended as a mild form of the imperative, cf. 14, RA 21 *vides* **P, Rα**. Several critics in the past have defended *audis*, cf. W.A. Baehrens, *Glotta* 5 (1914), p.81: 'Nicht zufällig is es daß in der Hist. Apoll. p.56,10 auch *audis* steht: Hier liegt wie bei *video* nicht einmal der einfachste Fall vor, daß jemand, der selbst irgend einen Laut hört, seinen Begleiter darauf aufmerksam macht'; LHS II, p.327.

domina mea Tharsia (RA) ~ *domina* (RB): In this dramatic moment the full term of address is wholly justified.

ste<mm>ata origin<is> tuorum natalium (RA) ~ *natalium tuorum originem* (RB): *RA* is a solemn, expansive expression, appropriate to the gravity of the situation and to Christian Latin, cf. Blaise, *Manuel*, ch.IV 'Le langage figuré'. *RB* omits the difficult *stemmata*, here and in the parallel passage 34, RA 6 *vel originem ste<mm>atum considera* ~ RB 6 *et natalium meorum originem*. Translation of *RA* is complicated by the three almost synonymous terms. Konstan translates: 'the pedigree of the origins of your birth' explaining 'i.e. your ancestry and the circumstances of your birth'. In view of the answer given by the *nutrix*, the expression must cover both areas, family and circumstances of birth. Ordinary Romans will have understood and savoured the expression, despite the presence of a word with pagan overtones, cf. OLD, s.v. *stemma, -atos* 'pedigree, lineage'. This word is mainly used in connection with the busts of ancestors placed in the *atrium*. These were adorned with wreaths (στέμματα), cf. Mart. 4,40,1 *atria Pisonum stabant cum stemmate toto*; Suet., *Gal.* 2 *ut qui* <...> *imperator* <...> *stemmata in atria proposuerit*. Though this pagan custom (cf. Sen., *De benef.* 3,28; Plin., *Nat. Hist.* 35,2,2 § 6) had disappeared in Christian Rome of the 5th/6th century, the word *stemma* clearly survived among Christians, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. (references to Tert., Fulg., Prud., Cassiod.). Theoretically, then, *RA* could fall back on an existing vocabulary, even if the combination *stemma* and *origo* is extremely late and rare, cf. Alc. Avit., *Epist.* 46 (MGH., Auct. Antiq. VI, II p.75,13) *de toto priscae originis stemmate*. But it is more natural to assume that *stemmata* represents a remnant of his Greek model **R(Gr)**, cf. LSJ, s.v. στέμμα: '(II) plur. στέμματα pedigrees'. So *RB*'s elimination has removed a Graecism.

The mutilation in **P** *stenuata origine*, both here and in 34, RA 6, is easily explained by palaeography. An interesting reading is 34, RA 6 *stigmata* **φ**: *stemma* phonetically evoked the word *stigma* through the alternation *-e-* and *-i-* and the insertion of *-g-* before *-m-*, esp. in Merovingian sources: Anonymi (= monachi S. Symphoriani Augustoduni), *Gesta et Passio S. Leudegarii episcopi et martyris*, MGH, Script. rer. merov. V, (pp.282-322) c.9 *quique generis nobilitate et prudentia saeculari, ut claro stigmate ortus*; VPE IV,2,2 *matronam, quae* <...> *illustri stigmate progenita* (cf. Garvin, p.364).

facere (RA) ~ *agere* (RB): The change is probably explained by the fact that *facere* is becoming an 'everyday' word, cf. Fr. *faire*.

29, RA 12-13 Est tibi pater nomine Apollonius, mater vero [Lucina] Arc<hi>stratis regis filia, patria Tyros. 'Your father's name is Apollonius; your mother was the daughter of King Archistrates; Tyre is your native city.'

29, RB 11-12 Est tibi Cyrene solum patria, mater Archistra-t<i>s, regis Archistrat<i>s filia.

At first sight the two formulations seem barely connected. In my view, however, the *RB* reading is a logical, understandable attempt to 'improve' on *RA*. The order in *RA*, in this case **P**, corresponds to that in the question of the *nutrix* l.8 *patrem* <…> *matrem* <…> *patriam*. Riese's transposition (1893) *patria Tyros, pater* <…> *mater* is based on the girl's answer in l.9, but is unnecessary and makes for text-critical problems. At an early stage the name *Lucina*, the goddess of birth (cf. 25, RA 9), supplanted the original name *Archistratis* (nom., fem. sing.) across the board (**P**, **Va**[c], **Rα**), also because it was followed by an identical name (but now gen., masc. sing.). The name [*Lucina*] has been kept in the text in view of the text's general uncertainty and of its text-critical relevance, partly in connection with *RB*. Finally, we should follow Riese in retaining the reading *Tyros* **P** and trace it back directly to **R(Gr)**, cf. (?) Τύρος. (*Tyro* **Va**[c] is a fossilized, geographical name, cf. 28, RA/RB 2 [comm.]).

RB has aligned the order *patria, mater* to the girl's preceding answer, but a specification for *pater* is lacking in **bβ**. Hence Riese's addition *Apollonius pater* after *Cyrene solum patria*. But the addition is not strictly necessary, as *RB* returns twice (l.14, l.17) to *Apollonius pater*.

patria Tyros (RA) ~ *Cyrene solum patria* (RB): The change is based on the term *patria*, not so much 'native place' as 'dwelling-place, home': there lie Tarsia's roots according to the nurse, cf. Cic., *Leg.* 2,2,5 *habuit alteram loci patriam, alteram iuris*; Verg., *Georg.* 2,512 *alio patriam quaerunt sub sole iacentem*, hence the saying (probably by Pacuvius, in Cic., *Tusc.* 5,37,18): *patria est, ubicumque est bene* (for other examples, see OLD, s.v. *patria* **b** (transf.). Owing to this altered meaning of *patria, RB* is clearly inferior. Later versions like to specify, e.g. *Pentapolis* **Rα(G, Atr.)**, **γ**.

Cyrene solum (RB): 'only Cyrene', namely the city, in contrast to Tarsia's firm conviction that it was Tarsus, cf. Roques, p.512 n.110. Schmeling (1984) rightly returns to this reading, cf. *Cirene solo* **βπ**, *senelo* **b** (a curious corruption). It renders all earlier conjectures superfluous (cf. ed. m. [1984]). The reading *Archistrates, regis Archistrates filia* **b** (apart from the spelling *-e-* for *-i-*) probably comes close to the archetype of *RB* and can even help to constitute the text of *RA*. (Klebs, p.32 requires correction.)

29, RA 14-15	Dum mater tua <te> enixa <est>, statim redeuntibus secundis praeclusoque spiritu ultimum fati signavit diem. 'When your mother gave birth, the afterbirth went back straightaway and her breathing was obstructed; she came to the end of her allotted span.'
29, RB 12-13	Quae cum te enixa est, statim secundis sursum redeuntibus praeclusoque spiritu ultimum vitae finivit diem.

Dum mater tua (RA) ~ *Quae cum* (RB): Classical emendation by *RB*, cf. 1, RA 4 *dum* ~ RB *cum*.

<te> enixa <est> (RA) ~ *te enixa est* (RB), cf. 25, RA 10/RB 7 (comm.).

redeuntibus secundis (RA) ~ *secundis sursum redeuntibus* (RB), cf. 25, RA 10/RB 8 (comm.) and 44, RA 10/RB 12 *secundis ad stomachum redeuntibus*.

praeclusoque spiritu (RA/RB), cf. 25, RA 11/RB 8 *conclusoque spiritu*; 27, RA 7/RB 6 *spiritus praeclusus*.

ultimum fati signavit diem (RA) ~ *ultimum vitae finivit diem* (RB): The combination *dies fati* is found repeatedly in Latin starting from Catil. 3,17 *exitii ac fati diem*, cf. ThLL V.1 1059,51-2. *RB* skilfully eliminates the term *fatum*, cf. 50, RA 13 *quia fati munus implevit* (i.e. mortuus est) (RB *aliter*); *RB* does acknowledge the expression *ultimum signare diem*, cf. 4, RB 6. For this elimination of ancient superstition, see Introd. VII.2.1. Latin has many synonymous terms for dying, cf. O. Hey, 'Euphemismus und Verwandtes im Lateinischen', *ALL* 11, 1900, p.523 (no synonyms or parallels for *RA* are mentioned). The origin of *fati signare diem* should probably be sought in Greek, cf. Plato, *Leg.* 9,873c τὴν τῆς εἱμαρμένης βίᾳ ἀποστερῶν μοῖραν 'to deprive by force someone from his portion in life, adjudged to him by fate', whence Latinized (?) *fati munus*, see 50, RA 13 (comm.). *Fatum* naturally plays an enormous role in Greek literature. For the Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. εἵμαρται. Perhaps *signare* overlies a Greek verb like (?) σφραγίζειν, cf. LSJ, s.v. (II.5) 'to set an end or limit to'.

29, RA 15-17 Quam pater tuus facto loculo cum ornamentis regalibus et XX sestertiis auri in mare permisit, ut, ubi fuisset d<e>lata, ipsa testis <sibi e>sset. 'Your father had a coffin made; he committed her to the sea with royal finery and twenty thousand gold sesterces, so that wherever she was carried, she would give evidence of her royal birth.'

29, RB 13-17 Quam pater tuus Apollonius effecto loculo cum ornamentis regalibus et XX sestertiis in mare misit, ut, ubicumque fuisset elata, haberet in suppremis exequias funeris sui. Quo itaque sit elata, ipsa sibi testis erit.

For the term *loculus, regalia ornamenta, XX sestertia auri* (RA: RB /) see 25, RA 26-29/RB 20-24 (comm.).

facto loculo (RA) ~ *effecto loculo* (**βMπ**): Perhaps *effectum loculum* **b** can be retained as an acc. abs., cf. Ind. gr., s.v. acc. abs.

permisit P ~ *misit* (RB): Many have tinkered with the **P** reading in the course of time, cf. ed. m. (1984); Schmeling (1988). Perhaps *permisit* should be preserved, with the implication that the sea should do with her as it sees fit, cf. 5, RA 20/RB 21 (comm.). The conjecture *demisit* (Riese) is plausible, cf. LSJ, s.v. καθίημι 'to send down' 'to let fall': Herod. 7,36 ἀγκύρας κατῆκαν περιμήκεας 'they dropped anchors of great length'; Thuc. 2,91 αἱ μέν τινες τῶν νεῶν καθεῖσαι τὰς κώπας ἐπέστησαν τοῦ πλοῦ 'some ships let down the oars and stopped the ship's way'.

ubi fuisset d<e>lata (RA) ~ *ubicumque fuisset elata* (RB): Both *ubi* and the Greek equivalent οὗ/ὅπου can mean not only *where* but also *wherever,* cf. OLD, s.v. *ubi* (6,10) 'where, wherever', e.g. Plaut., *Epid.* 166[a] *ubi pudendum est, ibi eos deserit pudor*; Cic., *Orat.* 219; id., Quinct. 71; cf. LSJ, s.v. οὗ where': Soph., *Philoct.* 1049 οὗ γὰρ τοιούτων δεῖ, τοιοῦτός εἰμ' ἐγώ 'wherever such men are needed, I am such'. *RB*'s more explicit phrase is hardly necessary, cf. 48, RA 36 *ubi inventa esset* (RB /). The difference in meaning between *delata* **P**,**βM** and *elata* **bπ** is minimal.

ipsa testis <sibi e>sset (RA) ~ *haberet in suppremis exequias funeris sui. Quo itaque sit elata, ipsa sibi testis erit* (RB): The manuscript reading of **P** is *ipsa testis fuisset*; Riese emended to *ipsa testis sui esset,* Hunt (1994), p.314 *ipsa sibi testis esset*, cf. 48, RA 37; but the order *testis sibi* (Hunt, 1980, p.29) is probably easier to explain from a palaeographical point of view. The

question goes back of course to a form of μάρτυς 'witness' or μαρτυρέω (τί τινι) 'to testify', both very frequent in Greek. For the dat. *sibi*, cf. LSJ, s.v. μαρτυρέω (2): 'c. dat. pers. *bear witness to*: Eurip., *Ion* 532 μαρτυρεῖς σαυτῷ, esp. *bear favourable witness to*'. See also Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. μαρτυρέω (c): *Clemens ad Corinth.* 38,2 ὁ ταπεινόφρων μὴ ἑαυτῷ μαρτυρείτω 'der Demütige soll sich nicht selbst ein gutes Zeugnis ausstellen.' So a corresponding Greek phrase could be: ἵνα αὐτὴ αὑτῇ μαρτυρήσειεν. The thrust in relation to the *HA* is clear: royal garments as well as a stupendously large finder's fee and burial costs were more than enough to allow Archistratis to speak for herself: the circumstantial evidence clearly indicated royal descent; for this explication, cf. also *intestatus*, Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v.: 'qui n'a pas besoin de témoins': Ambr., *Cain et Ab.* 1,6,22 *intestata testis*. (Konstan's explanation: 'she was her own witness where she was carried to', i.e. nobody else knew, should be rejected.) Probably because *RA*'s expression was unclear or insufficient for *RB*, he expanded the context with a literary embellishment: 'So that she on passing away would have the costs for a fine funeral'; for the expression, see Cic., *pro Cluent.* 71,201 *mater exsequias illius funeris prosecuta* (cited by Klebs, p.230 = Garbugino, p.100 n.30); Prop., 2,13,24 *adsint plebei parvae funeris exsequiae*, cf. Ov., *Trist.* 3,5,40; Plin., *Nat. Hist.* 10,43,60 § 122 *funus innumeris exsequiis celebratum*. In Late Latin, too, *exequiae funeris* is very common, cf. Bonnet, p.266 n.4.

29, RA 17-19	Naves quoque luctantibus ventis cum patre tuo lugente et te in cunabulis posita pervenerunt ad hanc civitatem. 'Because of the turbulent winds the ships arrived at this city with your father in mourning, and you put in a cradle.'
29, RB 17-18	Nam rex Apollonius pater tuus amissam coniugem lugens, te in cunabulis positam, tui tantum solatio recreatus, applicuit Tharso.

Though at first sight *RA* and *RB* have little in common, *RB* is plainly a (later) stylistic elaboration.

quoque (RA) ~ *Nam* (RB): *quoque* may simply have the meaning 'on the other hand', cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *quoque*: Gen. 1,24 *dixit quoque (δὲ) Deus*; Cassian., *Instit.* 15,2 *tertio quoque post pauca infert*. Konstan translates: 'Furthermore'.

Naves <...> **pervenerunt** (RA) ~ *rex Apollonius* <...> *applicuit* (RB): The difficult term *naves* 'fleet' (cf. 25, RA 6) as well as the possibly astrological

connotation '(apparent death) ~ storm' (25, RA 22 ~ RB /) are deftly smoothed away.

luctantibus ventis (RA) ~ (RB /): Probably the remnant of an astrological component in **R(Gr)/HA(Gr)**, cf. 25, RA 20-22 (comm. [2]). Since Verg., *Aen*.1,53 (*Aeolus*) *luctantes ventos tempestates sonoras imperio premit* the image occurs frequently, cf. ThLL VII $^{\mathrm{II}\,2}$ 1733,9-14. To my knowledge there is no parallel Greek usage, e.g. παλαίω 'to wrestle', but it would not be strange, cf. Thurmayer (1910), p.26.

cum patre tuo lugente (RA) ~ *pater tuus amissam coniugem* (cf. 1, RB ex amissa coniuge) *lugens* (RB): *RB* closely follows *RA*.

te in cunabulis posita (RA) ~ *te in cunabulis positam, tui tantum solatio recreatus* (RB): A literary elaboration by *RB* (via *positam* as acc. abs.) with epanalepsis *te* ~ *tui*, with rich alliteration (*te, tui, tantum*) and τόπος from consolation literature, cf. 25, RB 24 (probably also isosyllabism: *solatio* ~ *recreatus*).

pervenerunt ad hanc civitatem (RA) ~ *applicuit Tharso* (RB): A terse summary, cf. 28, RB 2 *applicuit Tharso* (comm.).

29, RA 19-20	His ergo suis ‹hospitibus›, Stranguilioni et Dyonisiae, te commendavit pariter cum vestimentis regalibus 'So your father entrusted you to these persons, his friends, Stranguillio and Dionysias together with royal clothes'
29, RB 19-20	Commendavit te mecum cum magna pecunia et vestem copiosam Stranguilioni et Dyonisiadi hospitibus suis

te commendavit (RA) ~ *Commendavit te* (RB), cf. 28, RA 8/RB 9.

pariter cum (RA): i.q. *unā cum,* cf. 19, RA 3/RB 4 (comm.): A conjecture like that of Riese (1893) 'pariter] *fortasse* pater tuus' is unnecessary.

cum vestimentis regalibus (RA) ~ *mecum cum magna pecunia et vestem copiosam* (RB): *RB* eliminates (*vestimenta*) *regalia*, which is awkward in the context (since Dionysias wants to clothe her daughter in them, cf. 31, RA 12/RB 9) and substitutes an accurate registration, with remarkably *cum* + abl. in the same breath as *cum* + acc. (**bβM**), cf. 31, RB 22 (**b**). For *cum* + acc., cf. Blaise, s.v. *cum*; Väänänen, *Introd.* § 247. For the juxtaposition,

cf. V. Bulhart, *Euseb. Vercell.*, Praef. XII-XIII, no. 11 (*antiptosis*). It may be that *vestem* depends directly on *commendavit*.

29, RA 20-22 et sic votum faciens neque capillos dempturum neque ungulas, donec te nuptui traderet. ‘He also took a vow not to cut his nails or his hair, until he gave you in marriage.’

29, RB 20-21 votumque faciens barbam, capillum neque ungues dempturum, nisi te prius nuptum tradidisset.

et sic votum faciens (i.q. fecit) (RA) ~ *votumque faciens* (RB): Probably elimination of the participle used as a main verb, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. participium *pro verbo finito*.

neque <…> **neque** (RA) ~ <…>, <…> *neque* (RB), cf. 28, RA/RB 14 (comm.): See also there for the ellipsis *se* (RA/RB): *RA* probably forgot *barbam* from the outset. (Schmeling [1988], p.64,10-11 *<nec> barbam <nec> capillum neque ungues*: see *Notes*, p.392.)

capillos (RA) ~ *capillum* (RB), cf. 28, RA/RB (**b**) 14 *capillos* (comm.): The collective singular *pilus, capillus, crinis, coma* wins the day in the Romance languages.

ungulas P ~ *ungues* (RB), cf. 28, RA/RB 14 *ungues*: It is very difficult to establish the correct reading of *RA*. Classical Latin draws a sharp distinction between *ungula* ‘hoof’ and *unguis* ‘nail’. In Vulgar Latin these terms are sometimes confused, e.g. Vet. Lat., Deut. 21:12 *radet caesariem et circumcidet ungulas* (Vulg. *ungues*), cf. Blaise, *Dict.* s.v. *ungula* ‘ongle’. The distinction becomes blurred in hagiography particularly, cf. Passio S. Pimenii, c.6 (ed. Delehaye, *Le légendier romain*, p.263) *vivus decoriatur a summo vertice usque ad ungulas pedum*; Mombrit. I 137,5 (De Sancto Basilio) *illa vehementer extimuit et humo se prosternens ungulis se ipsam discerpere coepit*. Interesting examples are offered by J. Compernass, ‘Vulgaria’, *Glotta* 6 (1915), p.165. The process is carried further in Greg. Tur., e.g. *Mart.* 3,27 (ed. Bonnet 639,15) *ut <…> contractis intrinsecus digitis, ungulae in palmam difigerentur*, cf. ibid., *glor. confess.* 9, p.754,14. Ultimately the form *ungula* wins out (cf. Rom. languages: ongle, unghia), see J. Sofer, *Glotta* 17 (1929), p.21; O. Bloch ~ W. von Wartburg, *Dictionnaire etymologique de la langue française,* Paris 1975[6], s.v. ongle. This development in the West had been the status quo in Greek since the earliest times, cf. LSJ, s.v. ὄνυξ ‘claw’, ‘nail’, ‘hoof’. Romans also sense Greek influence, cf. Isid., *Orig.*

11,1,72 *ungulas ex Graeco vocamus; illi enim has ὄνυχας dicunt*. On the basis of this material it is clear that a word like *ungula* deserves a special place in text and commentary of the *HA*: it may have been introduced at every stage of the textual genesis (**P**, **RA**, **R[Gr]**), but it may even have been original. Instead of simply deleting (Riese [1893]), Schmeling [1988]), we should retain it (with annotation) in the text.

donec te nuptui traderet (RA) ~ *nisi te prius nuptum* (**bM**: nuptam **βπ**) *tradidisset*, cf. 28, RA/RB 15 (comm.).

29, RB 21-25 Et cum suis ascendit ratem et ad nubiles tuos annos ad vota persolvenda non remeavit. Sed nec pater tuus, qui tanto tempore moras in redeundo facit, nec scripsit nec salutis suae nuntium misit: forsitan periit. 'Then he embarked with his men, and now that you have reached your marriageable age, he has not returned to fulfil his vow. But your father, who has put off his return for such a long time, has not even written or sent news of his well-being: perhaps he is dead.'

At first sight authentic lines, but in fact they should be seen as an addition by *RB* to formulate the situation of the moment as sharply as possible. The wording is drawn from Tobit, in the Vulgate version.

nec[1] pater (**b**; *ipse pater* **βMπ**) **nec** <…> **nec bβMπ**: Riese (1893) emends *nec*[1] to *nunc*, followed by Schmeling (1988), which is perfectly acceptable in terms of palaeography because *nunc* is often written as *nc̄*. But the word should probably be retained on account of the unanimous tradition. Perhaps it is due to mental confusion: *Sed ne pater quidem <…> nec <…> nec*.

nec scripsit nec salutis suae nuntium misit, cf. Vulg., Tob. 10:8 *Et ego* (sc. Raguel, Tobiae socrus) *mittam nuntium salutis de te*: This version departs considerably from the LXX (vers. S) ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω ἀγγέλους <…> καὶ ὑποδείξουσιν αὐτῷ περί σου 'I shall send messengers (to Tobit, your father) and they will inform him concerning you'. So the statement does not come from **R[Gr]**, but is rather based on knowledge of *RA* (cf. 31, RA 10 *nec nobis misit litteras*) and on literary erudition or empathy, cf. Xen. Eph. 5,6,2 οὔτε ἀγγέλου παρ' αὐτῶν ἀφιγμένου οὔτε γραμμάτων '(they were in great distress,) since no messenger nor letters had come from them' (Klebs, p.273 wrongly proposes to delete *nec salutis suae nuntium misit*.)

periit b ~ *vivit* **βMπ**: *RB* (**b**) also takes this premonition from a statement in *RA*, cf. 31, RA 11 (*puto quia mortuus est aut in pelago*) *periit*, cf. 32, RA 21: the opposite, optimistic reading *vivit* **βMπ** is sometimes found in app. crit., e.g. *Vita Samsonis* 1,55 (p.150) *adunavit* ~ *divisit* v.l.; 2,5 (p.161) *irritatur* ~ *placatur* v.l.

29, RA 22-23 Nunc ergo post mortem meam, si quando tibi hospites tui, quos tu parentes appellas, forte aliquam iniuriam fecerint, 'Now after my death, if your hosts, whom you call parents, should happen to do you any harm,'

29, RB 25-26 Et ne casu hospites tui, quos tu parentes appellas, aliquam tibi iniuriam faciant,

Nunc ergo post mortem meam (RA) ~ *Et* (RB): Every word in *RA* has significance: *RB*'s simplification goes against the situation: in life the *nutrix* could protect her pupil, after her death disaster strikes.

si quando <…> **forte** <…> **fecerint** (RA) ~ *ne casu* <…> *faciant* (RB): *Forte* 'by accident' (cf. 37, RA 15) has become synonymous in Late Latin with literary *fortasse* 'perhaps', cf. Bieler, p.121. This eases the transition from *si quando* to *ne casu*, cf. Löfstedt, *Per.* 268; Linderbauer (on *Reg. Ben.* 67), p.397 (*ne forte* with the meaning *si forte*). As regards *fecerint* (indic., *fut. exactum*) ~ *faciant* (pres. subjunct.): *RA*'s reading leaves nothing to be desired; *faciant* (RB) depends on *ne*, which is good syntax. Late Latin has *ne casu/forte* indic. too, e.g. August., *Epist.* 93,8,25. *RB* adopts a pre-emptive approach!

hospites tui, quos tu parentes appellas (RA/RB): So Tarsia did not address her foster parents as τροφεῖς 'foster parents' but as γονεῖς 'parents', in effect πατήρ and μήτηρ, 37, RA 6/RB 9 (comm.). A substrate πατέρες 'parents' cannot be ruled out for the Greek Novel, cf. LSJ, s.v. VI,2; *Less.*, s.v. (b): 'πατέρες genitori' (examples from Hel., Long., Xen. Eph.); Lightfoot (1999), p.431.

iniuriam fecerint (RA) ~ *iniuriam faciant* (RB): A rather vague, general term, cf. OLD, s.v. *iniuria* (4) 'ranging from physical assault to defamation'; (b) 'insult, affront'; (c) 'applied to sexual assault'. In view of the situation's gravity and the nurse's advice, it probably came down to deprivation of freedom and attempted assault, preceded or followed by attempted murder, cf. Stranguillio ~ στραγγαλάω/στραγγαλίζω 'to put to death by strangling'. The corresponding Greek word is probably (?) ἀδικέω 'to do wrong', cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀδικέω (II): Men., *Georg.* 30 'ruin' of a girl.

29, RA 23-24 ascende in forum et invenies statuam patris tui Apollonii: 'go up to the forum and you will find the statue of your father Apollonius.'

29, RB 26-27 perveni ad forum; ibi invenies statuam patris tui in bigam. Ascende,

ascende in forum (RA) ~ *perveni ad forum* (RB): Clearly *RA* is much superior: the statue of Apollonius was located in the forum (ἀκρόπολις, in the sense of '*upper* or *higher* place', cf. 10, RA 2 [comm.]), which required an ascent (ἀναβαίνω 'to go up' 'to mount'). Built on a plain at the foot of Mount Taurus, Tarsus did not have an acropolis such as many Greek cities possessed, cf. W.M. Ramsey, *The Cities of St. Paul*, London 1907, p.94; p.439. With great literary knowledge *RB* connects this *ascende* with *statuam patris tui*, cf. Iul. Val., *epitome* (ed. Zacher, Halle 1867) 1,25 *Ac deinde ascendens eius statuam convocataque universa multitudine plebis ait*; ibid. 1,34 *His Alexander auditis statuam* (sc. Nectanebi) *complexus patrem salutat eiusque se filium profitetur*.

statuam (RA) ~ *statuam in bigam* (RB): A detail drawn from 10, RA 14-15 *eam* (sc. statuam) *conlocaverunt in biga*. For a proper understanding it is perhaps better, against the manuscript punctuation of **βMπ** (*in biga* **π**), to connect *ascende* with *in bigam*, cf. *in bigam ascende* **β**^{II}; Schmeling (1988), p.64,16; *Notes*, pp.392-3.

29, RA 24-25 apprehende statuam et proclama: "Ipsius sum filia, cuius est haec statua!" 'Cling to the statue and cry out: "I am the daughter of the man whose statue this is!"'

29, RB 27-28 statuam ipsius conprehende et casus tuos omnes expone.

apprehende statuam (RA) ~ *statuam ipsius conprehende* (RB): The manuscript reading is *apprehendens* ‹...› *proclamans* **P**. In comparison with (a) *apprehende* Rα(F) and *proclama* Rα(F, G, Atr.) and (b) *conprehende* (RB) these participles can hardly be right (also from the Greek perspective, cf. H. Frisk, 'Partizipium und verbum finitum in Spätgriechischen', *Glotta* 17 [1929], p.65). Klebs, p.254 argues for the present conjecture.

Clearly we are dealing with the right of asylum here: in particular male and female slaves in distress could take refuge under (usually) imperial statues, cf. Ulp., *Dig.* 21,1,17.12 *ne eum quidem, qui ad statuam Caesaris confugit, fugitivum arbitror*. To gain asylum it was enough to touch the statue

(*apprehende* RA). This touching created a physical bond between the statue (altar) and the supplicant, cf. M.P. Nilsson, *Gesch. der gr. Rel.* I^2 (1955), p.77. Via *contestatio* it was possible to invoke help against the aggressive party. Romans will have immediately understood the reference of the *nutrix*, cf. Sen. *de Clement.* 1,18,2 *Servis ad statuam licet confugere; cum in servum omnia liceant, est aliquid quod in hominem licere commune ius animantium vetet*. The early Imperial Age saw much abuse of this right of asylum, cf. Tacit., *Ann.* 3,36. In Bithynia a slave who had taken refuge under a statue of Trajan was sent on to Rome, Plin., *Epist.* 10,74. Christians were familiar with this practice too, cf. Arnob. iunior, *Commentarioli in psalm.*, Migne 53, p.542[B] *Si enim ad statuas regum aereas confugientes persequentes evadunt, quanto magis ad crucem confugientes domini Iesu Christi a suis adversariis teneri non possunt, sed per ipsum magis, qui vicit in cruce, et ipsi victores existunt*. It is all the more remarkable that *RB* turns this right of asylum into a compassion motif: the sentence *casus suos omnes exponere* is very frequent in the *HA*, cf. 28, RA/RB 3. This motif will have given the **HA(Gr)** an eminent position in the Greek Novel. The right of asylum is also mentioned elsewhere in the Greek Novel, but in those cases involves it temple asylum (Xen. Eph. 5,4,7 in the temple of Isis; Achill. Tat. 7,13,2; 8,2,1 Artemisium); right of asylum under a *statua principis* is, to my knowledge, unique.

29, RA 25-26	Cives vero memores beneficiorum patris tui Apollonii liberabunt te; necesse est!" 'Then the citizens, remembering the benefactions of your father Apollonius, will certainly rescue you!"'
29, RB 28-29	Cives vero memores patris tui beneficia iniuriam tuam vindicabunt."

memores beneficiorum (RA) ~ *memores <...> beneficia* (RB): Late Latin often connects *memor* (on account of the verbal aspect *memini*) with acc. (cf. ThLL VIII 659, 65 f.), likewise in 18, RB 3 *verba cantusque memor* **b**. So-called 'mixed texts' also have acc., e.g. Va 1984 ad loc. (eliminated by Schmeling [1988], p.106,12; for a further discussion, see id. *Notes*, p.393 [on ed. 64,18]).

liberabunt te (RA) ~ *iniuriam vindicabunt* (RB): The aspect of right of asylum (ἐλευθερόω) 'to rescue' is expertly replaced by the more general legal term, cf. OLD, s.v. *vindico* (5) 'to punish' 'to avenge': Sal., *Jug.* 20,4 *Adherbalem dolore permotum iniurias suas manu vindicaturum*; Liv. 2,12,3 *audaci <...> aliquo facinore eam indignitatem vindicandam*.

necesse est (RA) ~ (RB /): Used paratactically: from Late Latin *Vita S. Brigidae* (ed. W. Heist, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*) c.44 *Licet autem una virtus sic connexa et quasi concatenata sit alteri ut multas necesse est virtutes habeat*. The use here may be due to Greek influence, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀνάγκη: 'in Trag. freq. in answers and arguments, πολλή γ' ἀνάγκη, πολλή 'στ' ἀνάγκη <...> with which an inf. may always be supplied'. For the phenomenon of parataxis itself, cf. S. Trenkner, *Le style καί*, p.49. Naturally a minor textual emendation is also possible: *liberabunt te <si> necesse est*, Zelazowski (2001), p.499; Garbugino, p.62.

Strikingly, despite the warning of the *nutrix*, the motif itself does not occur in our *HA*, an issue already raised by Rohde[3], p.451 (see also Klebs, p.226 n.1). It was eliminated by **R(Gr)**, probably to avoid the intrusion of too much gross reality, while being dispensable within the scheme of the *HA*. (E. Sironen's interpretation in Panayotakis [2003], p.292 is wrong.)

Literature on the right of asylum, esp. as regards statues:

R.H. Barrow, *Slavery in the Roman Empire*, London 1928, p.59.

G.C. Belloni, 'Asylia e santuari greci dell' Asia Minore al tempo di Tiberio', in: *I santuari e la guerra nel mondo classico*, a cura di M. Sordi, Milano 1984, pp.164-80.

Fr. Cumont, *Le droit d'Asyle*, Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions 1907, *passim* (esp. p.453).

L. Delekat, Katochè, Hierodulie und Adoptionsfreilassung, München 1964.

R. Gamauf, *Ad statuam licet confugere*. Untersuchungen zum Asylrecht im römischen Prinzipat, Frankfurt a. M. 1999, cf. Quellenverzeichnis, p.247, s.v. *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*.

P. Hermann, 'Rom und die Asylie griechischer Heiligtümer', in: *Chiron* 19 (1989), pp.127-64.

L. Martroye, 'l'Asile et la legislation impériale du IV au V siècle' in: *Mém. Soc. Nat. des Antiquaires* 75 (1918), pp.159-246.

T. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht,* Leipzig 1899, p.461 ff.

A.D. Nock – A.J. Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum*, 2 (Paris 1945), pp.252-5.

Der Neue Pauly, Bnd. 2, Stuttgart 1997, s.v. Asylon.

S.R.F. Price, *Rituals and Power, The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor,* Cambridge U.P. 1984, pp.119, 192-3.

L. Robert, *Documents d'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1987.

G. Stühff, *Vulgarrecht im Kaiserrecht,* unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Gesetzgebung Konstantins des Grossen, Weimar (1966) (Forschungen zum römischen Recht, 21).

Vocabularium iuris prudentiae romanae, tom. V, Berolini 1939, s.v. *statua*

L. Wenger, Ὅροι ἀσυλίας, in: *Philologus* 86 (1931), pp.427-54.

R. Ziegler (1984), p.226, esp. nn.31,32.

CHAPTER 30

30, RA 1-3	Cui Tharsia ait: "Cara nutrix, testor deum, quod si fortasse aliqui casus mihi evenissent, antequam haec mihi referres, penitus ego nescissem stirpem nativitatis meae!" 'Tarsia said to her: "Dear nurse, God is my witness that if by chance any thing whatsoever had happened to me before you revealed this to me, I should have been absolutely ignorant of my ancestry and birth!"'
30, RB 1-2	Puella ait: "Cara nutrix, si prius senectae tuae naturaliter accidisset, quam haec mihi referres, ego originem natalium meorum nescissem!"

testor deum, quod nescissem (RA) ~ *nescissem* (RB): This expression occurs a few times at crucial junctures in the *HA*: here and when Tarsia threatens to be killed: 31, RA 36 *permitte me testari dominum* ~ RB 23 *deum mihi testari permittas*, cf. 50, RA 30 *ad testandum dominum* <…> *spatia tribuisset* ~ RB 24 *ad testandum deum* <…> *sp. tr.* We also find *testari* 50, RA 10 *hoc et statua* <…> *testatur* ~ RB 10 *pro hoc et statua testatur.* This interwovenness with the text shows that the phrase cannot be deleted here. (Klebs, p.218 proposes to delete, arguing 'kleinere Zusätze' = Garbugino, p.98.) The freedom of construction with which this phrase is cited in the *HA* is typical of Late Latin, where the analytical construction with *quod* and *acc. c. infin.* go hand in hand, cf. Stat., *Theb.* 5,455 *testor, ut* <…> *attigerim*; for Christian Latin; Hier., *Epist.* 130,7 *de Abraham scriptura testatur, quod Deus tentaverit eum*; id., *In Matth.* 2,16,8. It is striking that *RB*, as well as consistently changing *dominum* (RA) to *deum,* accepts the combination with *pro* (cf. 50, RB 10 comm.). Obviously *RA* may be directly based on Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. μαρτύρομαι 'to call to witness': 'esp. of the gods': Eurip., *Hipp.* 1451 τὴν τοξόδαμνον Ἄρτεμιν μαρτύρομαι 'I call Artemis subduing with her bow to witness. The looser construction with *quod* may go back to Greek too: Eurip., *Med.* 619 δαίμονας μαρτύρομαι, ὡς πᾶν ὑπουργεῖν <…> θέλω 'I call the gods to witness that I am willing to do everything'. *RB* probably thought the solemn adjuration overdone, perhaps he took exception to the looser construction.

si fortasse aliqui casus mihi evenissent (RA) ~ *si prius senectae tuae naturaliter accidisset* (RB): In *RA* Tarsia speaks in veiled terms about a possible

(*fortasse*) assault on her virginity ~ in *RB* about the ineluctable fate (without *fortasse*) of old age. For *aliqui casus*, cf. OLD, s.v. *casus* (8): 'danger, risk, peril': Cic., *Har.* 39 *corporis nostri infirmitas multos subit casus per se*; Verg., *Georg.*, 4,485 *casus evaserat omnis*. The same context defines *evenio*, cf. OLD, s.v. *evenio* 'to happen': Plaut., *Pseud.* 685 *hoc evenit* <…> *ut mors obrepat*; Cato, *Hist.* 83 *vulnus capiti nullum evenit*; Cic., *Tusc.* 1,9; Tacit., *Ann.* 4,29, cf. ThLL V,2 1012,71. (A change from *mihi* to *tibi*, as supported by Hunt [1980], p.32 and by Garbugino, p.41 n.62, is unnecessary.) *RB* does not start from *mihi* but from *tibi* (sc. Lycoridi). The phrase *naturaliter accidere* is a euphemism for 'dying', cf. OLD, s.v. *naturaliter* (4) 'in accordance with human nature'. The expression occurs in several variations, cf. ALL 13,211 (O. Hey). We can mention: Apul., *Apol.* 100 *si quid ei humanitus attigisset*, alongside *si quid ei humanitus accidisset* (ThLL I 293,5 quotes Cic., Fronto, Sen., Vell., Val. Max., Tac., Suet.). A deeply euphemistic urge even leads *RB* to omit *quid*, cf. Hey, loc. cit., p.524. By contrast, *Mπ* feel the need to add *mors*. The term *senectae tuae* is a splendid choice: it may refer both to old age (cf. OLD, s.v. *senecta* [2 b]) and to the old person (cf. Blaise, s.v.). Tert., *An.* 56 regards *senecta* as the final phase (*infantia, pueritia, adolescentia, iuventa* and then, beyond the age of 40, *senecta*). A Greek substrate is completely hypothetical. But perhaps we can compare (cf. LSJ, s.v. συμβαίνω III) Demosth. 21,112 ἄν τι ξυμβῇ '*if anything happen*' (i.e. any evil).

antequam <…> **referres** (RA) ~ *prius* <…>, *quam,* <…> *referres* (RB): *RB* modifies elegantly.

penitus <…> **nescissem** (RA) ~ *nescissem* (**b**): *RA*'s expression is expansive but certainly justifiable, cf. OLD, s.v. (5): 'completely, utterly, through and through'. The **βMπ** reading *non scissem* is remarkable but not unknown, cf. Plin., *Panegyr.* 79,2.

stirpem nativitatis meae (RA) ~ *originem natalium meorum* (RB): The readings of both *RA* and *RB* are solemn expressions for 'family tree' 'the roots of my lineage'. For Romans the combination with *stirps* is normal, cf. OLD, s.v. *stirps* (4) 'The family or ancestral race from which one springs', 'stock': Cic., *Leg.* 2,3 *orti stirpe antiquissima sumus*; Verg., *Aen.* 12,166 *Aeneas, Romanae stirpis origo*; Plin., *Nat. Hist.* 3,130 *Venetos Troiana stirpe ortos auctor est Cato*. On the other hand *nativitas* (see also 45, RB 24 **β**) is a postclassical word (cf. OLD, s.v.), much in vogue in Christian Latin (cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v.). For the *RA* combination, see Salv. *Gub.* 8,10 *quis* (illi idolo) *non a stirpe ipsa forsitan et nativitate votus*? Perhaps *RA* goes back to a combination like (?) ῥίζα γενέσεως, cf. LSJ, s.v. ῥίζα 'root' (II): 'root or stock from which a family springs', and LSJ, s.v. γένεσις 'race, family'. *RB*'s change accords with 29, RB 10.

30, RA 3-4 Et cum haec ad invicem confabularentur, nutrix in gremio puellae emisit spiritum. 'As they were having this conversation together, the nurse breathed her last in the girl's lap.'

30, RB 3-4 Et dum haec dicit, nutrix in gremio puellae depósuit spíritum.(*t.*) Exclamavit virgo, cucúrrit família.(*t.*)

cum <…> ad invicem confabularentur (RA) ~ *dum <…> dicit* (RB): Almost a classical abridgement by *RB*. Classical Latin confines itself to *invicem*, sometimes written *in vicem*, OLD, s.v. (3): 'mutually', 'reciprocally'. Christian and Late Latin like to use *adinvicem* (*ad invicem*): Luke 2:15 *loquebantur ad invicem*; John 13:35 *dilectionem habere ad invicem*. This has to do with a preference for cumulative forms e.g. *abantea*; *depost*. In *RA*'s version *haec* should be read as *haec et talia*. As for *confabularentur*, cf. OLD, s.v.: 'to talk together' 'to converse': much favoured from the earliest Latinity through into the Romance languages, cf. ThLL IV 1969, 74 ff. It is unclear why *RB* has shortened. Is *confabulari* too familiar?

in gremio puellae (RA/RB), cf. 29, RA 5/RB 4 *sedens iuxta eam*: A similar gesture is found in the Greek Novel: Charit. 7,6,5 ἡ δὲ Στάτειρα ἐνθεῖσα τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰς τὰ γόνατα Καλλιρρόης 'Statira laid her head in Callirhoe's lap'. Greek likes to use the phrase with ἀγκάλη, cf. CGL VI,509 s.v. *gremium*; LSJ, s.v. ἀγκάλη: '"bent arm", mostly in plur.'; Aesch. *Agam.* 723 ἐν ἀγκάλαις; id., *Suppl.* 482; Eurip., *Alc.* 351.

emisit spiritum (RA) ~ *deposuit spiritum* (RB): For *RA*, cf. ThLL V,2 503,68: Sen., *Epist.* 24,8 *Cato generosum illum spiritum non emisit, sed eiecit*; Marcian, *Dig.* 34,5,18; esp. in the Vulg., Matt. 27:50 ἀφῆκεν τὸ πνεῦμα. Whence elsewhere, e.g. *Vitae Patr.* 5,11,2 ἐτελειώθη. The Greek Novel uses the same expression, cf. *Less.*, s.v. ἀφίημι (β) 'to send forth': Long., 1,30,1 ἀφῆκεν ἅμα <…> τῇ φωνῇ τὴν ψυχήν 'with <…> those words he let out his final breath', cf. Achill. Tat. 2,30,2; 2,34,5. *RB* opts for the classical expression *deponere animam, spiritum* 'to give up the ghost, die': Nep., *Han.* 1,3 *ut prius animam, quam id* (sc. odium) *deposuerit*; Prop., 1,13,17 *cupere optatis animam deponere labris*; Val. Max. 6,9,13 *in publicis vinculis spiritum deposuit*, cf. also ThLL V,1 579,54 (exx. from Quint., Lact., Hegesipp., Carm. Epigr.)

Exclamavit virgo, cucurrit familia (RB): A detail (important to *RB*) drawn from 25, RA 12-13 *Quod cum viderent familia <cum> clamore <…>, cucurrit Apollonius*.

30, RA 4-5 Puella vero corpus nutricis suae sepulturae mandavit, lugens eam anno. 'Tarsia organized the burial of her nurse and mourned her for a year.'

30, RB 4-6 Corpus nutricis sepelitur, et iubente Tharsia in litore illi monumentum fabricatum est. Et post paucos dies <…>

By way of introduction a few brief remarks on funerals and funeral customs in *HA*. Funeral scenes occur in 3 places:

1. funeral of *Lycoris* (30, RA 4-9/RB 4-8);
2. apparent funeral of *Tarsia* in a κενοτάφιον 'empty tomb' (32,RA 51-58/RB 24-29);
3. *Apollonius*' reaction in front of Tarsia's grave (38 RA 7-19/RB 6-16).

All these scenes evoke the Greek Novel; sometimes even the language is the same (30, RA 8 [comm.]). The coincidence of Greek and Roman customs regarding graves and funerals allowed both *RA* and *RB* to adopt the text of **H(Gr)** without many problems. The commentary will deal with the various details.

Puella <…> **corpus** <…> **sepulturae mandavit** (RA) ~ *corpus* <…> *sepelitur* (RB): (A change from *mihi* to *tibi*, as supported by Hunt [1980], p.32 and by Garbugino, p.41 n.62, is unnecessary.) *RA*'s long formula is succinctly abridged. *Sepultura, sepelire* is the general term for burial (cf. Klebs, p.206 n.1; OLD, s.v.), here used for interment in a *monumentum,* cf. *RA* 7. The phrase *corpus sepulturae mandare* is very frequent, cf. ThLL VIII 261,72-3 (from [?] ταφῇ παραδοῦναι, cf. ThLL VIII 291,81). *RB* makes the action impersonal (*sepelitur*), an abl. abs. *iubente Tharsia* is formed from the subject *Puella* <…> *mandavit*. He also deftly inserts *monumentum* 'tomb' here (cf. *RA* 7), with the addition *in litore fabricatum* 'erected by the shore' (cf. 32, RA 51). This location is of great importance (Klebs, p.46 even 'von entscheidender Wichtigkeit' = Garbugino, p.47), since the later kidnap of Tarsia takes place from sea (cf. cc.31-32). Yet it would be wrong to attribute to *RB* special knowledge of the Greek substrate model on the basis of this detail. In imitation of Hom., *Od.* 24,83 (said of Achilles' tomb), it is a τόπος in the Greek Novel, too, that graves are built high on the coast, visible to all and not far from the city, cf. Charit. 1,6,5; 4,1,5; Xen. Ephes. 3,7,4; 3,8,5. No special knowledge was required to supply a detail such as the one here. Nonetheless the addition is a splendid example of *RB*'s 'precision'; the truly essential information (see below: year of mourning, sacrifices to the dead, cult of the Manes) is provided by *RA*.

lugens eam anno (RA) ~ *Et post paucos dies* (RB): *anno* (RA): For *anno* 'a full year', cf. Liv. 3,39 *optimates, qui anno iam prope senatum non habuerint*;

Ps. Aur. Vict., *De vir. ill.* 10 *corpus eius* (namely Tarquinius Superbus) *matronae anno luxerunt*. (For the abl. of time, cf. 51, RA 30/RB 25.) Classical Latin would have preferred an acc. of time, sometimes with *per*, cf. Liv. 2,7 (the source of Ps. Aurelius) *matronae annum eum luxerunt*. Likewise Greek: *Od.* 1,288 ἐνιαυτόν 'during a year'. In other words, a 'Trauerjahr' (Klebs, p.46). Such a long period of mourning is universally human, and is also found among the Greeks, cf. E. Reiner, *Die rituelle Totenklage der Griechen*, Stuttgart 1938, *passim* (esp. pp.4, 101 for 'anniversary'). Later times tried to confine this mourning to a more rational period, often in vain, cf. (to stay within Roman experience) Mombrit. I (on Clemens Romanus) 345,24 (a mother who loses her child on the beach) *Totum autem annum in lamentationibus et eiulatu ducens, nihilominus non se continebat*. Presumably so as not to run out of time in relation to the period of 14 years, *RB* opts for a shorter period, cf. the procedure 25, RA 9 *nono mense*, shortened by *RB* to *septimo mense*. In view of the formulation *post paucos dies* he is probably thinking of a three-day period of mourning. Compare Ambrose's remark in connection with the observance of a *quadragesima* (40-day period of mourning) on the death of Emperor Theodosius (379-395): *3 Orat. de obitu Theod.* (Migne 16, p.280) *alii tertium diem et trigesimum, alii septem et quadragesimum observare consueverunt*. (The usual 9-day period of mourning, the so-called *novemdiales*, was regarded as pagan.)

30, RA 5-6 Et deposito luctu induit priorem dignitatem ~ (RB /) 'And she took off her mourning and put on her former clothes'

At first sight an ordinary formulation, but ultimately one of great of importance.

deposito luctu (RA): *Abstractum pro concreto*: after taking off the mourning clothes (= *lugubria*). Greek has a similar expression: πένθος ἀποθέσθαι, cf. LSJ, s.v. πένθος I.2. The reference here to dark, black mourning clothes would be obvious to both Romans and Greeks, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. μέλας 'black'; RE VI A 2, 2225 ff. For this concept the Greek Novel has both a verb μελανειμόω 'to be clad in black' (Charit. 1,12,6) and an adjective μελανείμων (Charit. 5x, cf. *Less.*, s.v.).

induit <…> **dignitatem** (RA): A Roman reader is likely to have accepted this phrase without any problem, cf. OLD, s.v. *dignitas* (2 b): '*visual impressiveness* or *distinction*'. I believe, though, that it is based on Greek, cf. Introd. IV.2.1. The Glossaria give *dignitas* as the translation of ἀξία 'repu-

tation' 'dignity' and esp. of ἀξίωμα, with the same meaning, cf. ThLL V,1 1133,59. In the 2nd/3rd century this word ἀξίωμα assumes the specific meaning 'things of dignity', cf. LSJ, s.v. (5) with reference to Philostr., *Vit. Sophist.* (ed. W.C. Wright, London 1961) 2,5,4 (p.202). Because the concrete meaning 'clothing' is unique in Latin (cf. ThLL VI,1 1137,13, which adds: 'vestitus, ut videtur'), it seems perfectly legitimate to make a connection with the Greek from the same period, with a similar meaning. The *Acta Philippi* (ed. Lipsius-Bonnet, II,2 p.96,7) offer an exact parallel for our phrase: ἐνδυσάμενος τὸ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἀξίωμα 'having put on the clothes of the archpriest'. This usage (in our case ἐνέδυ/ἐνεδύσατο τὸ πρότερον ἀξίωμα) would lead us not only to **R(Gr)** as an intermediate phase, but probably also to **HA(Gr)**, to be dated to the 3rd century, cf. Introd. VI.

30, RA 6-8 et petiit scholam suam et ad studia liberalia reversa non prius sumebat cibum, nisi primo monumentum intraret et ferens ampullam <*vini*> inve<he>ret coronas. 'She went to her school and returned to her study of the liberal arts. (And returning from school) she never touched food, if before she had not entered the tomb and carrying a flask of wine she had not brought garlands.'

30, RB 6-8 puella rediit in stúdiis súis (*pl.*), et reversa de auditorio non prius cíbum sumébat (*pl.*), nisi nutricis suae monumentum introiret

petiit scholam <...> **inveheret coronas**: For a proper understanding of this sentence, note that the *schola* was probably located *in* Tarsus, where Tarsia's foster parents also lived. On her way home (there is no mention of her fellow pupil) Tarsia first vists the monument of Lycoris, cf. 30, RA 4-5. This grave was probably very simple and easy to open and close, even for a girl alone. From there she could return to Tarsus (or perhaps to the *villa suburbana*, cf. 32, RB 18-19).

petiit scholam suam et ad studia liberalia reversa (RA) ~ *puella rediit in studiis suis* (RB): A rather awkward formulation by *RA*: he means *repetiit* (cf. RB *rediit*). Also, *RA reverti* hesitates between literal and figurative use, viz. 'to return' and 'to pick up the thread' (after the interval of a year's mourning). Apparently *RB* wanted to remove this bold ἀπὸ κοινοῦ usage, which resulted in a very compact statement.

non prius <…> **nisi primo** (RA) ~ *non prius* <…> *nisi* (RB): Classical Latin would have construed *non prius* <…> *quam*; the construction in *RA* is defended by Löfstedt, *Vermischte Studien*, 1936, p.34 as a contamination. Perhaps it can be traced back directly to οὐ πρότερον <…> εἰ μὴ (or πρῶτον) 'never <…> until', cf. LSJ, s.v. πρότερος (IV) (Plut., *Lys.* 10).

sumebat cibum (RA) ~ *cibum sumebat* (**b**) ~ *cibum edebat* (**βM**): An interesting place, also in connection with the Romance languages. The phrase *cibum sumere* (cf. *HA* 31, RA 20/RB /) is the standing expression, cf. ThLL (s.v. *cibus*) 1045,6-10. The reading *cibum edere* goes against the development of the Romance languages because *edere* is too short and creates confusion with *ēdo* = to publish. *Edere* 'to eat' is therefore replaced by *comedo* (Span./Port. 'comer') or by *manduco* (Fr. manger; Ital. mangiare). For this phenomenon, see J.B. Hofmann, *Beiträge*, p.90; Linderbauer, p.304; Väänänen, *Introd.*, §§ 33,142; C. Beyer, *Die Verba des Essens, Schickens, Kaufens und Findens in ihrer Geschichte vom Latein bis in die romanischen Sprachen*, Leipzig-Paris 1934. The **βM** reading may go back to the Vulgate (*edo* 45x; *comedo* 546x; *manduco* 170x).

monumentum (RA) ~ *nutricis suae monumentum* (RB), cf. 31, RA 20.27: An almost casual remark by *RA* about a *monumentum*, which is therefore specified by *RB*, cf. RB 5 (comm.). The reference is to a simple tomb, which can be closed and where alongside the coffin there was room to rest briefly, cf. OLD, s.v. *monumentum* (2 a). Particularly in Asia Minor it is not uncommon for a monument to be erected for the *nutrix* (called τροφός, ἄμμα, μαῖα), sometimes with an inscription, cf. LSJ (Suppl.), s.v. μαῖα; L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, Paris 1938, p.187; *Rev. Ét. Anc.* 1960, p.283 n.1; *Hellenica* XIII, 1965, p.41 n.2; *Antiquité Classique* 37, 1968, pp.443-44; *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 25, 1905, p.59 n.15. The term itself occurs *passim* in the *HA*, since a *monumentum* is built further on for Tarsia too, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. Strictly speaking, such a *monumentum* corresponds with μνῆμα, cf. LSJ, s.v. *monumentum*. But this word is relatively rare in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. μνῆμα (Heliod. 4x; Iamblich. 1x). The preferred word is τάφος 'grave, tomb' (Charit. 50x; Xen. Eph. 22x; Achill. Tat. 5x; Long. 1x; Heliod. 1x). So it is totally uncertain what **R(Gr)** or **HA(Gr)** may have offered as an equivalent. (A word like μνημεῖον 'grave' does not occur in the Greek Novel; σῆμα in the sense of 'tomb' 'grave' [cf. LSJ, s.v. (3)] is found occasionally, cf. *Less.*, s.v.)

intraret (RA) ~ **introiret** (RB): A fine example of how *RB* raises the stylistic level of *RA*. The popular *intro*, not unfamiliar to *RB* (cf. 34, RA 3/RB 2 [comm.]), is replaced by the gradually obsolescent *introeo*,

cf. Väänänen, § 141. The Greek substrate was probably a form of εἰσέρχεσθαι, cf. Xen. Eph. 3.8.3.

et ferens ampullam <vini> inve<he>ret coronas (RA) ~ (RB /). According to ancient custom, Tarsia brings a funeral offering, every day even, for her nurse. For the gesture itself, see 31, RA 27-29 *Puella <...> solito more fudit ampullam vini et ingressa monumentum posuit coronas supra*; RB 17 *tollit ampullam vini et coronam. Venit ad monumentum casus suos exponere*. This custom is firmly established in both recensions, though *RB* has done his best to play it down, see RB 7-8 (comm.). *RC* follows *RB*, cf. Schmeling (1988), p.107 ad loc. The statement itself clearly betrays Greek influence, and probably stems directly from **R(Gr)**; this is proved by *ferens* and particularly *inveheret* (see comm.).

ferens (RA): Used formally, not so much 'carrying' as 'with', cf. LSJ, s.v. φέρω (X.2): 'some times translatable by *with*', cf. Thuc. 7,8 ᾤχοντο φέροντες τὰ γράμματα 'They went away with the letter'; Zimmermann (1936), p.92 (on PSI 725, l.16) λαμπτῆρας φέροντες 'with torches'.

ampullam <vini> (RA): The addition is certain, on the strength of both 31, RA 28/RB 17 (cited above) and secondary recensions. Other libations (*inferiae*, χοαί) like milk, honey, water are lacking. These gifts were supposed to propitiate the shades of the dead, cf. Plepelits, *Achilleus Tatius* (1980), n.103.

inve<he>ret coronas (RA): A felicitous emendation by Ring (1888) for *inveniret* P, included by Riese (1893) in the text but with a *crux* (in the app. crit. he states: *innecteret* Ziehen). In my view, there is no need for any further emendation or conjecture additional to Ring's *inveheret* after the insertion of *<vini>*, cf. Introd. VI.3. This *invehere* probably translates the technical term ἐπιφέρω, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐπιφέρω (2): '*place upon*', 'esp. of placing offerings on the grave': Plut., *Per.* 36 τῷ νεκρῷ στέφανον. In the Greek Novel, too, ἐπιφέρω is the standard verb, cf. *Less.*, s.v. χοή: Charit. 3,3,1 προφάσει μὲν στεφάνους καὶ χοὰς ἐπιφέρων '<Chaereas turned up at the tomb> ostensibly to offer wreaths and libations; id., 5,1,7 τίς ἐπενέγκῃ σοι χοάς, δαῖμον ἀγαθέ; 'who shall pour libations over you, benevolent spirit?' (see note on RA, 8-9); Xen. Eph. 5,10,3 ἐπενέγκας δὲ αὐτῷ χοὰς <...> ἀνήγετο 'When he had poured a libation for him <...> he set sail again; id. 5,10,5 τάφον ἔγειρον <τῇ> 'Ανθίᾳ <...> καὶ χοὰς ἐπένεγκαι 'raise a tomb for Anthia <and mourn her> and pour libations'. (Schmeling [1988] p.22,24 *aliter*.)

coronas (RA): A specific detail in funerals, depicted on countless Greek vases and frequently mentioned in literature, including the Greek Novel:

Charit. 3,3,1 (quoted above); Long. 4,32,4 ἐστεφάνωσε καὶ τὸν τάφον τῆς οἰός ‘she also put garlands on the grave of the ewe’. The pl. occurs often (cf. e.g. Charit. 1,8.2; 3.3.1), without specification (cf. *Less.*, s.v. στέφανος ‘garland). The reference is probably to garlands of roses (cf. ThLL IV [s.v. corona], 978,54-55). To the ancient mind, flowers, especially roses, represented the transitory nature of life, cf. McLean (2005[4]), p.276. A common term was therefore ῥοδίσαι, cf. LSJ, s.v. (2): ‘*deck* a person’s grave *with* roses’. But other material could be used too, e.g. ἴον ‘violet’, cf. LSJ s.v. ἴον. For general information, see *Der Neue Pauly* 6 (Stuttgart 1999), s.v. Kranz; M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen*, Berlin-New York 1982, pp.83 ff., 87 ff., 101. (Garbugino, p.47 reads *ferens ampullam vini et coronas* and believes all the difficulties are eliminated in this way.)

30, RA 8-9	Et ibi manes parentum suorum invocabat. ‘And there she called on the spirits of her parents.’
30, RB 7-8	et casus suos omnes exponeret et fleret.

manes parentum <…> **invocabat** (RA): Here and in the corresponding place 31, RA 29 *dum invocat manes parentum suorum* (RB /), *RA* has adapted his Greek *Vorlage* **R(Gr)** to his Roman readership. These places talk about *di manes*, cf. OLD, s.v. *Manes*: ‘The spirits of the dead’, ‘regarded as supernatural powers’, where the Greeks speak about ψυχαί, sometimes θεοὶ/δαίμονες καταχθόνιοι. The Latin etymology is uncertain, cf. Löfstedt, *Late Latin*, p.185. For other references to the Manes in *HA*, see 38, RA 8/RB 7 (comm.). *RA*’s wording seems based on Verg., *Aen.* 5,98-99 *Vinaque fundebat pateris, animamque vocabat | Anchisae magni, manesque Acheronte remissos*. The shades are thought to leave their subterranean abode and receive the offerings, cf. Cumont, *Symbolisme funéraire*, pp.352, 373. The move from Greek to Latin ‘Manes’ need not have been a giant leap, cf. Hom., *Il.* 23,220-221 οἶνον ἀφυσσόμενος χαμάδις χέε, δεῦε δὲ γαῖαν, | ψυχὴν κικλήσκων Πατροκλῆος δειλοῖο ‘<Achilles> drew wine and poured it forth and drenched the earth, calling upon the spirit of hapless Patrocles’; Charit. 5,1,7 τίς ἐπενέγκῃ σοι χοάς, δαῖμον ἀγαθέ; ‘who shall pour libations over you, benevolent spirit?’, cf. id. 5,7,10 (Plepelits, *Charitoon*, nn.64,125). Perhaps ‘Manes’ is directly based on the Anatolian god Μήν/Μείς, cf. LSJ, s.v. Μήν; L. Robert, *BCH* 101 (1977), p.48 (nn. 20,22); id., *CRAI* 1978, p.243; Strubbe, *Lampas* 16,5 (1983), p.268. The term *invocabat* (RA) could be a direct translation of ἐπικαλέω ‘to invoke’, the technical term in ceremonies surrounding the grave and sacrificial ritual, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐπικαλέω: ‘*summon* a god to a sacrifice or as witness to an oath, etc., invoke’. Regarding indications for the Asian Minor provenance of the **HA(Gr)**, cf. Introd., VI.2.

RB's reaction corresponds to 31, RA 29. There, too, he omits *dum invocat manes parentum suorum* for the bland 31, RB 17-18 *Venit ad monumentum casus suos exponere*. (Though Klebs himself, p.167 acknowledges: 'In c.30 ist die Erwähnung der Totenopfer und der Anrufung der Manes in *RB* beseitigt und durch die slechte Interpolation "casus exponere et flere" ersetzt' [cf. Klebs, p.46, p.284 n.1], he has not grasped the real reason for this change.)

Besides this attempt at correction by *RB*, we should also mention the ingenious attempt at improvement in the *Gesta Romanorum*, narr. 153 (cf. Singer [1895], p.88): *Ferens ampullam vini ingrediebatur et ibi manens parentes suos vocabat*.

CHAPTER 31

The now following chapters 31-32 were probably pivotal chapters in **HA(Gr)**, full of psychological discussions, motivation and a slow but inexorable process of jealousy, distrust and hate between the various family members and foster daughter Tarsia. No doubt the role of the other accomplices in the drama, the *villicus* Theophilus and the citizens of Tarsus, was also dwelt upon. What has come down to us is the framework of an epitome. **R(Gr)** was able to string together the factual data. But as soon as he had to represent a psychological development, his language becomes extremely laborious (cf. 31, RA 8-13/RB 6-9 [monologue by Dionysias, on the desirability of a murder attempt]; 32, RA 16-27 [strained attempt by Dionysias to involve her husband in the murder; omitted by *RB* on account of the feeble, unconvincing argumentation]; 32, RA 28-44 discussion with the citizens [rationalized by *RB*]). Nonetheless critics are unanimously agreed that a drama takes place here under the sober words, cf. K. Bürger, pp.23-4, 28; S. Trenkner, *The Greek Novella in the Classical Period*, Cambridge 1958, p.34. Naturally they point to the 'world literature motif': wicked foster mother ~ adopted child. For the Greek Novel they specifically refer to Xen. Eph. Garin (p.204) goes so far as to state that in cc.29-36 'Omnia fere <…> eadem atque in Xenophonte Ephesio.' Xen. Eph. will be frequently mentioned in what follows. But in general we can state that, despite the fact that a number of separate motifs can be traced back to Xen. Eph. in particular, a large degree of independence must be attributed to **HA(Gr)**.

31, RA 1-2 Et dum haec aguntur, quodam die feriato Dionysia cum filia sua, nomine Philomusia, et Tharsia puella transiebat per publicum. 'While this was happening, Dionysias was walking about in the streets on a holiday with her daughter, whose name was Philomusia, and with young Tarsia.'

31, RB 1-2 Dum haec aguntur, quodam die feriato Dionysiad<a> cum filia sua et cum Tharsia per públicum transiébat (*v.*).

haec (RA/RB): I.e. the daily visit to Dionysia's daughter, Tarsia's attendance at school, and Tarsia's visit to the monument of her *nutrix*.

quodam die feriato (RA/RB), unspecified. In the ancient Novel it is quite often a temple festival from which developments arise, cf. O. Schissel von Fleschenberg, p.385. For *dies feriatus*, cf. OLD, s.v. *feriatus* (2.a) 'A festival holiday': a very common term: Sen., *Con.* 10,4,8 *feriatis ac sollemnibus* <…> *diebus*; id., *Dial.* 1,2,5 *feriatis quoque diebus non patiuntur esse otiosos*.

Dionysia (RA) ~ *Dionysiad<a>* (RB) (*ex coniectura Riesii*): For *Dionysia/ Dionysias*, cf. 11, RA 2 (comm.); for *Dionysiad<a>*, cf. RB 4 *dionisiada* **b** and ThLL III,2 *Onomasticon*. This form *Dionysiada* (nom. sing. fem.) alongside *Dionysias* corresponds with a fairly common ending for nouns in Late Latin, viz. *-ada* alongside *-as*, after the Greek formation -άδα instead of -άς, cf. W.J. Aerts – G.A.A. Kortekaas, Pseudo-Methodius (II), on [2] 3,2-3 *chiliada* ~ χιλιάς. Given the popular nature of these words, *RB* may have introduced *Dionysiada* himself. But compare the debate on 32, RB 23 <*Breseida*> (comm.) and Introd. VII.2.2.2.

Philomusia (RA), normalized from *filomosia* **P**, Φιλομουσία 'loving music and arts' ~ (RB /): probably omitted on purpose by *RB*, since she is called (28, RB 9) *Philotimias* (cf. 28, RA 8 *filia vestra* comm.). Neither name, *Philomusia* and *Philotimias*, occurs elsewhere in the *HA*. For the deeper background of the name Φιλομουσία, see Introd. 8.1.7; *Hellenica XIII*, pp.46-9. The name *Philomusia* is badly corrupted in the later tradition, cf. Singer, p.152 n.5 (Klebs, p.145 n.1 judges *Philomosia* P to be 'schwerlich richtig').

transiebat (**P/bπ**): This agrammatical form (classical *transibat* **βMπ[1]**), passed down in both recensions, should be retained, since irregular verbs like *ire, posse* (cf. 38, RA 15 *potetis* A) are normalized in later times: *ire* is strongly influenced by the verbs of the 4th conjugation, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *(trans)eo*; Neue-Wagener[3], III 319 ff. Schmeling, *Notes*, p.149 (on ed. 22,27) also supports *transiebat*: 'It could be that *-iebat* is preferable'.

per publicum (RA/RB): A standing expression, cf. OLD, s.v. *publicum* (5) 'The parts frequented by or accessible to the public': Sen., *Con.* 10,1,13 *quare me sequeris per publicum?*; Plin., *Pan.* 24,3 *ingrediente per publicum principe*.

31, RA 2-4

Videntes omnes cives speciem Tharsiae ornatam, omnibus civibus et honoratis miraculum apparebat atque omnes dicebant: 'When they saw Tarsia's beauty decorated with finery and jewels, all the citizens and officials thought her a marvel, and kept saying:'

31, RB 2-3 Videntes Tharsiae speciem et ornamentum cives et omnes honorati dicebant:

A far from commonplace construction in *RA* to represent the beauty of Tarsia. *RA* does not worry about classical syntax, probably due to Greek influence (? *honorati*, ? *miraculum*). Note the threefold repetition of *omnes*.

videntes <...> speciem ornatam (RA) ~ *videntes speciem et ornamentum* (RB): *RA* is a so-called nomin. abs., separate from the actual main clause. This occurs both in *RA* and in *RB*, cf. 14, RA 13 (comm.); Ind. gr., s.v. nominativus. The phrase *speciem <...> ornatam* makes a Greek impression (? εἶδος 'form or shape' / ὡραιότης 'the bloom of youth' 'beauty' (popular in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v.), combined with κοσμέω, cf. LSJ, s.v. κοσμέω (III): 'to adorn, equip, dress', esp. of women). *RB* splits up. (Both in this place and in the parallel place 40, RA 27-28 Garbugino, p.108 proposes to delete the nom. abs.: 'Sono probabilmente esito di corruzione due nominativi assoluti tràditi solo da P.' He fails to consider the possibility of a Greek origin.)

omnibus civibus et honoratis (RA) ~ *cives et omnes honorati* (RB): No doubt Roman readers will have accepted to the term *honorati*, cf. OLD, s.v. (2): '(of a magistrate or ex-magistrate) *honoured* or *distinguished* by public office': Liv. 2,15,1 *missi confestim honoratissimus quisque ex patribus*; Vell. 2,54,3 *cum summum ei <...> deferretur imperium, honoratiori parere maluit* (Klebs, p.275; Garbugino, p.108, nn.62, 63). But the term could also be a direct translation from Greek. The Glossaria offer a series of possible Greek equivalents, cf. CGL VI 526, s.v. honoratus: ἔνδοξος, ἔντιμος, ἐπίσημος, τίμιος. In particular τίμιος and variant forms are likely candidates as a possible substrate of this more or less official position, e.g. Xen., *Cyr.* 8,3,9 οἱ τετιμημένοι 'men of rank, men in office'; id. 3,1,18 οἱ ἐντετιμημένοι (said of men of high rank in Persia). For derivation from the Greek Novel a probable term is ἔντιμος 'honoured', cf. LSJ, s.v. ἔντιμος: Charit. 8,5,2.10 has the substantivized phrase οἱ ἐντιμότατοι 'men of high rank'. For the overall picture, cf. F. Quass, *Die Honoratiorenschicht in den Städten des griechischen Ostens. Untersuchungen zur politischen und sozialen Entwicklung in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit*, Stuttgart 1993. In view of the political constitution in Tarsus the *RA* reading is preferable to *RB*, cf. Introd. VIII.1.6.

miraculum apparebat (RA), cf. 13, RA 18 *regi et omnibus <...> miraculum magnum videretur* (RA) (*RB* in both places /). For *miraculum* (cf. θαῦμα 'miracle') we can probably quote Hom. *Od.* 11,287 (of a beautiful woman) θαῦμα βροτοῖσιν 'a marvel for mortals'. If we compare the two versions *RA*

and *RB*, *RB* seem at first sight to have trimmed skilfully. But omission of the characteristic *miraculum* and the connection of *omnes* with *honorati*, so that the repetition with *cives* is interrupted, shows otherwise.

31, RA 4-6	"Felix pater, cuius filia est Tharsia; illa vero, quae adhaeret lateri eius, multum turpis est atque dedecus." '"It is a lucky man, whose daughter is Tarsia; but that girl at her side is very ugly and a disgrace."'
31, RB 3-4	"Felix pater, cuius filia es. Ista autem, quae adheret lateri tuo, turpis est et dedecus."

Felix pater (RA/RB): Sc. est.

est <…> **illa** <…> **lateri eius** (RA) ~ *es. Ista* <…> *lateri tuo* (RB): Following his usual procedure, *RB* transfers the statement to the directly addressed second person, cf. 26, RA 12 *habeat* <…> *impendat* ~ RB 11 *habeas* <…> *eroges* (comm.), cf. Teuffel, *Rhein. Mus.*, N.F. 27 (1872), p.111 n.4: 'Sehr viel besser ist die Darstellung, welche diese Bemerkungen nicht an Tarsia selbst gerichtet sein läßt.' (Schmeling [1988], p.65,3-4; *Notes*, pp.393-4 *aliter*.)

adhaeret lateri eius (RA) ~ *adheret lateri tuo* (RB): *Adhaereo* + dat., a stock expression, cf. ThLL I 635,17: Ov., *Met.* 6,41 *lateri, qua pectus adhaeret*; id., *Am.* 3,11,17 *quando ego non fixus lateri patienter adhaesi*; Liv. 6,10,8 *pestem* (sc. populum vicinum hostilem) *adhaerentem lateri suo*; id., 34,41,4 *lateri adhaerens tyrannus*, cf. 39,25,11; Apul., *Met.* 2,2 *huius* (sc. matronae) *adhaerebat lateri senex iam gravis in annis*, cf. id. 9,22; Paneg. 2,11 *adhaerens lateri tuo*. Probably a translation from (?) προσκολλᾶται + dat., cf. CGL VI,23; LSJ, s.v. προσκολλάω 'to glue to'.

multum turpis (RA) ~ *turpis* (RB): Old Latin already has *multum* placed before an adjective, cf. Georges, s.v. This position is extended in the Imperial Age, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *multum*. The usage is common in Christian Latin: Aug., *Epist.* 187,21 *multum mirabilis*; id., *Doctr. chr.* 4,8,22 *multum tardus*; Ben., *Reg. 4 multum edacem*. It fits the pattern in which compar. and superlat. are devalued. It may, however, come directly from Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. πολύς (III.c): 'with a Positive, to add force to the Adj.: Lucian., *Dial. Meretr.* 9,3 πολὺ ἀφόρητος "most unendurable"'. The omission of *multum* (RB) testifies to a feeling for language.

dedecus (RA/RB): *Abstractum pro concreto*, as also used often by modern languages in this context ('a disgrace', 'eine Schande', 'una disgrazia',

'een schande'). For Latin, cf. OLD, s.v. *dedecus* (b): Petron. 74,9 *maledicere Trimalchioni coepit et purgamentum dedecusque praedicare*; Apul., *Met.* 4,7 *tu* ‹…› *vitae dedecus primum*; Ov., *Met.* 11,184 *cum nec prodere visum dedecus* (viz. the ass's ears of Midas) *auderet*. In Greek there are various possible synonyms, e.g. (?) αἶσχος, αἰσχύνη, ἔλεγχος (cf. Hom., *Il.* 2,235 κάκ' ἐλέγχεα), μῖσος (Achill. Tat. 7,9,6), ὄνειδος (Achill. Tat. 2,24,3). A striking parallel to the public's reaction (already pointed out by Riese [1893], Praef. XVI, n.4) is offered by Xen. Eph. 1,2,7 in connection with the festival parade of Artemis in Ephesus: προσηύχοντο δὲ πάντες καὶ προσεκύνουν καὶ γονεῖς αὐτῆς ἐμακάριζον· ἦν δὲ διαβόητος τοῖς θεωμένοις ἅπασιν 'Ανθία ἡ καλή 'All prayed and prostrated themselves and congratulated her parents. "The beautiful Anthia!" was the cry on all the spectators' lips.'

31, RA 6-7 Dionysia vero, ut audivit laudare Tharsiam et suam vituperare filiam, ‹in› insaniae furorem conversa est. Et sedens sola coepit cogitare taliter: 'When Dionysias heard Tarsia praised and her own daughter criticized, she became furiously angry. She sat down alone and began thinking as follows:'

31, RB 4-6 Dionysiada ut audivit filiam suam vituperari, conversa in furorem secum cogitans ait:

laudare ‹…› **vituperare** (RA): Classical Latin would have written (*laudari* and) *vituperari* like *RB*. For the combination *insaniae furorem* 'a mad passion' (gen. ident.), cf. ThLL VI,1 1633,45 (examples from Flor., *Epitome* 3,21,8; Firm., *Math.* 6,29,15). *Insania* usually corresponds to μανία, cf. Cael. Aur. *chron.* 1,5 *tit. de furore sive insania quam Graeci manian vocant*. *RB* has eliminated the characteristic term *insania*.

sedens sola coepit cogitare (RA): For this periphrastic use of *coepi*, cf. 1, RA 17 *coepit celare* ~ RB 16 *cupit celare*. The combination *coepit cogitare* is very frequent in hagiography (e.g. Mombr. I 465,40; 465,58; II,109,41; 141,56).

taliter (RA) = sic, ita: This word occurs only in *RA* (cf. 32, RA 53: RB /) and is postclassical, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. It probably derives from οὕτως. A review of *RB*'s sentence construction shows that he has systematically eliminated all the words which he considers superfluous (*vero; laudare Tharsiam et; insaniae; est. Et sedens sola* [= *secum*]; *coepit; taliter*).

31, RA 8-10 "Pater eius Apollonius, ex quo h<in>c profectus est, habet annos XIIII et nunquam venit ad suam recipiendum filiam nec nobis misit litteras. '"It is fourteen years ago since her father Apollonius set out from here and he has never come back to recover his daughter, or sent us a letter.'

31, RB 6-7 "Pater eius, ex quo profectus est, habet annos XV et non venit ad recipiendam filiam.

A monologue by Dionysias, attributable in form to **R(Gr)**, see note on *habet* and *RA* 12 *tollam de medio*. For the function of such soliloquies in the Greek Novel, cf. B.E. Perry, 'Chariton and his Romance from a Literary-Historical Point of View', *American Journal of Philology* 51 (1930), 93-134 (reprint: ed. H. Gärtner, *Beiträge zum griechischen Liebesroman*, Olms 1984, pp.237-78), n.56. Here in the *HA* the monologue confines its information to what is strictly necessary.

Pater <...> **habet annos XIIII** (RA: *XV* RB) (RA/RB): This construction was the subject of some controversy in the past. Riese (1871), Praef. XIV already argued for *habere* in the sense of 'il y a'. Many have followed this view since then (cf. ed. m. [1984], pp.111-112; it is now also endorsed by Garbugino, p.106, nn.77, 78). But in the face of the overwhelming material that can be adduced to demonstrate the Greek background of the *HA*, we need to mention here too that Greek, esp. in the later, Byzantine period, often uses a corresponding phrase, viz. ἔχειν ἔτη (ἐνιαυτούς), μῆνας, ἡμέρας, rendered in translation (esp. in the *Vitae Patrum*) by a personal construction *habere annos, menses, dies*. Usually this is followed in Greek by a participle to indicate the action in question, cf. *Vita Pachomii* (ed. v. Cranenburgh, Bruxelles, 1969) c.43,15 (p.191) '*Dic mihi, frater, quantum temporis habes, ex quo non coxisti fratribus olera vel legumina? Qui respondit: 'Sunt fere duos menses'* (Gr. πόσον χρόνον ἔχεις μὴ εψῶν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς λάχανα; ὁ δέ φησι· Μῆνας δύο). As a variant of this usage with a participle, we also find a subordinate clause introduced by ὅτε, ἀφ' οὗ or ἐξ οὗ. That is the case here, cf. Pallad., *Hist. Laus.* (ed. Bartelink), c.18, l.245 ἑξηκοστὸν ἔχων ἔτος, ἀφ' οὗ ἐβαπτίσθη '60 years ago he was baptized'; Pap. Oxyr. XVI, 1862 16 (ed. Grenfell-Hunt-Bell, London 1924, p.48) ἓν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἰδοὺ τέσσαρες (sic) μῆνας ἔχει, ἐξ ὅτε ἀπέθανε 'one of them (sc. horses) died four months ago'. For further literature, see Hofmann, *Beiträge*, pp.114,117; W.J. Aerts, *Periphrastica*, (1965), pp.164-5; Tabachovitz (1926), pp.54-5; LSJ (Suppl.), s.v. ἔχω IV,1(b). (Garbugino, pp.86, 107 even goes so far as to equate this personal construction ἔχειν ἔτη with the impersonal 'il y a'. He sees this 'gallicism'

as an indication that the HA was Christianized in Gallia, cf. 18, RB 5 *quid est hoc quod* [comm.].)

ex quo (RA/RB) = ἐξ οὗ 'since', cf. 16, RA 5 *ex quo agnovisti veritatem.*

annos XIIII (RA) ~ *annos XV* (RB): Probably a case of correction by *RB* as a result of inclusive calculation: when Tarsia turned 14, 14 years had gone by: she was now in her 15th year (part of which had elapsed after the death of the nurse and the following period of mourning, cf. 30, RA 5/RB 6). *RB* may also have the correction from *RA*: 32, RA 18 *Ecce iam sunt anni plus XIIII* (cf. comm. ad loc.). This kind of correction is frequent in codd., cf. Patrick, *Epist.* 1,1,7 *annorum eram tunc fere sedecim* (DP: *quindecim* R).

nunquam (RA) ~ *non* (RB): In many Late Latin writers *numquam* has the weaker sense of *non*, cf. LHS II, p.337[4]; p.454[3]; Bonnet p.324; Garvin, p.113 (with the example *Vit. Patr. Em.* 5,10,3 *spatam <...> educere voluit, sed numquam potuit*). Obviously *numquam* (RA) has the full, undiluted sense of 'never ever'.

ad <...> **recipiendum filiam** (RA) ~ *ad recipiendam filiam* (RB): The gerund (RA) was preserved after a preposition, e.g. *ad persequendum Hebraeos directus est* (Greg. of Tours), cf. Norberg, *Syntaktische Forsch.*, p.207 (examples from *Mulomed. Chir.*, Cass., Salvian., Greg. Tours.); Haadsma, *Précis de Latin Vulgaire* (1963), § 86. For the gerund in *RA* we should probably take Koine Greek into account. P. Aalto, *Untersuchungen über das lateinische Gerundium und Gerundivum*, Helsinki 1949, p.90 refers to Luke 5:17 (Vulg.) *virtus Domini erat ad sanandum eos* (Gr. δύναμις Κυρίου ἦν εἰς τὸ ἰᾶσθαι αὐτούς). See also Mayser II 3, p.61,21. The gerundive (RB) died out in the Romance languages, cf. Haadsma, § 72. *RB*, typically, uses it in the classical manner.

nec nobis misit litteras (RA) ~ (RB /): For *RB* a superfluous repetition after 29, RB 24 *nec salutis suae nuntium misit*. In terms of content and formulation we can cite a fragment from the *Recognitiones* (VII, 10) (Migne Gr. 1, p.1360[A]): *Flens itaque descendit ad portum et navem conscendens profectus est. Ex eo usque in hodiernum neque litteras eius accepi neque si vivat aut defunctus sit novi. Sed magis suspicor quia et ipse obierit aut tristitia victus aut naufragio: anni etenim viginti elapsi sunt, quibus haec geruntur et ne nuntius quidem de eo ad me aliquis venit.*

31, RA 10-11 Puto, quia mortuus est aut in pelago periit. Nutrix vero eius decessit. "'I think that he has died, or perished at sea. Her nurse is dead.'

31, RB 7-8 Credo, mortuus est aut in pelago periit. Et nutrix discessit.

Puto, quia (RA) ~ *credo,* (RB): A vulgar but not impossible construction in *RA*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *puto: Luc. 12,51 putatis, quia pacem veni dare in terram?* (Gr. δοκεῖτε ὅτι εἰρήνην παρεγενόμην δοῦναι ἐν τῇ γῇ;). Many examples can be cited from Greek, cf. Bauer, s.v. οἴομαι 'to believe'. The change to *credo* (RB) is classical, cf. OLD, s.v. *credo* (8.c): (parenth., or introducing a sentence) 'doubtless', 'I suppose'.

periit (RA/RB): Cf. 29, RB 25: *periit* **b** (*vivit* **βMπ**).

decessit (RA) ~ *discessit* (RB): Almost synonyms, though *decedere* leaves its mark on the Romance languages (le déces), cf. OLD, s.v. *decedo* (7): 'to depart from life' and s.v. *discedo* (3.d). In the parallel passage 32, RA 22 *nutrix vero eius defuncta est*.

31, RA 11-13 Neminem habeo aemulum. Non potest fieri, nisi ferro aut veneno tollam illam de medio et ornamentis eius filiam meam ornabo." 'No one stands in my way. My plan cannot be accomplished unless I do away with her, by sword or by poison; and I shall adorn my daughter in her finery."'

31, RB 8-9 Aemulum nullum habe<o>. Tollam eam de medio et ornamentis eius filiam meam exornabo."

Neminem (RA) ~ *nullum* **b**; *neminem* **βMπ**: No specific reason can be given for *RB*'s change, it seems. A similar random preference is found among the various authors of the *Vitae Patrum*, cf. J.B. Hofmann, *Beiträge*, p.88 n.5.

habeo (RA) ~ *habet* (RB) ~ *habeo* RSt, RE, Riese: The reading *habeo* (sc. ego, Dionysias) seems preferable: 'I have free play'. The same goes for the parallel passage 32, RA. The reading *habet* (sc. Dionysias' daughter) is defensible.

Non potest fieri (RA): The text of this passage is hard to establish and requires some elaboration. After *de medio tollam* the only textual witness **P**

additionally has *de hoc quod excogitavi*. For the wording, cf. 32, RA 14 *pro scelere, quod excogitaverat*. Critics and editors are deeply divided over this phrase. Riese (1893) incorporated the text in *RA*, but as an interpolation, and noted in his app. crit. 'spuria puto'. Modern editors (Tsitsikli, Schmeling) are inclined to regard the words as authentic (with the exception of *de*) '*hoc, quod excogitavi*' and to place it as the subject of *non potest fieri*, either before or after (Schmeling, [1988] ad loc.). Several arguments can be marshalled against this view.

1. The parallel passage 32, RA 22-23 *Tollam Tharsiam de medio et eius ornamentis nostram ornabo filiam* lacks any reference to the hatching of this plan.
2. Nor is anything similar found in the alternative recension **Rα** *de medio tollam et suis ornamentis* (**F**; *ornamentis eius* (**GAtr.**) *ornabo* **Rα** (**F**, **LGAtr.**).
3. The substance of such a reading *hoc quod excogitavi*, to be connected only with *tollam de medio*, also poses problems: both the preceding *neminem habeo aemulum* (= I can safely go ahead, for there is no one competing with me) and the subsequent *ornamentis eius filiam meam ornabo* (= and then I will adorn my daughter with her jewels) are part of the plan.

On the basis of **R(Gr)** there does not seem to be a specific reason for retaining the **P** reading. So it is probably best to interpret the words *de hoc quod excogitavi* as *excogitavit* and to regard them as a gloss. Because such a gloss is of no direct importance either for the textual history or for the interpretation (cf. 14, RA 1), the reading has been relegated to the app. crit.

nisi ferro aut veneno (RA) ~ (RB /): A standard opposition, cf. 6, RA 6/RB 5. Classical Latin would have preferred *quin* for *nisi*, cf. Löfstedt, *Vermischte Studien*, p.35. As well as contamination (e.g. *non aliud, nisi; non aliter, nisi*) Gr. εἰ μή may have played a role.

tollam illam (RA: *eam* RB) **de medio** (RA/RB): A very common expression in both Latin and Greek, cf. OLD, s.v. *medium* (3): '*e* or *de medio* from the scene': Cic., *S. Rosc.* 20 *perfacile <…> hominem incautum <…> de medio tolli posse*; cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. αἴρω (4), with examples of αἴρω ἐκ (τοῦ) μέσου 'fortschaffen, austilgen' (Epict., Plut., Papyri, al.). In the passive we find γίνομαι ἐκ μέσου, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.* s.v. γίνομαι (Sp. 317); Ps. Method. (ed. Aerts-Kortekaas), [10]1,13. This phrase also occurs in Achill. Tat. 2,27,2 ὅ τε καταμηνύσων οὐκ ἔσται τῆς Κλειοῦς ἐκ μέσου γενομένης 'there will be no one to inform on us, if Kleio is out of the picture.'

ornabo (RA) ~ *exornabo* (RB): Cf. 33, RA 25 *ornetur* ~ RB 23 *exornetur*: apparently a minor difference, cf. OLD, s.v. *orno* (4.b): Nep., *Dat.* 3,1

Thuyn <…> optima veste texit, ornavit etiam torque atque armillis aureis; Curt. 9,1,29 *brachia margaritis ornata erant*; cf. OLD, s.v. *exorno* (2.a): Plaut., *Most.* 293 *tibi me exornabo ut placeam*.

31, RA 13-14 Et dum haec secum cogitat, nuntiatur ei villicum venisse, nomine Theophilum. 'While she was pondering this, she was told that her overseer called Theophilus had arrived.'

31, RB 9-10 Et iussit venire villicum de suburbano.

A skilful modification by *RB*:

dum <…> **cogitat** (RA) ~ (RB /): *RA* is effectively an (epic) repetition of *RA* 8 *coepit cogitare*; *RB*'s elimination is systematic.

nuntiatur villicum venisse (RA) ~ *iussit venire villicum* (RB): *RA* is very striking in terms of both construction and content. *RA* is probably a direct translation from Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀγγέλλω 'to announce': 'c. acc. inf. Hom., *Il.* 8,517 κήρυκες δ'… ἀγγελλόντων <…> γέροντας λέξασθαι "let heralds proclaim the Elders to bivouac"'. The reading *iussit venire villicum* restores both syntax and proper social relations.

villicum (RA) ~ *villicum de suburbano* **b**: *villicum suburbanum* **βMπ**: RB (**b**) inserts *de suburbano* here, cf. OLD, s.v. suburbanus (2): '(neutr. as subst.) "A country seat near the city": Sen., *Epist.* 12,1 *veneram in suburbanum meum*.' The word *suburbanum* itself does not occur in *RA*, but the concept does, cf. 32, RA 26 *Hic prope in suburbio* (comm.); 32, RA 13 *Et ad villam suam abiit*. As often in the Greek Novel, the couple apparently possess a ἔπαυλις 'farm-building' 'country-house', cf. *Less.*, s.v. ἔπαυλις (Charit. 8x; Iambl. 1x; Long. 8x), not too far from the city, cf. Achill. Tat. 5,17,2 (4 *stadia*). Supervision of the house was entrusted to an οἰκονόμος 'house-steward' 'manager' (less probably διοικητής/πραγματευτής), usually, as here, a slave, cf. LSJ, s.v. (1). Given the general occurrence of this situation, esp. in Asia Minor, *RA* saw no need to mention this information explicitly, cf. Bremmer (2001), p.159. The reading *de* (suburbano) **b** could perhaps be connected with *venisse*, cf. 31, RA 20. The **βMπ** change is understandable on the basis of phrases in colloquial Latin like: Hor., *Epist.* 1,4,16 *Epicuri de grege porcum*; Greg. Tur., *Hist. Franc.* 21: *parietes de cellola* (= parietes cellae); Ven. Fort., *Mart.* 2,369 *pedes de peccatore* (= pedes peccatoris); Paul., *Digest.* 32,99,2 *muliones de urbano*, cf. ThLL V.1 58, 28-74: Väänänen, *Introduct.*, §§ 250, 364; Corbett, p.199. (Schmeling, *Notes*, p.394 [on ed. 65,9] *aliter*.)

Theophilum (RA) ~ (RB /). Slaves were generally very religious (or superstitious). So the theophorous name for the *villicus* 'Theophilus' (Θεόφιλος) is by no means remarkable. His actions, too, agree with this name, cf. 31, RA 25 (*aliter* Garbugino, p.41: 'ironicamente'). The name itself is quite common, cf. Fraser ~ Matthews (1987-) I, II, III[A], but not for Asia Minor, cf. L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-mineure gréco-romaine,* I 1963 (Index général). In the Greek Novel it is found only in Achill. Tat. 5,10,1. *RB*'s omission of the name, which he goes on to cite in the next sentence, is as usual, cf. 6, RA/RB 2.

31, RA 14-15	Quem ad se convocans ait: "Si cupis habere libertatem cum praemio, tolle Tharsiam de medio." 'She summoned him and said: "If you want your freedom together with a reward, do away with Tarsia."'
31, RB 9-11	Cui ait: "Theophile, si cupis libertatem, Tharsiam tolle de medio."

Quem ad se convocans ait (RA) ~ *Cui ait: "Theophile* (RB): The use of *convocare* with just one individual as object is recorded for a limited number of late authors (ThLL IV 887,75-84 cites Lucif., Mart. Capella, Dionys. Exig. and the *Gesta Pilati*). Garvin, p.518 adds *Vit. Patr. Em.* 5,13,1. In particular hagiography offers countless examples (e.g. Mombrit. I 379,26 *convocans autem virum fidelem et disciplinatum* <...> *dixit ei*; 472,19 *Imperator vero convocans eum interrogabat*; 603,38 *quem* (sc. Ianuarium) *convocans noctu asserebat* (sc. Gordianus); II 56,19 *et convocans ad se philosophum*; 60,1 *convocans ad se Aristodemum*). Many compounds with *con-* are used in the same way: *collaudare, colligere, collocare, confortare, confovere, congaudere, convenire*. The Greek verb συγκαλέω does not have this use.

habere (RA) ~ (RB /): A fine abridgement.

libertatem cum praemio (RA), cf. *RA* 23 *cum praemio libertatem* ~ *libertatem* (RB), cf. RB 14 *praemium libertatis*: Naturally this reading, esp. that of *RA*, occurs frequently, in both Latin and Greek, e.g. Caes., *Bell. Gall.* 5,45,3 *Hic servo spe libertatis magnisque persuadet praemiis, ut litteras ad Caesarem deferat*. Emancipation was not enough, slaves had to be able to build a life. To this extent *RA* prevails, though *RB* occurs often too: Sis., *Hist.* 43 *servulum* <...> *praemio libertatis inductum*. This more literary form (epexegetical gen.) is even found directly in the Greek Novel: Heliod. 1,16,5 σοὶ μὲν ἐλευθερίας μισθὸς ἀποκείσεται 'there will be for you a reward existing in freedom'. Critics and editors (cf. Riese, 1893, Praef. XVI, n.4) adduce

Xen. Eph. 2,11,3: ἀποδημήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Μοίριδος μεταπέμπεται τὸν αἰπόλον καὶ κελεύει λαβόντα τὴν Ἀνθίαν <…> ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ τούτου μισθὸν αὐτῷ δώσειν ὑπέσχετο 'but while Moeris (Manto's husband) was away (cf. Stranguillio's initial ignorance), she (sc. Manto, cf. Dionysias) sent for the goatherd (cf. villicus) and ordered him to seize Anthia (cf. Theophilus-Tarsia) <…> and to kill her and she promised to give him a reward for his service.' The rest of the story also shows remarkable parallels with the *HA* (the herdsman's compassion, foiling of the planned murder), so that a hypothesis of interdependence does not seem unfounded, cf. below 31, RA 32-35.

31, RA 15-16 Villicus ait: "Quid enim peccavit virgo innocens?" Scelesta mulier ait: 'The overseer said: "But what has the innocent girl done wrong?" The wicked woman said:'

31, RB 11 Villicus ait: "Quid enim peccavit ínnocens vírgo (*pl.*)?" Scelerata dixit:

enim (RA/RB): A remarkable reaction from the *villicus*. The originally causal adverb *enim* 'for' has the adversative sense of 'but' here, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *enim* (2); Löfstedt, *Per.*, p.33; Adams (1976), p.80. This usage and this insertion of *enim* in an indignant question tallies completely with γάρ, cf. LSJ, s.v. γάρ (A I,4 in abrupt questions): Luke 23:22 Ὁ δὲ (= Πιλᾶτος) τρίτον εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· Τί γὰρ κακὸν ἐποίησεν οὗτος; *Ille autem tertio dixit ad illos: Quid enim mali fecit iste?* The Greek Novel agrees too: Achill. Tat. 1,8,1 τί γὰρ ἠδίκησας· 'But what crime have you committed?' (cf. Charit. 1,11,6; 3,6,5; 4,3,8; 5,8,5; Achill. Tat. 1,17,1; 5,20,2; 7,6,2). So the assumption that *RA/RB* go back directly to **R(Gr)**, perhaps **HA(Gr)**, is by no means bold.

Scelesta mulier (RA) ~ *Scelerata* (RB): Hardly any direct difference is discernible, perhaps *RB* is more definite. *Scelesta* is found only in *RA*; *scelerata* is found 3x in *RA*, but 7x in *RB*, cf. Ind. verb., ss.vv. It is hard to establish a possible Greek substrate, cf. CGL VII, 239 s.v. *scelestus*: ἄνομος, ἀνόσιος, βδελυρός, μιαρός, μυσαρός. Perhaps μιαρός has the best credentials, cf. Charit. 1,4,4; Xen. Eph. 3,12,3.

31, RA 16-18 "Iam mihi non pares? Tantum fac, quod iubeo. Sin alias, s<enti>as esse contra te irat<os> dominu<m> et domina<m>." '"Should not you rather obey me? Just do what I tell you. If not, you

may feel the wrath of your master and mistress."'

31, RB 12 "Negare mihi non potes; fac, quod iubeo. Sin alias, sentias me iratam.

Iam mihi non pares? (RA) ~ *Negare mihi non potes* (RB): Both versions express roughly the same: for *negare* in the sense of 'to say no', cf. OLD, s.v. *nego* (3) 'to refuse' 'to decline'. For the change from *pares* to *potes* preserving the same word shape, cf. Introd. III.5.

Tantum fac (RA) ~ *fac* (RB): The *RA* reading is preferable: it seems to provide the best link with *Iam mihi non pares?* (= do not resist; do only what is ordered). A similar *tantum* is found in 41, RA 28/RB 27 *tantum descende ad eum*. This *tantum* can be explained on the basis of Latin, cf. OLD, s.v. *tantum* (8): 'only' 'just': Verg., *Aen.* 6,74 *foliis tantum ne carmina manda*. Riese (1893), Ind., s.v. *tantum* (cf. Thielmann, p.19) rightly points to a Greek-based explanation, viz. μόνον 'alone, only', cf. LSJ, s.v. μόνος (B. Adv. μόνως, II): 'frequently with imper.': Aesch., *Suppl.* 1012 μόνον φύλαξαι 'be just on guard'; Plat., *Gorg.* 494a ἀποκρίνου μόνον 'just answer'. So there is little reason to assume with Weyman, *Wo. kl. Phil.* 10 (1893) (cols. 575-79), col. 577 that the reading actually passed down in **P** *fac, tantum fac* should be regarded as a gemination and be retained. Rather it is a clerical error, cf. 19, RA 1 [rex] Rex. For a true *geminatio*, cf. 32, RA 3 *"Parce, barbare, parce* <...>". So in practice this means that *RB* probably eliminated a Graecism (*aliter* Klebs, p.242 = Garbugino, pp.110-11, with nn.102-3).

Sin alias (RA/**b**) '0r else' ~ *Sin aliud* **βM**: *sin autem aliud* **π**: For this change from Late Latin (RA) to classical Latin (RB): 5, RB 6 *sin alias* **b** ~ *sin autem* **βπ** (comm.).

s<enti>as (RA) ~ *sentias* **b**: *senties* **βMπ**: A good example of (a) how the two recensions can illuminate each other (**P** actually reads sm̃as) and (b) how the subjunctive functions in Late Latin, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 306: 'Le subjonctif latine <...> servait notamment à exprimer le volonté et le souhait, ainsi que l'eventualité.' From here it is easy to slip to the future tense.

contra te irat<os> dominu<m> et domina<m> (RA) ~ *me iratam* (RB): A highly interesting place for several reasons, cf. Introd. VI.1. **P**'s actual reading is *iratus dñs et dña*, emended by the various editors (Ring, Riese and later ones) to *iratos dominum et dominam* (the errors are probably due to the pronunciation '*o*' = '*u*' and abbreviation in *nomina sacra* (Traube, *Nomina sacra*, pp.189-92, *dñs* also for secular rulers; Lindsay, *Early Irish*

Minuscule script, p.40). The meaning of the sentence is clear: 'otherwise you will suffer the anger of your master and mistress.' Apparently Dionysias is already involving her husband in the murder conspiracy. No doubt a Roman readership understood the phrase *iratos habere*: Petron. 25 (remark by Quartilla) *Iunonem meam iratam habeam, si umquam me meminerim virginem fuisse*, cf. Heraeus, *Kleine Schriften*, p.120; 62,14 *ego si mentior, genios vestros iratos habeam*; Aug., *Civ. dei* 7,34 *quod scire neminem voluit* (sc. Numa), *ne homines nefaria doceret, violare autem timuit, ne daemones iratos haberet*. The phrase is also known in hagiography: Mombrit. II 293,29 *si haec itaque permittimus, deos nostros non propicios, sed omnino iratos habebimus*; 295,21 *Accede tantum, maledicte, ut possis immortales deos habere propicios*. It is much favoured in funerary inscriptions, cf. ALL 15, p.316: CIL 29848 b,1 *deos <...> habeat iratos, quisquis hic mixerit aut cacarit*; ibid. 13740 d,6 *habeat deos iratos*; ibid. 29.944,3 *habeat genium iratum*. Curiously enough, the formula corresponds with Greek formulas like τυγχάνειν/ἔχειν τοὺς θεοὺς κεχολωμένους 'to have the gods wrathful', esp. found on tombs in Phrygia. An overwhelming number of examples can be cited (cf. J.H.M. Strubbe, *Arai Epitymbioi, Een uitgave en studie van de heidense vervloekingen tegen eventuele grafschenners in de Griekse funeraire inscripties van Klein-Azië*, Gent 1983, vol. I; idem, 'Vervloekingen tegen grafschenners', *Lampas*, 16 no. 5 (1983), pp.248-74). Salient examples are (cf. Strubbe, *Lampas*, p.266) τοὺς ἐπουρανίους καὶ καταχθονίους θεοὺς κεχολωμένους ἔχοισαν (found near Magnesia on the Sipylos) 'may they have angry against them the celestial and chthonic gods'; ἕξξει (sic) τὴν οὐρανείαν Ἐκάτην (sic) κεχολωμένην (found in Phrygia) 'He will have the celestial Hecate angry with him', cf. Introd. VI.1. In view of its pagan character, this phrase probably forms part of the original nucleus of **HA(Gr)** and, though these formulas are widely disseminated, they may offer an indication of provenance, i.e. Asia Minor, cf. Robert, *BCH* CI, 1977, p.48. The anger of Dionysias and Stranguillio probably manifested itself in Theophilus' dismissal as *villicus*. This motif occurs repeatedly in the Greek Novel, cf. Achill. Tat. 5,17,10 ἡ δὲ τὸν μὲν τῆς διοικήσεως, ἧς εἶχεν, ἀπέπαυσεν 'Melite divested him of his responsibilities as bailiff', cf. id. 6,3,3. The emancipation of Theophilus could also be considerably delayed by negative conduct, cf. McLean (2005^4) § 12.01, pp.290-2 (with n.7).

The ominous words of *RA*, in which the masters are united against a slave in the word *iratos* (κεχολωμένους), contrast with *RB me iratam*. As often with *RB*, this seems preferable to *RA*: after all, Dionysias had not yet consulted with her husband; this takes place later, cf. 32, RA 14-45. So logically she could only speak for herself. Supporters of the *RB* reading (cf. Riese [1893], Praef. XVI, n.4) also like to point to Xen. Eph. 2,3,5 Ἔφη δ' «ἴσθι μὲν οἰκέτις οὖσα ἐμή, ἴσθι δὲ ὀργῆς πειρασομένη βαρβάρου

καὶ ἠδικημένης» 'And she (sc. Manto) added, "You must realize that you are my slave and that if you hurt me, you will experience the anger of a barbarian woman!"' (See also Heliod. 7,25,2.) Despite such arguments, I believe that *RB*'s 'corrective' reading is based on spurious logic: it pales into insignificance against the view that, as in *RA*, Dionysias is playing for high stakes and bullies the outsider into believing that her husband is involved in the conspiracy, purely in order to dumbfound the slave. In fact she is successful, for the discussion is closed. (The reading in 31, RA 18 *dominus* and *domina* **P** defended by Ljungvik [1926], p.44 n.1 should be rejected in view of the Italian character of **P**, cf. ed. m. (1984), pp.31-4; see also 32, RA 11 *voluntas* ***P***.)

31, RA 18-22 Villicus ait: "Et qualiter hoc potest fieri?" Scelesta mulier ait: "Consuetudo sibi est, ut mox cum de schola venerit, non prius cibum sumat, antequam monumentum suae nutricis intraverit. Oportet te ibi cum pugione abscondere 'The overseer said: "And how can it be done?" The wicked woman said: "It is her habit, as soon as she comes from school, before she eats anything, to go to her nurse's tomb. You must hide there with a dagger.'

This dialogue is omitted by *RB* as superfluous and repetitive and probably on account of the formulation, but the latter is clearly Greek in character and as such authentic.

Et: So-called *et indignantis*, cf. 2, RA/RB 9 *Et ubi est pater*? It tallies with καὶ.

qualiter: Late Latin for *qui, quomodo*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *qualiter* (2): Greg. Magn., *Hom. ev.* 27,1; id., *Epist.* 2,2; corresponds with (?) πῶς; Compare also 45, RB 14 *narrabat, qualiter* <...> *narrasset*.

consuetudo sibi (sc. ei) **est, ut** <...> **sumat**: A normal Latin formulation, cf. OLD, s.v. *consuetudo* (3.b) 'a disposition to act in a certain way, acquired by frequent repetition, habit', frequent in Late Latin, cf. Zander, *Phaedrus solutus*, p.LXVIII (examples from Phaedr. sol., Iord., Salv., Greg. Tur.): corresponding with Gr. ἔθος ἐστὶν αὐτῇ, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἔθος: 'ἔθος ἐστίν τινι, *cum inf.*'. Also in the Greek Novel, cf. Charit. 4,3,12; id. 6,9,6. For *sibi* (i.q. *ei*) cf. 28, RB 5 (comm.).

mox cum 'as soon as' + subjunct.: A Late Latin combination analogous to *mox ut* + subjunct., cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *mox* (Lucif., Greg. Magn.), but not uncommon in classical Latin, cf. ThLL VIII 1552,17-27: corresponding with Gr. εὐθύς (εὐθέως), ὡς.

de schola venerit <…> **intraverit**: An epic repetition, with minor variation, of 30, RA 7. Reiterated further on by *RB* himself, cf. 31, RB 17.

Oportet <…> **abscondere**: Omitted by *RB* because this detail will come up later, cf. RB 15-16. *Oportet* (represented only as *o* + abbreviation symbol ʔ = -et: for this often drastic abbreviation (normally *opt̄* or even *otet*) in an Italian manuscript from the 14th c., cf. Klebs, p.18, n.2; Capelli, 1961[5], pp.251-2; A. Pelzer, *Abréviations latines médiévales*, Louvain-Paris 1964, p.53.

cum pugione, cf. OLD, s.v.: 'a short weapon for stabbing, dagger, poniard'. This is the classical method of assassination, cf. Cic., *Phil.* 2,12,28 *Caesare interfecto statim cruentum alte extollens M. Brutus pugionem*: Sulp. ap. Cic., *Fam.* 4,12,2 *pugione percussus*; corresponding with ἐγχειρίδιον 'dagger' (also in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v.).

31, RA 22-23 et eam ve<n>ientem interfice et proice corpus eius in mare. Et cum <re>veneris et de hoc facto nuntiaveris, cum praemio libertatem accipies." 'When she arrives, kill her and throw her body into the sea. And when you come back and tell me that the deed is done, you will receive your freedom and a reward.'"

31, RB 13-15 Interfice eam, mitte corpus eius in mare. Et cum nuntiaveris factum, praemium libertatis accipies." Villicus licet spe libertatis seductus, tamen cum dolore discessit (*pl.*).

eam ve<n>ientem interfice (RA) ~ *Interfice eam* (RB): *RB* deliberately omits *venientem*, since it was not the idea to kill Tarsia on arrival, but only after she had gone to the monument of her nurse, so that the assassin could attack her from behind unseen (the pres. part. of *RA* can have this meaning). *Interficere* is the literary word compared with *occidere*, which lives on in the Romance languages, cf. Väänänen, *Introduct.*, § 149.

et proice (RA) ~ *mitte* (RB): For *proice* classical Latin probably would had simply *iace*, cf. Löfstedt, *Late Latin*, p.27. *RB* has an asyndetic construc-

tion to bring out the shrillness of the two orders. *Mittere* has the meaning 'to fling', cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *mitto* (4); Väänänen, *Introduct.*, § 207; Adams (1976), p.110.

corpus (RA/RB): 'Corpse', cf. OLD, s.v. corpus (3): 'a dead body'; corresponding with σῶμα, cf. LSJ, s.v.

Et cum reveneris <…> **de hoc facto nuntiaveris** (RA) ~ *Et cum nuntiaveris factum* (**b**; *actum* **βMπ**): Classical abbrevation.

cum praemio libertatem (RA) ~ *praemium libertatis* (**βπ**: *-tem* **b**): Cf. above *RA* 15 ~ RB 14 (comm.)

Villicus <…> **discessit** (RB) 'The overseer, seduced by the hope of freedom, but with sad feelings, went his way': A literary embellishment, apparently added to clarify the overseer's doleful journey. Note the rhythm, alliteration, and symmetrical composition. For *licet* in *HA*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v.

31, RA 24-27 Villicus tulit pugionem et lateri suo celat et intuens caelum ait: "Deus, ego non merui libertatem accipere, nisi per effusionem sanguinis virginis innocentis?" Et haec dicens, suspirans et flens ibat ad monumentum nutricis Tharsiae et ibi latuit. 'The overseer took a dagger and hid it at his side. Looking up to heaven he said: "God, could not I earn my freedom without spilling the blood of an innocent girl?" With this words he went sighing and weeping to the tomb of Tarsia's nurse, and hid there.

31, RB 15-16 Et pugionem acutissimum praeparavit et abiit post nutricis Tharsiae monumentum.

A moving, psychological detail in *RA*, which *RB* seems to have deliberately excised, on account of both formulation and content: only the beginning and end of *RA* have been spared.

Villicus tulit pugionem (RA) ~ *Et pugionem acutissimum praeparavit* (RB): Translation of *RA* poses no problems: 'he took a dagger'. Yet in fact *tuli* in Late Latin and esp. the Vulgate is not the perfect of *fero* 'to carry' but rather of *tollo*, e.g. Vulg., Gen. 31:45 *tulit* (LXX λαβών) *Iacob lapidem*; 2

Kgs. 12:4 *tulit* (LXX ἔλαβεν) *ovem pauperis*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *fero*: 'emmener'; Linderbauer (on *Reg. Bened.* 58,57), p.369. So the replacement by *praeparavit* is stylistically polished, while the addition *acutissimum* is a dramatic detail, cf. OLD, s.v. *praeparo* (4): 'to put into a state of readiness or preparation.' Here *RB* breaks off.

lateri <…> **celat** (RA): The archaic abl. in *-i* (not uncommon in poets like Ov., Verg., Prop.) has been retained (cf. Fordyce, comm. on Catull. 68,24). For the place where something is hidden *celare* normally governs the abl., cf. OLD, s.v. *celo*. A dat. of place would be possible too, cf. Bonnet, *Acta Thomae*, s.v. *dativus*, p.194. We probably should not assume influence from Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. κρύπτω *'hide'* + dat.

intuens caelum (RA): *Intueri* + acc. is a very common construction, cf. OLD, s.v. *intueor* (1): 'to fix one's gaze upon', with the opposite phrase *terram intueri* 'to look down at the ground'. The actual meaning of this gesture is shown by the next words, but note how easily this detail can be 'translated' to Greek, even to the Greek Novel, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀναβλέπω 'to look up' (sub 2 'only *acc.*'); Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ἀναβλέπω; Charit. 3,3,4 Χαιρέας δὲ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν 'Chaireas looked towards the heaven'. This gesture of praying with the eyes raised to heaven is found among Christians too, cf. F. Dölger, *Sol Salutis*^{2}, Münster 1925, pp.302-12; Robert, *Pionios*, p.110.

Deus, ego non merui (RA): The rest of the formulation (see note on RA, 25 *per effusionem sanguinis*) clearly shows this to be a reference to the Christian God, but on the basis of pagan ideas (see note on *RA* 36/RB 23 *testari*). Riese (1893), *praef.* XVI, n.4 compares Xen. Eph. 2,11,7 ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ θεοὺς δεδιὼς <…> βούλομαί σε μᾶλλον πωλῆσαι κτλ. 'But I fear the gods <…> I am willing instead to sell you'. For *merere* 'to deserve' 'to have the good fortune', see 23, RA 11 (RB /) (comm.) (Klebs, p.218 proposes to delete 'Deus, ego non merui', arguing 'kleinere Zusätze', as if this intervention 'saves' the context.)

per effusionem sanguinis (RA): Every Roman will have understood this phrase, cf. OLD, s.v. *effusio* (1), without the characteristic *sanguinis*. Within Latin the combination with *sanguinis* is mainly a Christian phrase, cf. ThLL V.2 228,60-77; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *effusio*: '(en parlant du sang d'autrui)'. Here, too, it is natural to think of a translation to Greek, even to the Greek Novel, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐκχέω 'pour out' (with the combination ἀναίτιον αἷμα 'innocent blood'); s.v. ἔκχυσις 'shedding': Porph., *Antr.* 11 ἔκχυσις αἵματος 'shedding of blood'; *Vit. patr.* 5.5.39 *effusiones sanguinis faciens* (Gr. πολλὴν ἔκχυσιν αἱμάτων); Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. αἷμα; Heliod.

10,31,2 αἷμα γὰρ ἐκχεόμενον ὀφθῆναι <…> οὐ θεμιτόν 'The sight of spilt blood is forbidden <…>'.

suspirans et flens (RA): Characteristic of Theophilus' heavy task, reinforced by *ibat* (descriptive imperf.).

ibat ad monumentum nutricis Tharsiae et ibi latuit (RA) ~ *et abiit post nutricis Tharsiae monumentum* (RB): Not until here does *RB* pick up the thread of *RA*'s story. *RA* does not specifically indicate the place where the *villicus* hides: probably in the bushes in front of the monument (cf. 31, RA 30-31, comm.). In *RB* we should perhaps interpret *post* (cf. Klebs, p.272 with n.2) as equivalent to *ad* (RA), cf. ThLL X 2,1 179,8-17: Vet. Lat., Gen. 37:35 *ibo post filium meum*; (Vulg. *descendam ad*; Gr. καταβήσομαι πρός); 1 Kgs. 22:20 (Hier., *Epist.* 29,2,4) *fugiit post David* (Vulg. *ad*); Pallad. 5,7,3 *cum <…> apes <…> ingressae fuerint post odorem* (Colum. 9,8,9 *cum ad odorem <…> inrepserunt*). For other examples from Christian Latin, cf. Blaise, *Dict.* s.v. post (II). It seems rather unlikely that *RB*, contrary to his habit, would introduce a Christian phrase here. It is probably an error of interpretation by *RB*, cf. Introd. III.5. If we review *RB*'s intervention in *RA* 25-26, it is difficult to give a real reason for his abridgement.

31, RA 27-29	Puella autem rediens de schola solito more fudit ampullam vini et ingressa monumentum posuit coronas supra; 'When Tarsia came back from school, in the usual way she poured a flask of wine, went into the tomb, and set out wreaths of flowers;'
31, RB 16-17	Et puella rediens de studiis solito more tollit ampullam vini et coronam.

A repetition of previous phrases and sentences.

de schola (RA) ~ *de studiis* (RB): Cf. 30, RA 6 *petiit scholam suam et ad studia liberalia reversa* ~ RB 6 *rediit in studiis suis,*

solito more (RA/RB): In fact this detail is related only in 30, RA 8 *ferens ampullam <vini> inve<he>ret coronas*.

fudit (RA) ~ *tollit* (RB), i.q. sustulit: It was customary to sprinkle wine around the monument. *RB* has removed this pagan custom, while preserving almost the word shape, cf. Introd., III.3.

ingressa monumentum posuit coronas supra (RA): After the introductory ritual Tarsia places the garlands on top of the tomb; *RB* has accepted only the word *coronam*.

31, RA 29-31 et dum invocat manes parentum suorum, villicus impetum fecit et aversae puellae capillos apprehendit et <eam> iactavit in terram. 'as she was calling on the shades of her parents, the overseer attacked her, seized her from behind by the hair and threw her to the ground.'

31, RB 17-19 Venit ad monumentum casus suos exponere. Villicus impetu facto aversae puellae crines apprehendit et traxit ad litus.

et dum invocat manes parentum suorum (RA) ~ *venit ad monumentum casus suos exponere* (**bM**): *RB* substitutes a standard sentence for the reference to pagan cult, cf. 30, RB 7-8 *et casus suos omnes exponeret et fleret*. (Klebs, p.46 also recognizes the worthlessness of *RB*, but without discerning *RB*'s true motive.) The infinitive *exponere* **bM** should be regarded as a final inf. (normalized in **βπ**: *ut* <…> *exponeret*, cf. Schmeling, *Notes*, p.394 [on ed. 65,19]).

impetum fecit et <…> **et** <…> (RA) ~ *impetu facto* <…> *et* (RB): The epic-popular narrative style (cf. S. Trenkner, *Le style καὶ*) is interrupted by the very popular abl. abs. *impetu facto*, cf. OLD, s.v. *impetus*: Caes., *Civ.* 3,101,6 *impetu facto in Cassianam classem*.

aversae (**P**, **b**; *adversus* **βMπ**) *puellae capillos* (RA: *crines* RB) *apprehendit*: *aversae puellae* is probably a gen. depending on *capillos/crines* (a final dat. is rare). For the meaning, , cf. OLD, s.v. *aversus* 'facing in the opposite direction', in other words the *villicus* attacks Tarsia from behind. Perhaps *aversae* goes back to ἀπεστραμμένης 'turned aside' (with her face), cf. CGL VI,121; LSJ, s.v. ἀποστρέφω (II): 'Med. and Pass. "turn oneself away"'. The alternation *aversus* (*lectio difficilior*)/*adversus* is not uncommon, cf. Verg., *Georg.* 1,218 (app. crit.); *adversus* is the more classical form compared with *adversum*; the latter is privileged in the Vulgate, cf. Bieler, p.154.

Tarsia probably wore her hair loose, less as an aesthetic ideal (O. Schissel von Fleschenberg, 'Das weibliche Schönheitsideal im griechischen Romane', *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 2 [1907], p.390: Xen. Eph. 1,2,6; Heliod. 3,4,5) than as a sign of mourning: Ov., *Met.* 5,513 *Ibi toto nubila vultu* | *ante Iovem passis stetit* (viz. Ceres, after losing her daughter Proserpina) *invidiosa capillis*; id., *Trist.* 4,2,43 *aspice*

demissos lugentis more capillos; Verg., *Aen.* 3,65 *et circum Iliades crinem de more solutae*, cf. ibid. 11,35. The dragging of a woman by her hair is a topos in both Greek (cf. e.g. Aesch., *Sept.* 309) and Latin literature: Verg., *Aen.* 2,403 *Ecce trahebatur passis Priameia virgo | crinibus a templo Cassandra adytisque Minervae*; Ov., *Met.* 13,409 *tractata comis antistita Phoebi*. The examples quoted also show that little distinction is made between *capilli* (RA) and *crines* (RB). Perhaps one could say that *capilli* (28, RA/RB 24; 29, RA 21 ~ RB 21 *capillum*) lives on in the Romance languages and that *crines* indicates a more elevated style (Verg., *Aen.* 2,403; 3,65; 11,35).

<**eam**> **iactavit in terram** (RA) ~ *et traxit ad litus* (RB) 'and dragged her to the shore': *RB*'s change seems mainly inspired by c.32: the pirates see what happens on the shore/mainland. The change has been effected via the word shape of *RA*. *RA*'s reading clarifies the action of stabbing and killing.

31, RA 31-32	Et cum eam vellet percutere, ait ad eum puella: "Theophile, quid peccavi, ut manu tua innocens virgo moriar?" 'As he was going to strike her, the girl said to him: "Theophilus, what have I done wrong, that I, an innocent girl, should die at your hand?"'
31, RB 19-20	Et dum vellet interficere eam, puella ait: "Theophile, quid peccavi, ut tua manu moriar?"

percutere (RA) ~ *interficere* (RB): *RA* is the harsh technical term for stabbing to death, esp. cutting someone's throat, cf. OLD, s.v. *percutio* (1) 'to land a blow on, strike forcibly': Varro, Re rust. 1,69,2 *ab nescio quo percussum cultello*; Sulp. Ruf., *Fam.* 4,12,2 *M. Marcellum* <…> *pugione percussum esse et duo vulnera accepisse*; likewise of the *percussor*: Cic., *Phil.* 2,74 *percussor* <…> *deprehensus dicebatur esse cum sica*; Tacit., *Hist.* 1,41 *plures obtulisse ultro percussoribus iugulum*. Tarsia's drawn-back head – *sit venia verbo* – lent itself to this death. The corresponding Greek word is σφάζω, cf. LSJ, s.v. σφάζω 'to slay, slaughter, properly by cutting the throat'. *RB* prefers the more neutral term *interficere*, cf. OLD, s.v. *interficio* 'to do away with'.

quid peccavi? (RA/RB): Eliciting the response (RA 32/RB 21) *Tu nihil peccasti*. This kind of question and answer is common in popular literature, cf. *Acta Andr. et Matth.*, c.18 (ed. Blatt, Gießen 1930, p.14,53) *quid enim peccavi, ut non te michi manifestasti in mare? Et dominus Iesus ait illi: Andreas, nichil michi peccasti, sed ideo hoc tibi feci[t] quia dissisti: non possum proficere* (cf. 24, RA 17) *in triduo in anc civitate* (sic).

innocens virgo (RA): *RB*'s omission is bold, but the words are a repetition of *RA* 16/RB 12.

moriar (RA/RB): The passive form going with *occidere*, analogous to ἀποθνῄσκω as the passive form with ἀποκτείνω, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀποθνῄσκω (II): 'to be put to death'.

31, RA 32-35 Cui villicus ait: "Tu nihil peccasti, sed pater tuus peccavit Apollonius, qui te cum magna pecunia et vestimentis regalibus reliquit Stranguilioni et Dionysiae." 'He said to her: "You have done nothing wrong, but your father Apollonius was at fault to leave you in the care of Stranguillio and Dionysias with a great deal of money and royal robes."'

31, RB 21-22 Villicus ait: "Tu nihil peccasti, sed pater tuus Apollonius, qui te cum magna pecunia et ornamenta dereliquit."

cum <...> **vestimentis regalibus** (RA): *cum* <...> *ornamenta* **b**; Late Latin can construe *cum* with abl. (as *RA* does) and with acc. (as **b** probably does: *ornamenta* can also be taken as a collective noun 1st decl., cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 217). The alternation in the codd. of *RB* is illustrative, cf. app. crit. The change from *vestimenta* to *ornamenta* has to do with Dionysias' plan, cf. 31, RA 12/RB 9.

reliquit (RA) ~ *dereliquit* (RB): The spelling *reliquid* **P** is very common in Italian mss. (Elsewhere too: *dereliquid* **bM**, **Va**.) *RB* opts for the technical term in last wills, cf. OLD, s.v. *derelinquo* (2) 'to bequeath to': Iavol., *Dig.* 38,2,34 *si libertus* <...> *alteri extraneo semissem dereliquit*; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *derelinquo* (2): '"laisser après soi (en mourant)": Salv., *Eccl.* 2,41; Arnob. 5,8; Ambr., *Obitu Theod.* 2; Agap. I, p.55 (par testament).'

To a certain extent the reaction of the *villicus*, who has some sympathy for Tarsia, can be compared with the reaction of the robber charged with the execution of Anthia, cf. Xen. Eph. 4,6,4-7 (reference by S. Stephans, *Ancient Greek Novels*, p.198, n.41). We should also mention the parallel indicated above (cf. 31, RA 13-14) of the goatherd sent by Manto to murder Anthia: Xen. Eph. 2,11,6 ὁ δὲ αἰπόλος εἰς οἶκτον ἔρχεται ἐννοῶν ὡς ἀνόσιον ἔργον ἐργάσεται κόρην οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦσαν (cf. *HA innocens virgo*) ἀποκτείνας οὕτω καλήν 'The goatherd was moved to pity, since he thought that he would be committing an unholy act by killing so beautiful a girl who had done no wrong.'

31, RA 35-36 Quod puella audiens <e>um cum lacrimis deprecata est: "Vitae meae spes aut solatium, permitte me testari dominum." 'On hearing this the girl burst into tears and entreated him: "You, hope of my life, or, anyhow, solace, allow me to call God to witness."'

31, RB 22-24 Puella cum lacrimis ait: "Peto, quia (**b**: ut si βMπ) iam nulla spes est vitae meae, deum mihi testari permittas."

Quod puella audiens (RA) ~ *puella* (RB): In *RA* Tarsia pins her hopes on the sympathetic reaction of the *villicus*: this is the basis of her answer, which is formulated as tentatively as possible. *RB* gives a down-to-earth account.

cum lacrimis (RA/RB), i.q. *flens*; Bonnet, *Acta Thomae, Supplementum codicis apocryphi*, Leipzig 1883, Index s.v. *lacrima* draws attention to the preference of Greg. Tur. for this phrase.

Vitae meae spes aut solatium (RA) ~ *domine, quia iam nulla spes est vitae meae* **b**: *RA* is taken to task by Klebs, p.273: 'Diese volkommen unsinnigen Worte sind nur dadurch zu erklären, daß dem Interpolator die Stelle Tob. 10,4 vorschwebte "lumen oculorum nostrorum, solatium vitae nostrae, spem posteritatis nostrae".' Some critics and editors have also had problems with *RA*, especially in comparison with *RB* (cf. Schmeling [1988], ad loc.). In my view, however, the *RA* reading is authentic and primary. The language may in fact have been influenced by Vulg., Tob., but also seems to have been informed by the situation, cf. Verg., *Aen.* 8,514 (Euander on his son Pallas) *hunc tibi praeterea, spes et solacia nostri, Pallanta adiungam*. This line of thought also underlies Tarsia's address to the *villicus*: 'You, the hope of my life (= you, who can save me), you who may at least give me some solace' (in the form of respite, in the time that she wants to call on God as a witness, thus increasing the chance of further developments, cf. comm. on *testari, testificatio,* sub 1). Thus interpreted this place poses few problems. At the same time the formula of address – a vocative – remains highly curious: the supposed executor is addressed in opposite terms: 'You, the hope of my life'. Hence *RB*'s apparently clever change: the vocative implied in '*spes* <...> *solatium*' is transferred to *domine*. The too positive approach *vitae meae spes* now becomes negative and is made causal for *testari*. The result is the formulation *quia iam nulla spes est vitae meae* **b** or, even more cautiously, *si iam nulla spes est vitae meae* **βMπ**. (Obviously it will not do to introduce this 'correction' by **βMπ** in *RA* *<si iam nulla est> vitae meae spes aut solacium,* as Hunt/Schmeling propose, cf. Schmeling [1988], p.23,33.)

permitte me testari dominum (RA) ~ *Peto, domine,* (*ut* **βMπ**) <…> *deum mihi testari permittas* (RB). An unpretentious formulation by *RA*, redrafted by *RB* as a formal request. On account of this gesture 'to call God to witness' – usually denoted by *testificatio*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. – and the wealth of material, the following note has been split into three parts:
1. *testificatio* in *HA*, as term and gesture;
2. *testificatio* in the Greek Novel;
3. *testificatio* ~ **HA(Gr)**.
An elaboration of this basic material is urgently required.

1. *testificatio* in *HA*.
The only other place where the expression itself occurs in the *HA* in relation to God is 30, RA 1 *testor deum* (RB /) in a general sense (cf. comm. ad loc.). The gesture referred to here, 'to call God to witness', must have sounded familiar to readers of the *HA*, since it is a τόπος in hagiography, cf. Delehaye, *Les Passions des Martyrs*, p.272: before execution the martyr asks the executioner for respite, so that he/she can pray. Often the sources therefore talk about *hora parva ad orandum* or *orandi spacium*, as the *HA* does, cf. 50, RA 30 *ad testandum dominum* (RB 24 *deum*) *horarum* <…> *spatia* (RB 25 *spatium*). A few cases in point: Mombr. I 262,40 ff. (De Sancto Bonefacio et Aglae) *Spiculatores eum de medio incendii festinanter tulerunt. Qui* (sc. Bonefacius) *impetrata ab eis hora parva ad orandum … deum precatus est. Deinde a spiculatore percessus* (*l.* percussus) *est*; ibid. 472,32 (Eustachius) *introducti vero in machinam supplicaverunt carnificibus, ut darent eis orandi spacium et extendentes manus suas oraverunt*; ibid. 549,10. See also Mombr. I 277,3; 287,24; 347,54; 371,30; 472,32; 549,10; II 41,51; 194,54; 427,26; 595,7. The same gesture is found in Greek, e.g. *Passio antiquior SS. Sergii et Bacchi*, AB 14 (1895), p.393 Σέργιος παρεκάλει τὸν σπεκουλάτορα ἐνδοῦναι αὐτῷ μικρόν (cf. below under 2: Heliod. 8,9,11), ὅπως προσεύξηται 'Serge asked the headsman to concede him a little time to pray' (= Mombr. II 488,24 *Sergius postulabat spiculatores modicas ei prebere inducias, ut oraret*). In sum, the gesture must have been familiar to the readership: neither *RA* nor *RB* required further explication.

2. *testificatio* in the Greek Novel.
Naturally the corresponding term and gesture also occur in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. ἐπικαλέω/ἐπικαλέομαι 'to invoke' and (ἐπι)μαρτύρομαι 'to call to witness', though it is often connected with the pl. τοὺς θεούς, cf. Achill. Tat. 7,12,2 (when Kleitophon is in danger of being innocently condemned) ἀνοιμώξαντος δὲ τοῦ Κλεινίου καὶ ἐπικαλοῦντος τοὺς θεούς 'while Kleinias was groaning and calling on the gods', cf. id. 7,14,1; Heliod. 1,25,1 ὁ Θεαγένης <…> θεοὺς δὲ συνεχῶς ἐπικαλούμενος μάρτυρας 'Theagenes over and again called on the gods

to be his witness', cf. id. 2,13,4; 2,19,2; 8,5,4. In very rare cases the formula is even used with a sing., cf. Heliod. 4,8,2 ἐπικεκλήσθω μάρτυς <…> Ἥλιος 'May the Sun be called to witness <…>'. The gesture of praying before execution is also paralleled in the Greek Novel, cf. Heliod. 8,9,11 Κἀπειδὴ τὴν πυρκαϊὰν ὡς ὅτι μεγίστην ἔνησαν οἱ δήμιοι καὶ τὴν φλόγα ὑποβαλόντων λαμπρῶς ἐξῆπτο, μικρὸν ἐνδοθῆναι αὐτῇ (cf. above sub 1, *Pass. Sergii*) πρὸς τῶν ἑλκόντων ἡ Χαρίκλεια παρακαλέσασα καὶ <…> τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν <…> ἀνατείνασα, (12) «Ἥλιε» ἀνεβόησε 'The executioners built a gigantic bonfire and then lit it. As the flames took hold, Charikleia begged a moment's grace from the guards who held her <…> and stretching her arms <…> prayed in a loud voice: "O Sun <…>"' (see 32, RA 42 comm.). Esp. in Asia Minor – as scholars pointed out long ago – pagan funerary inscriptions customarily appealed to τὸν (ἐπ)ουράνιον θεόν 'the god in heaven' to avenge injustice and prevent desecration of the grave, cf. W. Adolf, 'Griechische Grabinschriften aus Klein-Asien', *Sitzungsberichte Akad. Berlin*, 1932, p.847 ff.; H. Gregoire, *Inscriptiones Graecae Christianae, Asie Mineure* I, Paris; L. Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, pp.100-3,238,312.

3. *testificatio* ~ **HA(Gr)**.
   Though **HA(Gr)** takes us into the realm of complete subjectivity, *testari* 'to call God to witness' occurs at many other points in the *HA*, especially in the now following chapter 32 (which *RB* has either abridged or eliminated as far as possible):
   a. Tarsia's innocent death: 32, RA 42 (complaint of the *villicus*) '*Deus, tu scis, quia purus sum a sanguine Tharsiae*' (RB /);
   b. the prayer to God that he must act as an avenger between the *villicus* on the one hand and Dionysias on the other: 32, RA 12 *Esto iudex inter nos* (RB 12 *Esto iudex*);
   c. moreover, God must take vengeance for Tarsia on Dionysias: 32, RA 43 *requiras et vindices illam* (sc. Tharsiam) *in Dionysia* (RB /).

It is a curious fact that all these formulas can be paralleled in Greek, and often from a pagan source.

The final conclusion is clear: though **HA(Gr)** is far removed from **R(Gr)**, and the latter in turn from RA/RB, the element of *testificatio*/-ἐπιμαρτύρησις 'the art of calling (the gods) to witness' is authentic: as regards this key element the epitomator **R(Gr)** did not need to change much to move from a pagan θεός to a Christian θεός, which ultimately results in *deus* (RA/RB). (Klebs' doubts [pp.169-70] about the authenticity of the entire passus, advanced without any evidence, are wholly unfounded; the suggestion as to what could have taken place, p.226 n.1, requires no serious refutation.)

After all this there is no need for much commentary on the *RB* reading.

Peto (RB) as a formal request is in fact superfluous for the readers, given the general character of the *testificatio*. The construction is questionable: for *peto* + subjunct. without a conjunction, see OLD, s.v. *peto* (8.c); the normal construction is with *ut* (*ne*), cf. ibid. (8.b).

domine (RB): Replacing the vocative implied in *Vitae meae spes aut solatium* (RA). It is curious that Tarsia uses this term to a slave; perhaps she is compelled by the circumstances, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *dominus*: '(à des personnes quelconques)', but see 33, RA 21/RB 19 *domine*, said by (the free) Tarsia to the *leno* (comm.).

deum <…> **testari** (RB): The change to *deum* (*dominum* RA) probably has to do with the insertion of *domine*.

mihi <…> **permittas** (RB): For this change from *me testari* (RA), cf. 24, RA 17 <*Peto*> <…> *ut me permittas proficere* ~ RB 14 *Peto* <…> *ut permittas mihi proficisci*.

31, RA 36-38	Cui villicus ait: "Testare. Et deus ipse scit voluntate <me> mea hoc scelus non facere." 'The overseer replied: "Do pray. For God Himself knows that I do not commit this crime willingly."'
31, RB 24-25	Villicus ait: "Testare. Et deus scit coactum me hoc facturum scelus."

Testare. Et (RA/RB): This formulation makes a Greek impression: Μαρτυρῆσαι, καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸς οἶδε, in which καὶ tends towards the meaning 'for'. In connection with the phrasing as a whole, cf. Ljungvik, *Zur Syntax der spätgr. Volkssprache*, p.92; Festugière (1974), p.557.

voluntate mea <…> **non** (RA) ~ *coactum* (RB): *RB*'s formulation is terser and clearer, but the negative form of *RA* is frequent particularly in Xen. Eph., cf. *Less.*, s.v. ἑκών 'voluntary': Xen. Eph. 2,4,4 οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτε πεισθείην ἑκὼν 'Ανθίαν ἀδικῆσαι 'for she (sc. Manto) could never persuade me to do wrong against Anthia of my own free will', cf. id. 2,10,2; 3,3,6; 3,5,4; Heliod., 8,13,2 οὔτοι ἑκόντος ἐμοῦ, κελευομένου δὲ πρὸς 'Αρσάκης 'not that I enjoyed what I had to do, but such were Arsake's orders', cf. Long. 4,24,3. For further literary material (Soph., Arist.), see Robert, *Pionios*, p.58. Legal texts distinguish between φόνος ἑκούσιος and ἀκούσιος, cf. U. Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit*, Leipzig-Berlin 1927, p.499. E. Cantarella, 'Φόνος μὴ ἐκ προνοίας. Contributo alla storia dell'

elemento soggettivo nell' atto illecito'. Symposion 1971, Köln-Wien 1975 p.293 ff.

voluntas P, i.q. voluntate: This spelling may be very old, cf. Politzer, *Eight Century Lombardic Documents*, p.81, no.4: *pro bona voluntas* (c. 737), cf. Ital. volontà; for the *HA*, compare 10, RA 6 *vestra felicitas faciente* P (Ital. felicità). (The defence of *voluntas* **P** by Ljungvik [1926], p.44,1 on the basis of Late Greek texts is unfounded, cf. 31,RA 18 [comm.].)

facere (RA) ~ *facturum* (RB): *RA* is better, since the *villicus* regards the entire affair as an ἀνόσιον ἔργον 'impious intrigue' (cf. Achill. Tat. 7,3,7), *RB* only the final action, the murder.

CHAPTER 32

Chapter 32 occupies a central position in the *HA* as a whole and in its textual genesis. In terms of length, *RA* numbers 57 lines, *RB* 29. In terms of content, it is striking that *RA*, in a strict composition (RA 14 *Tunc Dionysia*; *RA* 28 *Stranguillio ut audivit*; *RA* 46 *Dionysia vero*), offers the most reliable information. Dionysias' attempt to involve her husband in the murder attempt (RA 14-27) and Stranguillio's reaction (RA 28-45) are lacking in *RB*. This mainly has to do with ancient beliefs and superstitions regarding the shedding of innocent blood (cf. *RA* 44 *requiras et vindices illam in Dionysia*), which *RB* has done his best to remove. In passing *RB* eliminates smaller 'Graecisms' and intrusive elements (Apollonius as *rex*). The funeral itself is formally modified by *RB* (14-29). With his digest of the content of **R(Gr)**, *RA* can be said to have found an acceptable form for his readership, despite problems. *RB* proves a literalist.

Separate items of interest are: Christian language in RA: (RA 20) *afflictio luctus*. Despite his endeavour to write classically, postclassical words occur in *RB* too: (RB 11) *aporiatus*. Remarkable examples in *RB* of abridgement on the one hand and literary rendering on the other are: (RA 2) *exclamaverunt dicentes* ~ (RB 2) *exclamaverunt*, cf. 46, RA 20 ~ RB 19; 50, RA 7/RB 6; (RA 3-4) *nostra praeda* <…> *tua victima* ~ (RB 3-4) *praeda nostra* <…> *tua victima*; literary erudition: (RB 17) *nudo et livido pectore*.

A striking feature is the large number of Latin words easily translatable to Greek in those parts which *RB* has eliminated or abridged/expurgated: thus e.g. (from *RA* 14-45): (RA 15) *ingressa* (? εἰσελθοῦσα); (RA 17) *furia* (? μανία); (RA 19) *ex quo* (ἐξ οὗ); (RA 31) *suscepissem* (? ὑποδέχομαι); (RA 35) *pro* (? ἀντί); (RA 35) *quasi* (? ὡς); (RA 39) *imponeret* (? ἐντίθημι ὄνομα); (RA 43) *vindices* (? ἐκδικέω); (uit 46-53): (RA 51) *(sepelire) fecimus* (ποιέω); (RA 51) *figuratum fuerat* (ἐσχηματισμένον ἦν). The abridgements contain the texts relevant to **HA(Gr)**: (RA 11) *ne iratos dominum et dominam* (Gr. κεχολωμένους) *sentias*; (RA 43) *requiras et vindices illam* (ἀναζητέω, ἐκδικέω) (*RB* /).

(The *HA* dossier and a possible relation of **HA(Gr)** with a Greek source require some comments here on an article by A.H. Krappe 'Euripides' Alcmaeon and the Apollonius Romance', *CLQ* XVIII (1924), pp.57-8. This article argues that a group of episodes (cc.32-34 a king's daughter sold into slavery; cc.40-41 recognition of father and daughter; c.49 recognition of king and wife presumed dead) go back to one of Euripides' lost tragedies Αλκμέων ὁ διὰ Κορίνθου 'Alcmeon at Corinth', cf. R. Kannicht, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, vol. V.1, Göttingen 2004, pp.211-3. A

brief summary is found in Apoll., *Bibl.* III.7,7. A reconstruction is offered by T. Zielinski, '*De Alcmeonis Corinthii Fabula Euripidea*', *Mnem.* L (1922), pp.304-27. This hypothesis is highly questionable and based – if such a term can be used – on standard motifs in both tragedy and the Greek Novel. The author himself lists 4 points which already show that, apart from some trivial similarities, there can be no question of any real connection. The hypothesis has in fact found little support. S. Trenkner, *The Greek Novella in the Classical Period*, Cambridge 1958, pp.39-41 confirms the common basic material, but still endorses the final conclusion 'that the author of the *Historia Apollonii* copied Euripides'. But the most balanced and negative judgement is provided by H. van Looy, *Zes Verloren Tragedies van Euripides*, Brussel 1964, p.105 n.4 (in translation): 'However, the texture of the Hist. Apoll. is so complicated that it makes little sense to point to E. for one particular plot line, especially when the New Comedy numbered so many romantic comedies of intrigue, children lost or presumed dead…' The present author endorses this opinion. In terms of narrative structure, order of actions, main characters and subordinate roles and above all in terms of motivation, the *HA* has a structure all of its own. The Greek phraseology, where preserved in the fragments, also rules out a relationship. In the following commentary I will therefore ignore this wild suggestion.)

32, RA 1 Itaque puella cum dominum deprecatur, subito advenerunt pirat<ae> 'While the girl was praying to the Lord, pirates suddenly arrived.'

32, RB 1 Et cum puella deum deprecaretur, subito pirátae apparuérunt (*v.*)

Itaque (RA) ~ *Et cum* (RB), cf. 29, RA 1 *Itaque* ~ RB 1 *Interea* (comm.)

dominum deprecatur (RA) ~ *deum deprecaretur*, cf. 31, RA 36 *testari dominum* ~ RB 23 *testari deum* <…>: *Deprecari* is synonymous here with *testari* and simply means *precari*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *deprecari*: Aug., *Contra litt. Petil.* 1,29,31 *deprecor Deum*; for *cum* + *ind.* (RA), cf. 1, RA/RB *cum luctatur* (comm.).

subito (RA/RB), cf. 2, RA 1 *Subito* ~ *cumque* (RB): Aptly used here in a raid. (*Itaque* <…> *deprecatur* (RA) ~ *Et cum* <…> *deprecaretur* (RB). Naturally Klebs, p.190 deletes both readings.)

pirat<ae> (RA) ~ *piratae* (RB): The spelling *pirates* **P** occurs elswhere too (44, RA 18 *pyrates superveniunt* **P** [RB 16 *piratis supervenientibus*]; also in

the secondary recension *RC* [Schmeling, p.109,1] *pirates applicantes* **Va**). This could be explaiend as a morphological phenomenon, a metaplasm (cf. Blatt, *Acta Andreae*, p.45,21 *nautes*). It seems more plausible to assume a scribal error due to the following *videntes* (as in 44, RA 18 due to *superveniunt*): l.5 normally has *pirate* **P**. Theoretically there is no way of establishing the underlying Greek term: πειρατής or λῃστής: frequency in the Greek Novel suggests λῃστής (cf. *Less.*, s.v.: Charit. 28x; Xen. Eph. 33x; Achill. Tat. 67x; Long. 9x; Heliod. 28x: for πειρατής: Charit. 2x; Xen. Eph. 10x; Achill. 3x. [Among novelists the term καταποντιστής 'one who throws into the sea' occurs only in Heliod. 1,8,2; 6,2,4, cf. LSJ, s.v.]). These figures also show that pirate raids are a τόπος in the Novel. They thus reflect reality, where piracy was rife, especially in the form of forays. The Greek Novel, following Homer, mainly depicted the Phoenicians as involved in piracy. In particular Tyre was seen as an operating base, cf. Xen. Eph. 1,14,6 κατήχθησαν εἰς πόλιν τῆς Φοινίκης Τύρον, ἔνθα ἦν τοῖς πειραταῖς τὰ οἰκεῖα 'They (namely: the pirates) put in at Tyre in Phoenicia, where the pirates had their home.' The Greek Novel presents them as speaking Greek: we never hear about language problems or interpreters. Greeks and Phoenicians understand each other by dramatic convention, cf. below *RA* 3-4/RB 2-4. For more information, cf. Fr. Briquel-Chatonnet 'L'image des Phéniciens dans les romans grecs' in: Baslez (1992), pp.169-79. (Klebs, pp.302-3 traces this place back to the 'lateinischen Dichter der Palliata' and p.303 to the 'novellistische Schulthemata der römischen Rhetorik'). The scene under discussion offers a sound argument for situating Lycoris' grave near the shore and sea (cf. 38, RB 4 [comm.]), otherwise the pirates could not have seen and thwarted the assassination attempt or carried off Tarsia so rapidly.

32, RA 2-3 et videntes hominem armata manu velle percutere, exclamaverunt dicentes: 'And seeing a man with a weapon in his hand, about to strike, they called out, saying:'

32, RB 1-2 et videntes puellam sub iugo mortis stare, exclamaverunt: 'And seeing a girl under the joke of death, they cried:'

hominem armata (sc. pugione) **manu velle percutere** (RA) ~ *puellam sub iugo mortis stare* (RB): An elegant deflection of gruesome reality. *RB* also eliminates *percutere* (RA) in 31, RB 19. Following Riese (1893) and Schmeling (1988), we might feel inclined to supply *eam* in the combination *velle percutere* RA, in view of 31, RA 31 *Et cum eam vellet percutere* ~ RB 19 *Et dum vellet interficere eam*. Strictly speaking, this is unnecessary.

iugum mortis bβπ: According to Klebs, p.273, this phrase has 'ganz den üblen Geruch eines Semitismus, obwohl sich aus der Vulgata nur der übertragene Gebrauch von *sub iugo* belegen läßt', cf. Jer. 27:8, 11 *sub iugo regis Babylonis*; 1 Tim. 6:1 *Quicumque sunt sub iugo servi* (see also *Concordans*, s.v. *iugum*). ThLL VII,2 642,3-6 cannot help either. The actual expression is found in Petr. Chrysol. (bishop of Ravenna 406-450, very popular in Rome), *Serm.* 84 (Migne, P.L. 52, p.438[A]) *ad sublevandum cunctis exsecrabile mortis iugum*. Perhaps it can be traced back to Sen., *Epist.* 80,5 *Libera te primum metu mortis* (*illa nobis iugum imponit*), *deinde metu paupertatis* (quoted ThLL, loc. cit., 641,61). The image itself *stare sub iugo mortis* seems very apt, almost descriptive, in this situation. Hagiographers often speak of *in articulo mortis* or *in ictu passionis*. Failure to understand the expression is illustrated by the attempt at correction in early French and English editions '*puellam sub iugo montis stare*' (labelled a 'Druckfehler' by Klebs, p.372).

iugulum M: This reading should also be seen as a clarification of *iugum mortis* **bβπ**; *iugulum* passes from the meaning 'collarbone' (cf. OLD, s.v. 1 'clavicle') to 'throat' (cf. OLD, s.v. 2) and hence, metonymically, to 'murder' (cf. OLD, s.v. 3 'slaughter'). This last sense comes to prevail in Christian and Merovingian Latin, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *iugulum* 'meurtre'; Script. rer. Merov. V 517,25; 518,31; 519,13; 528,5 (i.e. *nex*). In Spanish Latinity this meaning mainly occurs in Julian of Toledo (for the provenance of *M*, cf. ed. m. [1984], p.47).

exclamaverunt dicentes (RA) ~ *exclamaverunt* (RB): This reduction by *RB* is highly significant, since *RA* probably involves a direct Graecism, presumably introduced by **R(Gr)**, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. λέγω (8.a): 'Hebraismus, wenn auch keineswegs auf das A.T. beschränkt <…>, ist das reichliche Gebrauch von λέγων zur Einführung der direkten Rede, obgleich ein Verbum des Sagens oder eines solches, das eine Aussage in sich schließt, vorausgeht. Besonders λέγων wird, wie bei LXX, so gebraucht, z.B. nach ἀναβοᾶν, ἀνακράζειν etc.' For a similar reaction by RB, remarkably consistent in this, see 46, RA 20 *clamaverunt dicentes* ~ RB 19 *dixerunt* and 50, RA 7/RB 6 *item*.

exclamaverunt (RA/RB): The act itself and the description of this kidnap is typical of pirate raids, cf. Achill. Tat. 2,18,4 ἐξαίφνης βοῶντες συντρέχουσι <…> ἁρπάζουσιν τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ ἐνθέμενοι τῷ σκάφει (cf. below *collantes*, note), ἐμβάντες εὐθὺς ὄρνιθος δίκην ἀφίπτανται. <…> τὸ δὲ πλοῖον ἤδη μέσην ἐπέραινε τὴν θάλασσαν (cf. *RA* 6 *altum petierunt pelagus*) 'Suddenly pirates ran at us, shouting <…> they grabbed my sister and put her in the boat and took to flight quick as a bird <Those who had seen, what happened, cried out "Pirates have kidnapped

Kalligone.”> But by that time the boat was already out in the midsea.’ See also descriptions in Xen. Eph. 1,13; Long. 2,20,4.

32, RA 3-4 “Parce, barbare, parce et noli occidere! Haec enim nostra praeda est et non tua victima!” ‘“Spare her, you thug, spare her, don’t kill her! This girl is booty for us, not your victim!”’

32, RB 2-4 “Crudelissime barbare, parce! Tibi dico, qui ferrum tenes. Haec enim praeda nostra est, et non tua victima!”

Parce <…> **parce et noli occidere** (RA): Gemination and so-called polar expression convey the urgent command. *Parce* here has the meaning ‘spare her’ ([?] Gr. φείδου / φεῖσαι) rather than ‘refrain from killing’ (Konstan, loc. cit. ‘forbear to strike’). This kind of gemination occurs frequently in hagiography; cf. Mombr. I 540,5 (*Febronia*): *amator hominum, iudex, parce, parce puellae*. For the occurrence of gemination in Greek (there called ἀναδίπλωτις ‘duplication’), cf. Rydén (1970), p.51. It is particularly favoured by Late Greek hagiographers.

barbare (RA) ~ *crudelissime barbare* (RB): To be taken in the sense of ‘cruel, fierce’ ‘savage’, cf. OLD, s.v. *barbarus*, adi. (3); subst. (2). This secondary meaning also occurs in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. βάρβαρος (b): ‘crudele’; Achill. Tat. 5,25,6 ἄπιστε καὶ βάρβαρε ‘You treacherous, savage man!’ In fact it seems comical that pirates, notorious for their ruthless barbarity (Cic., *S. Rose*, 146 *pirata barbarus*), use the term *barbare* here to address others: this will have brought a smile to readers’ lips, like the king who swears by his well-being regarding a salutary bath (14, RA/RB 2) and the physician who swears by the hope of his life (26, RA 17/RB 16). There is no need to hypothesize that *barbarus* should be taken in its original sense of ‘non-Greek-speaking’ (cf. OLD, s.v. *barbarus*, 1) in relation to a presumably Asian Minor slave: the pirates have not yet heard Theophilus speak. *RB* has probably added *crudelissime* to preclude this meaning.

tibi dico, qui ferrum tenes (RB) ‘I am calling to you, who holds the sword’. The phrase *tibi dico* (**β**; *dico om.* **b**; *tibi dicimus* **Mπ**) is very popular, cf. Short & Lewis, s.v. *dico* (10): ‘Espec. freq. *tibi* (*ego*) *dico* I tell you’, esp. in comedy (Plaut., *Curc.* 4,2,30; *Bacch.* 4,9,76; *Men.* 2,3,37; Terent., *Andr.* 1,2,35; 4,4,23; *Eun.* 2,3,46; Phaedr. 4,19,18), but also in higher literature. Also in pl. (Ov., *Her.* 20,153 *tibi dicimus*; *Met.* 9,122), cf. ThLL V,1 969,29 (with exx. from Cic., Liv., Priapea, Sen., Petron., Vet. Lat., Vulg., Carm. Epigr.). It corresponds to σοὶ λέγω, also highly popular, cf. Heraeus, *Kleine Schriften*,

p.113; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. II d. 'beteuern' 'versichern'; Headlam (on Herondas 4,42). So in theory *RB* could have drawn this addition from **R(Gr)**, but in practice this is most unlikely, since the expression is also favoured in hagiography (Momb. I 367,2; II 68,8; 133,14; 252,6; 363,36; 420,11, etc.). For *ferrum* (i.e. *pugionem*), cf. OLD, s.v. *ferrum* (2.3).

nostra praeda <…> **tua victima** (RA) ~ *praeda nostra* <…> *tua victima* (RB): *RB* could not resist this chiasmus.

32, RA 4-5 Sed ut audivit villicus vocem, eam dimittit et fugit et coepit latere post monumentum. 'When the overseer heard this shout he let Tarsia go, and ran away and hid behind the tomb.'

32, RB 4-5 Villicus voce piratae territus fugit post monumentum.

RB has confined himself to the factual details.

audivit <…> **vocem** (RA) ~ *voce piratae territus* (RB): An elegant conversion by *RB*, in which *piratae* should be taken collectively (cf. above: *tibi dico*, sing.). The change to *pyratarum* **π** is actually unnecessary.

eam dimittit et fugit et coepit latere (RA) ~ *fugit* (RB): In *RA*'s expansive narration *coepit latere* is periphrastic for *latebat/latuit*, cf. 1, RA 17 *coepit celare* = *celabat*, and has again been tampered with by *RB* (see comm. ad loc.) and changed to *cupit celare*. After *post monumentum*, **P** again reads *villicus*: though there are examples of such repetitions both in Latin and in Greek, there is little point to a *repetitio* at such short distance, cf. 32, RA 10 *insuper*, repeated in 11 *et insuper opus tuum* **P**; because *RA* himself repeats the sentences with minor changes here, **P** has lost his bearings.

32, RA 5-6 Piratae applicantes ad litus tulerunt virginem et collantes altum petierunt pelagus. 'The pirates put in to the shore, took the girl and, hoisting the sails, they sailed off, making for the open sea.'

32, RB 5-6 Piratae applicantes ad litus tulerunt virginem et alto pélago petiérunt (*v.*).

applicantes (RA/RB): sc. navem, cf. 28, RA/RB 1 *applicuit Tharsos* (RA: *Tharso* RB); ThLL II 297,66-70 (examples of *adplicare ad*). A Greek sub-

strate term is highly subjective: (?) ὀκέλλω ‘to run a ship aground/on shore’; (?) προσορμίζω (τὴν ναῦν) ‘to bring a ship to anchor’, cf. LSJ, ss.vv. Obviously this was a tense moment, cf. Quint., *Declam.* 388, p.437,4 *Denique quo tempore mersus? dum applicant piratae, an ante?* (repeated 3x). Pirates liked to use a special kind of boat, ἡμιολίαι λῃστρικαί (Arr., *An.* 3,2,5), cf. LSJ, s.v. ἡμιολία ναῦς ‘light vessel with one and half banks of oars’. They could thus install an afterdeck for fighting from, cf. Schönberger, p.182 (on Long. 1,28,1). The hiding of booty was also made easier. In addition they had the μυοπάρων, ‘a light pirate boat’, cf. L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, Princeton 1971, pp.129-132.

tulerunt (RA/RB): i.q. *abstulerunt*.

collantes (RA) ~ (RB /): The **P** text offers collãtes, which can only mean *collantes*. In his desk copy Heraeus (1893) refers to *Vet. Lat.* (d, codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis, early 5th c.) Acts 21:3 *collavimus in Syriam* (Gr. ἐπλέομεν εἰς Συρίαν; Vulg. *navigabamus* [*-vimus* v.l.]). This verb itself is unknown in classical Latinity: official lexicons, including ThLL, do not record it. It was probably used dialectically in sailor parlance in the sense of *vela dare* (cf. Provenc. ‘colar’ [= ‘tirer en haut’ ‘hisser les voiles’]; Catal. ‘collar’). A good reference from the early period is probably provided by *Excid. Troiae* (ed. Atwood) 31,2 *in navibus occulte collectis omnibus divitiis meis collavi et ad Siciliam devoluta sum*. For later references, cf. Du Cange, s.v. *collare* (example from 1174); G. Alessio, ‘Varietà lat. volg. *collare e *tirare’, *Paideia* 6, 1951, pp.208-10 (with references to various Romance sources); E. Svenberg ‘Glanures romanes dans les lunaria latins’, *Mélanges de philologie romane offerts à M. Karl Michaëlsson*, Göteborg 1952, p.453, s.v. *collare*; idem, *Lunaria et zodiologica*, Göteborg 1963, p.108,11. In my view, this makes the transmitted reading perfectly acceptable, certainly in an Italian codex like **P** (cf. ed. m. [1984], pp.31-34). It is unclear to what extent this *collantes* goes back to Greek (and so possibly to **R(Gr)** or even **HA(Gr)**): etymology and origin (? χαλάω ‘tp slacken’ ‘to loosen’) are highly obscure, cf. LSJ, s.v. χαλάω: ‘χαλάω τὸν πόδα, of a ship’ and LSJ, s.v. πούς (II), ‘in a ship’ (said of the corner of a sail). Compare also Gelzer (1893), *Wörterverzeichniss*, s.v. χαλάω. For more material on the medieval lexicons, derivatives in the Romance languages and etymological explanations, see the interesting note in Garbugino, p.99 n.25.

But we should also mention that there are two very attractive conjectures, viz. *colligantes* (Bonnet, Riese) and *collocantes* (Rossbach, Schmeling), cf. ed. m. (1984), p.346 (app. crit.). These do presuppose some textual corruption (*coll<ig>antes* ‘tying up’ and *coll<oc>antes* ‘throwing her in their ship’). The conjecture *collocantes* is supported by 27, RA 22

collocavit (comm.). Both are easily translated to Greek, *colligo* ~ συνδέω and *colloco* ~ συντίθημι. For the Greek Novel, cf. Long. 2,17,3 οἱ Μηθυμναῖοι <…> ἦγον τὸν Δάφνιν πάλιν καὶ συνδεῖν ἤθελον 'The Methymneans <…> dragged Daphnis away, wanting to tie him up.' For συντίθημι, compare (with a small difference in preposition, but with the same meaning) Achill. Tat. 5,7,2 οἱ δὲ ἐνθέμενοι τῷ σκάφει τὴν κόρην ἔφευγον 'They put the girl in their boat and tried to escape' (see also id. 2,18,4 cited under 32, RA 2-3 *exclamaverunt*); Xen. Eph. 5,6,4 ἐνθέμενοι δὲ πάντα τὰ αὑτῶν νηὶ ἀνήγοντο εἰς Ἔφεσον 'They put all their goods in a ship and sailed for Ephesus', cf. id. 5,11,1.

altum petierunt pelagus (RA) ~ *alto pélago petiérunt* **b**, **β** (before correction): *RA* offers the standard formulation, cf. 38, RA 19 *altum pelagus petiit*, a highly poetic phrase probably drawn from Verg., *Aen*. 9.81 *pelagi petere alta* (RB *aliter*, cf. comm.). Greeks also talk about πέλαγος μετέωρον, cf. Long. 2,14 ἡ παλίρροια τοῦ κύματος αὐτὴν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος μετέωρον ἔφερεν 'The backwash of the waves carried the boat out to the open sea.' *RB* has a range of corrective readings: **bβ** (before correction) prefer a highly poetic final dat., of the type Verg., *Aen.* 5,451 *it clamor caelo*; later **β** prefers *alta pelagi*, cf. Verg., *Aen.* 9,81 *et pelagi petere alta parabat*. The *RA* reading is found in *altum pelagus* **π**; the metaplastic form *pelagum* (as acc.) is found in *altum pelagum* **M** (perhaps influenced by *altum*), cf. OLD, s.v. *pelagus* (forms).

32, RA 6-8 Villicus post moram <r>ediit et, ut vidit puellam raptam a morte, deo gratias egit, quod non fecit scelus. 'After waiting a while, the overseer came back: when he saw that the girl had been snatched from death, he thanked God that he had not committed a crime.'

32, RB 6-7 Villicus post moram exiit et videns puellam raptam a morte, egit deo gratias, quod non fecisset scelus.

post moram (RA/RB), cf. *morari* 'to hide', cf. OLD, s.v. *morari* (7): 'to wait'; the reading *mortem* **β** is perhaps not a misreading, but can be explained as an *abstract. pro concreto*, i.e. *mors* = *mortuum* = *monumentum mortui*, cf. OLD, s.v. *mors* (5): 'applied by metonymy to a dead body': Prop. 2,13,22 *nec sit in Attalico mors mea nixa toro*; Plin., *Nat.* 14,119 *vitis* <…> *quam* <…> *iuxta hominis mortes laqueo pependerit*; Stat., *Theb.* 9,29 *desertas* <…> *sine funere mortis*. The reading *post modum* **Mπ** 'after a while' is the most common.

<r>ediit (RA) ~ *exiit* (RB): *RA* is based on a conjecture by Riese, **P** reading *petiit*, which perhaps arises from l.6 *petierunt*. Clearly *re-* must be taken in a weak sense: 'he re-emerged'; *exiit* (RB) should also be interpreted generally: 'emerged'.

raptam a morte (RA/RB): A common phrase for *ereptam a/de morte*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *rapio* (2): 'être emporté (par la mort, poet. class.)'. It is much favoured by Christian authors: Vulg., Ps. 55:13 *quoniam eripuisti animam meam de morte*; Aug., *Nat. et or.*, 1,12,15 *hinc raptus*, cf. Ambr., *Obit. Th.* 1; Zacch., *Epist.* 1,14 (Migne 89, p.1081[A]) (Iesus) *rapturus a morte alios, morte non caruit*.

deo gratias egit (RA) ~ *egit deo gratias* (RB): Klebs, p.190 deletes this phrase (of course!) without any reasons given.

fecit (RA) ~ *fecisset* (RB): Almost a must for *RB*!

32, RA 8-9	Et reversus ad dominam suam ait: "Quod precepisti, factum est: comple, quod mihi promiseras." 'He went back to his mistress and said: "What you ordered, has been done. Fulfil your promise to me."'
32, RB 7	Et reversus ad sceleratam ait: "Quod precepisti, domina, factum est; comple, quod promisisti."

dominam (RA) : *sceleratam* (RB): An elegant change by *RB* (cf. 31, RA 16 *scelesta* ~ RB 11 *scelerata* comm.) with a view to the address *domina*.

quod precepisti, factum est (RA/RB): A standard formulation, cf. Suet., *Tib.* 22 *Factum esse, quod imperasset*, cf. id., *Claud.* 29; Tac., *Ann.* 1,6 *Nuntianti centurioni, ut mos militiae, factum esse quod imperasset, neque imperasse sese et rationem facti reddendam aput senatum respondit* (sc. Tiberius); Luke 14:20 *quod praecepisti, factum est* (Gr. γέγονεν ὃ ἐπέταξας); Greg. Tur., *Acta Thomae* (ed. Bonnet, Supplem. codicis apocryphi I), *Miracula* p.103,11 *quod praecepisti iam expletum est*.

comple (RA/RB): Likewise in Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. πληρόω (6) 'to fulfil'; Arr., *Epict.* 2,9,3 τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, τὰς ὑποσχέσεις; also in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. πληρόω: Heliod. 3,4,10 πλήρου τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν 'keep your side of the bargain'.

promiseras (RA) ~ *promisisti* (RB): Like *RB*, classical Latin would have used the perfect. Late Latin is more relaxed, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.* § 301.

32, RA 9-10	Scelesta mulier ait: “Homicidium fecisti, insuper et libertatem petis? ‘The wicked woman replied: “You have committed a murder, do you expect freedom on top of that?’
32, RB 9	Scelerata ait: “Quid narras, latro ultime? Homicidium fecisti et libertatem petis?

Scelesta (RA) ~ *Scelerata* (RB), cf. 31, RA 16/RB 11 (comm.).

homicidium fecisti (RA/RB): A stock expression, cf. Petron. 137,6 *si homicidium fecissem* (Plin., *Nat.* 18,12; Quintill., *Instit.* 3,10,1; Tacit., *Germ.* 21,1).

insuper et (RA) ~ *et* (RB): Dionysias’ indignation (‘over and above that’) is reduced to a reasonable level (‘and yet’).

Quid narras, latro ultime? (RB): RB heightens the indignation; for the expression itself, cf. 25, RA 23/RB 17 *Quid narras, pessime hominum?*; for *latro*, cf. OLD, s.v. (b): ‘as a term of reproach’; Ulpian., *Dig.* 28,2 *de liberis <…> exheredandis* (Mommsen I 373): *si pepercerit ‘filium’ dicere <…> et si cum convicio dixerit ‘non nominandus’ vel ‘non filius meus’ ‘latro’ ‘gladiator’*. For *ultimus* as a term of abuse, cf. OLD, s.v. *ultimus* (9) ‘lowest, meanest’ (b): ‘as an abusive form of address’: Apul., *Met.* 3,16 *tune, ultima, non cessas <…> capillamenta surripere*; id., *Apol.* 85 *tune, ultime, <…>?* Though Greek also uses ἔσχατος in this sense (cf. LSJ, s.v. I,3 ‘of persons, *lowest, meanest*’), there is little reason to assume a Greek model for *RB* here.

32, RA 10-11	Revertere ad villam et opus tuum facito, ne iratos dominum et dominam sentias!” ‘Go back to the farm and get on with your work, or you will feel the wrath of your master and mistress!”’
32, RB 10-11	Repete ad villam et opus tuum fac, ne iratum deum et dominum tuum sentias!”

Revertere <…> facito (RA) ~ *Repete <…> fac* (RB): Both changes are probably made for the same reason, viz. that certain kinds of Latin (Vulgar, Christian, Late Latin) preferred longer, heavier forms, in contrast to classical Latin. A likely factor in the change *revertere* ~ *repete* is that *revertor* is

deponent, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *revertor*: 'plus rare en ce sens que *reverto*'; Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 294 (for the obsolescence of deponents as a whole). For *repete ad* **bβ**, cf. OLD, s.v. *repeto* (1.b) (intr.): 'to make one's way back': *Culex* 105 *capellae* <…> *repetebant ad vada lymphae*, a very rare construction (cf. ThLL I 476,84); hence the normalization *repete villam* **Mπ**, cf. OLD, s.v. *repeto* (1.a) 'to return to' (regarded by Klebs, p.27 as 'die richtige Lesart', cf. Schmeling [1988], p.66,5).

facito (RA) ~ *fac* (RB): Of the two imperatives which Latin had, the so-called future imperat. lived on artifically in later Latin, mainly in legal and sacral formulations, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 308. For the *HA*, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. imperativus II. Interesting material is provided by OLD, s.v. *facio*, in the various sections. With some examples from Plaut. and Terent., it is chiefly recorded for Cato. The major authors are all but absent (Ov., *Met.* 9,377 *lac facitote bibat*; *Ars* 1,145 *facito studiose requiras*). In particular archaic inscriptions are cited. Interestingly, in connection with the *HA*, this form is also used in an educational context: Nigid., *Gramm.* 10 si '*huius amici*' scribas, unum *i* facito extremum. The form *facito* is found in hagiography too, cf. Martyrium beati Petri 31,10 *facito me nosse* (cf. Salonius, p.48). This material sufficiently clarifies both the occurrence of *facito* in *RA* and *RB*'s reasons for simplifying to *fac*. (The question whether **b**, erasing, fac//i/ (cf. ed. m. [1984], ad loc.), originally wrote *facito* in some form is purely academic: he erased!)

ne iratos dominum et dominam sentias (RA) ~ *ne iratum deum et dominum tuum sentias* **b**. *RA*'s formulation repeats the threat uttered earlier 31, RA 17 *Sin alias, sentias esse contra te iratos dominum et dominam*. It is in fact the most obvious argument. The text in *RB* has undergone many changes, both as a result of the situation and owing to the spelling, which has led to alteration in many places within codd.: ds̃ = *deus*; dñs = *dominus* (in both senses: God and master). Thus we find *(ne) iratum deum et dominum tuum (sentias)* **b**; *deum tuum et me* **β**; *dominum tuum et me* **Mπ**. The original argument read: 31, RB 21 *Sin alias, sententias me iratam*. It is very difficult to make a decision here. Riese (1893), Klebs (pp.27,219), Schmeling (p.66,6) argue for **Mπ** (= 31, RA 17). But perhaps Dionysias also involves in the discussion the god to whom Theophilus and Tarsia had just prayed. Since **b** is very reliable in general, his reading has been incorporated in the text.

32, RA 11-12

Villicus itaque, ut audivit, elevans ad caelum oculos dixit: 'When the overseer heard that, he raised his eyes to heaven and said:'

32, RB 11-12 Villicus aporiatus ibat et levans manus suas ad dominum dixit:

itaque, ut audivit, (RA) ~ *aporiatus ibat* (RB): The *RA* reading seems a stopgap at first sight: Riese (1893), Praef. VI, n.1, regarded these words as corrupt. Yet they belong in a fluent, popular story as a link between events. It does explain why *RB* wanted changes here. Following the standard procedure, he retains as far as possible the shape of the words offered by *RA* (cf. Introd. III.5). His explanatory correction is a typically Christian phrase, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *aporior* (ἀπορέω): '*aporiatus*, dans l'embarras, dans l'anxiété'. (OLD does not include this word. Obviously Klebs, p.229,273 is compelled to delete this word as post-classical. It seems unnecessary to conjecture that this isolated word goes back to a Greek model, cf. *Less.*, s.v. ἀπορέω, ἀπορία. One might say that *RB* has attempted a Greek colouring.)

aporiatus (RB), cf. 34, RB 27 *et aporiatus iuvenis ait*: As Klebs, p.273 already observed (he therefore considered it an interpolation), this verb is recorded only for Christian authors, cf. ThLL II 252,1-14; ed. m. (1984), p.117; Garbugino, p.95 n.14.
elevans ad caelum oculos (RA) ~ *levans manus suas ad dominum* (RB): For Theophilus' reaction, vindicating his name, cf. 31, RA 24 *intuens caelum*. These words have no found favour in the eyes of Klebs, who deletes the entire passus (32, RA 11 *Villicus itaque* – 13 *iudex inter nos*) as 'Zusatz des christlichen Bearbeiters' (Klebs, p.271, Anm. 1). *RB*'s reasons for changing are less clear: did he prefer the more ancient – and at the same time more Christian – attitude of prayer?

32, RA 12-13 "Tu scis, deus, quod non feci scelus. Esto iudex inter nos." Et ad villam suam abiit. '"You know, God, that I have not committed a crime. Be the judge between us."'

32, RB 11-12 "Deus, tu scis, quod non feci scelus. Esto iudex." Et reversus <est> ad villam.

A crucial sentence for **HA(Gr)** and its textual genesis in all the stages **R(Gr)**, **RA** and **RB**. The present formulation in *RA* certainly betrays Christian influence, cf. 1 Kgs. 24:16 *Sit Dominus iudex et iudicet inter me et te*; cf. Vulg., *Gen.* 16:5 *iudicet Dominus inter me et te* (LXX κρίναι ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ σοῦ). Klebs, p.271 also observes this Christian slant (but then wrongly decides to delete). The question is: what underlies this formulation? It is clearly a prayer for revenge of innocently shed blood,

in which God must make a retaliatory decision (cf. 32, RA 43 *Deus, tu scis, quia purus sum a sanguine Tharsiae et requiras et vindices illam* [sc. Tharsiam] *in Dionysia*) between the guilty (in this case Dionysias) and the just (here Theophilus). The passus thus belongs to the category of prayers for revenge to the Sun, after the words in Hom., *Il.* 3,277 Ἠέλιος θ', ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις! 'And You, Sun, who see and hear all things' and must therefore act as avenger, particularly for the vulnerable in society: Hom., *Od.* 13,213-214 Ζεὺς σφέας τίσαιτο ἱκετήσιος, ὅς τε καὶ ἄλλους | ἀνθρώπους ἐφορᾷ καὶ τίνυται ὅς τις ἁμάρτῃ 'May Zeus, protector of suppliants, take vengeance for them, Zeus, who observes mankind and punishes whomsoever makes a mistake.' The same note is heard in the Greek Novels: Xen. Eph. 5,11,4 ὦ τὰ πάντων »ἔφησε« ἀνθρώπων ἐφορῶν, Ἥλιε 'Sun, who observes the interests of all men'; Heliod. 8,9,11 ἡ Χαρικλεία <…> τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν <…> ἀνατείνασα "Ἥλιε" ἀνεβόησε 'Charikleia <…> stretched her arms to the sky and prayed in a loud voice: "O Sun"', cf. id. 4,13,1; 8,13,4. Recent years in particular have seen the publication of many interesting books and articles on this conception of God (see list of literature). It is clear that in this regard, too, **HA(Gr)** firmly belongs to the domain of the Greek Novel (cf. Calderini, pp.135,176). **R(Gr)** has incorporated onlythe general information in his epitome.

Esto iudex inter nos (RA) ~ *Esto iudex* (RB): *RA* evidently means *esto iudex inter te* (dominam meam) *et me* (servum), cf. 1 Kgs. 24:16 (quoted in previous note). Clearly *RB*'s reduction has eliminated the point of the divine judgement, inasmuch as it takes place between the guilty and the innocent. *RB* is incidentally a good example of how lack of understanding can gradually mutilate a text: (*Deus, tu scis quod non feci*) *scelus: esto iudex* **b**; *scelus istud, iudex* **β**; *scelus istud* **Mπ**.

ad villam suam abiit (RA) ~ *reversus* <*est, om.* **b**> *ad villam* (RB): The omission of *suam* betrays *RB*'s legal bent, cf. Introd. VII.2: the replacement of *(ab)ire* by *reverti* (cf. above *RA* 10 *revertere*) argues for his linguistic sensibility, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 141. A conjecture for *habiit* (i.q. *abiit*) **P**, as proposed by Schmeling (p.24,16 rediit *scripsi ex RB* [or at least **βMπ**, cf. ibid., p.66,8]; see also *Notes*, p.149 [on ed. 24,16]), is completely unnecessary, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *abeo* (1) 's'en aller'. Also, it could be a direct translation of ἄπειμι, cf. *Less.*, s.v. (1) 'andarsene'. In theory *reversus* **b** could be defended as a *part. pro verbo finito*, cf. 9, RA 16 (comm.). An omission of *ē* seems simpler.

Literature on the 'Sun god':

H. Achelis, 'Spuren des Urchristentums auf den griechischen Inseln', *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*, Berlin, I, xxxx, p.91

id., 'Das Rachegebet von Amorgos', *BCH* 25 (1901), p.416 ff.

J. Bidez ~ F. Cumont, *Les mages hellénises*, Tome I, Introduction, Paris 1938, p.184.

G. Björck, *Der Fluch des Christen Sabinus. Papyrus Upsaliensis 8*, Uppsala 1938, *passim*

F. Bömer, *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom*, Vol. 4 (Wiesbaden 1963), pp.201-5

A. Calderini, *Caritone di Afrodisia*, Milano-Roma 1913, pp.135,176

F. Cumont, 'Il Sole vindice dei delitti ed il simbolo delle mani alzate', *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, 3, Serie 1, 1923, pp.65-80

id., 'Nuovi epitafi col simbolo della preghiera al dio vindice', *Rend. Pontif. Acc. Arch.* 5 (1926/7)

id., *Syria* 14, 1933, pp.392-5

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32, RA 14-16 Tunc Dionysia apud semet ipsam consili<ata> pro scelere quod excogitaverat, quomodo poss<e>t facinus illud celare, ingressa ad maritum suum Stran<g>uilionem sic ait: 'Then Dionysias turned over in her mind how she could conceal the crime which she had planned. She went to her husband Stranguillio and said:'

Here begins a passage (RA 14-45 ~ RB /) crucial to the interpretation of **HA(Gr)**. According to some critics, the repetitions show this passage to be an interpolation (Klebs, p.33 'kläglich zusammengestoppelt' = Garbugino, p.42, nn.64-67). Moreover, the content – Dionysias seeks contact with her husband – is said to disagree with Apollonius' reaction in 37, RB 9 where he appears ignorant of further information (but see comm. there). Against this drastic interpolation hypothesis I would argue:

1. the passage in question is authentic and fits in with the story of **HA(Gr)** (see ll.42-43);
2. the form can be traced back to **H(Gr)**, also in view of the many 'Graecisms': see l.15 *ingressa* ([?] εἰσελθοῦσα): l.19 *ex quo* ([?] ἐξ οὗ); l.35 *pro* ([?] ἀντί); l.35 *quasi* ([?] ὡς);
3. some minor details in formulation should perhaps be laid at the door of *RA* (and attributed less to later textual developments): see l.20 *salutarias*; l.26 *rogum* (= sepulchrum); l.35 *excogitans* (? = excogitavit); l.41 *et iniquam coniugem*;
4. finally, the absence of this passage in *RB* is mainly due to the fact that, as elsewhere in the *HA*, he does his best to eliminate traces of pagan religion and aspires to a plain, classical style.

The commentary must necessarily go through the text almost word by word, exploring both the Greek and the Latin sphere. It deals only sparingly with the many classicistic textual emendations suggested by Schmeling in c.32 RA, and mostly adopted by Garbugino, pp.42-44 with nn.64-68.

apud (*aput* **P**) **semet ipsam consiliata** 'having taken counsel by herself': *consiliata* is based on a conjecture (Ring, Riese) for *consilio* **P** (Klebs, p.33 n.2 argues for *consilio habito*, in connection with RC *consilium habuit*). Perhaps the phrase *apud se consiliari* can be compared with expressions like βουλεύομαι/ἐννοέομαι/λογίζομαι ἀνὰ/κατὰ/πρὸς ἐμαυτόν, common in Greek, also in the Greek Novel: Xen. Eph. 5,5,1 ἐβουλεύετο δὲ καθ' αὑτήν 'but she made plans of her own'; id. 5,9,5 πολλὰ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐλογίζετο 'he turned many things over in his mind'; Andoc. 1,52 ἐλογιζόμην πρὸς ἐμαυτόν; Luke 20:5 οἱ δὲ συνελογίσαντο πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς λέγοντες; see also

for κατά: Zimmermann, p.61 l.15 (Metiochos-Parthenope novel); *Less.*, s.v. κατά: καθ' ἑαυτόν 'tra se' 'in disparte' very frequent (Charit 5x; Xen. Eph. 3x; Achill. Tat. 13x; Long. 1x; Hel. 11x); for πρός, cf. LSJ, s.v. πρός (c.5). Instead of *apud semet ipsam* classical Latin might have preferred the short form *secum*.

pro scelere quod excogitaverat: Classical Latin would probably have used *de*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *pro* (2): 'en vue de'. For *excogitaverat*, cf. 31, RA 12 *De hoc quod excogitavi* **P** (see comm.).

quomodo poss<e>t facinus illud celare (RA) is echoed in RB 14-15 *ut admissum facinus <…> celaret*, *RB*'s bridge to the passus *RA* 14-45. See the introductory note to *RA* 46-58. As regards *poss<e>t* **P**: a tacit correction by Klebs, p.33 for *possit* P; the edd. follow the correction.

ingressa ad maritum suum: This may overlie a Graecism, e.g. (?) εἰσελθοῦσα, cf. LSJ, s.v. εἰσέρχομαι: 'also εἰσέρχομαι πρός τινα *enter* his *house*, *visit* him (e.g. Xen., *Cyr.* 3,3,13)'. Elsewhere too, cf. 6, RA 11, 10-11 *introivit* A: *introivit domum* P. Dionysias' deception of her husband and the citizens could be compared with Xen. Eph. 3,12,6 where a bad husband repeatedly deceives a good wife and the people.

Stranquilionem P: A later, Italian spelling, cf. Peters, p.17 n.15 (on the nomenclature of Godfrey of Viterbo): 'Im übrigen erscheinen die Namen zum Teil in einer schon wesentlich modifizierten Gestalt *Tranquilio* und *Tranquinio*. Ein mit *q* geschrieben *Stranquilio* findet sich gelegentlich auch in der Historia Handschrift **P** (see 37, RA 3.11; 50, RA 12).

32, RA 16-18

"Care coniunx, salva coniugem, salva filiam nostram. Vituperia in grandem me furiam concitaverunt et insaniam. Subitoque apud me excogitavi dicens: '"Dear husband, save your wife, save your daughter. Insults drove me into a mad rage, and immediately I thought to myself:'

Care coniunx: According to Klebs, p.33 n.3: 'aus c.24 (= 24, RA 19/RB 16), 25 (= 25, RA 16/RB 12 *cara coniunx*).' But in what other way could Dionysias have addressed her husband?

salva <…> salva (epanaphora): *Salvare* is above all a Christian word, cf. Aug., *Serm.* 299,6 *salvare et salvator non fuerunt haec Latina, antequam*

veniret Salvator. As such the word is not included in OLD. But both *RA* (here) and *RB* (cf. 46, RB 7 *Vt ergo salvetur civitas*) use this term. There is probably no other word so suitable for refuting Klebs's **Hi** theory (pagan original, 3rd century), cf. Wölfflin, ALL 8 (1893), pp.592-3. Klebs in fact regards it as an intrusion (p.270 'hat ein ursprüngliches "servare" verdrängt'). It seems natural to assume an origin in σῴζω 'to save from death'.

Vituperia <…> **insaniam**, cf. 31, RA 6 *Dionysia, ut audivit* <…> *suam vituperare filiam, <in> insaniae furorem conversa est*. According to Klebs, p.34 n.1, a 'barbarische Umbildung'. More likely we should see it as a rhetorical variation (note the position of *me* and the similar sounds of *furia* and *insania*, which together form a hendiadys 'insane rage'). *Vituperia*: Late Latin for *vituperationes* (class.), recorded for Christian writers, cf. Blaise, s.v. *vituperium*: Hier., *Orig. Ier. hom.* 6,6; 19,9. The Greek substrate text is uncertain: perhaps κακηγορία 'abuse' 'slander', cf. *Less.*, s.v. κακηγορέω (Heliod. 5,7,1).

grandem <…> **furiam**: Despite its modest length, the *HA* provides some interesting places for the battle between *magnus* and *grandis*, which the latter wins in the Romance languages. Thus *grandis* occurs in only one other place besides this, in the rival B recension, where it acts paradigmatically as a substitute for *magnus*: 34, RA 22 *quid magnum illi fuisset* ~ RB 23 *quid grande fecerat*. The presence of *magnus*, too, is very limited: as well as 34, RA 22 only in 35, RA/RB 1 *magnus homo es*, and in two typical places: 46, RA 1 *concursus magnus et ingens* ~ RB 1 *concursus ingens* and 48, RA 17 *cum magnis donis* ~ RB 11 *cum nimiis donis*: these last two places clearly show the dwindling importance of *magnus*. The place of *magnus* in the *HA* is taken by *ingens* (cf. 7, RA/RB 2 comm.) and to a lesser extent by *nimius* (cf. 16, RA 12/RB 11). Naturally this phenomenon has attracted broad scholarly interest, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 155; Salonius, *Vit. Patr.*, p.184; Löfstedt, *Synt.* II, p.339 ff.; Svennung, *Untersuch.*, p.582; Hofmann, *Beiträge*, p.118. For the formulation, compare e.g. Mombr. II 469,34 (Sebastianus) *Scias grandem iram et furorem Dei esse passurus*.

furia: Cf. Garvin (on VPE 4,13,6 *in furia versus*), p.522: 'Classical writers used *furia* in the plural, with reference to the Furies. The extended meaning "madness" "wrath" is Late and rare ThLL 6,1 1617,3-14.' Perhaps we can compare μανία 'madness'.

subitoque: 'and suddenly': A favourite transition in popular stories, not to be taken too literally, cf. 2, RA/RB 1 (comm.): Löfstedt, *Per.*, p.169, paraphrases *statim*. In Greek probably εὐθύς, cf. LSJ, s.v. (II): Thuc. 4,43 εὐθὺς ἀποβεβηκότι 'immediately on disembarking'.

excogitavi: I.q. *cogitavi*, cf. ThLL V 1276,9: ‘cum vi praepositionis evanida, fere i.q. simplex *cogitare*’, cf. Thielmann, ALL 8 (1893) p.524: ‘so ist *excogito* nicht immer “denke aus”, sondern öfter διανοέομαι “denke, überdenke, erwäge”.’ It is consequently a strict parallel of 31, RA 7 *Et sedens sola coepit cogitare*.

32, RA 18-23

“Ecce, iam sunt anni plus XIIII, ex quo nobis suus pater commendavit Tharsiam, et numquam salutarias nobis misit litteras: forsitan aut afflictione luctus est mortuus aut certe inter fluctus maris et procella<s> periit. Nutrix vero eius defuncta est. Nullum habeo aemulum. Tollam Tharsiam de medio et eius ornamentis nostram ornabo filiam.” Quod et factum esse scias! ‘Indeed, more than fourteen years have passed since Tarsia was left in our care by her father, and he has never sent us any letter of greeting. Perhaps he has died of grief, or he must have perished in the stormy seas. Tarsia’s nurse has died. No one stands in my way. I will get rid of Tarsia and adorn our daughter with her finery.” Let me tell you that this has actually taken place!’

A repetition of 31, RA 8-13, but with small, typical differences (identical words are underlined); according to Klebs, p.34 n.2, ‘Wiederholung’. This repetition of *RA*’s own words is highly functional and ends directly in the harsh final conclusion.

ex quo = ἐξ οὗ, cf. 16, RA 5 (comm.).

iam sunt anni plus XIIII: A significant change compared with 31, RA 8 *Pater eius Apollonius* <…> *habet annos XIIII*: not only has the Graecism been eliminated (cf. 38, RA 8 comm.), the length of time has also been made more plausible (cf. 31, RB 6 *Pater* <…> *habet annos XV*, comm.).

suus pater commendavit Tharsiam, cf. 28 *RA* 8/RB 9 *commendo vobis filiam meam*.

salutarias <…> **litteras**: Though the meaning is clear: ‘letters of greeting’, the adj. *salutarius* is extremely rare. The Thesaurus material mentions *Notitia Dignitat. or.* 34,48 *cohors prima salutaria*; Rustic. Cons. I 4, p.28,19

Severus episcopus <…> *Frygiae salutariae subscripsi*. We are probably dealing with a haplography, analogous to 33, RA 15 *salutario* **P**/RB 14 *salutatorio* (see comm.), cf. ALL 12 (1902), p.58. For the train of thought, Riese (1893), Ind. s.v. *salutarius* compares Xen. Eph. 5,6,2 (wrongly: 5,5,6) οὔτε ἀγγέλου <…> ἀφιγμένου οὔτε γραμμάτων '<the couple's parents and all Ephesus were in great distress>, since no messenger and no letters had come from them.' The actual reason for this silence is of course the fact that Apollonius had sought asylum in Egypt to avoid his *fatum*, cf. 28, RA/RB 18 (comm.) (For Klebs, p.34 n.3 this passus is merely 'vom Interpolator eingeschoben'.)

forsitan <…> **mortuus aut**: Deleted by Riese (1893) in view of 37, RA 4, which does not mention death by sorrow. But compare 31, RA 10 *Puto quia mortuus est* ~ RB 7 *Credo, mortuus est*, which does leave open this possibility.

afflictione luctus: An independent addition compared with 31, RA 10/RB 7 *mortuus*. The combination should probably be regarded as a *gen. identicus*. The word *afflictio* is a typically Christian term, cf. ThLL I 1230,31 'vox christianorum'; p.1231,40 *afflictio = luctus, maeror, desperatio*.

certe inter fluctus maris et procellas periit: Like the phrase *certē dico* (cf. Ind. verb., s.v. certus), the phrase *certe intereo* probably goes back to (?) σαφῶς, cf. LSJ, s.v. σαφής (II.2): Xen. *Cyr.* 3,2,15 σαφῶς ἀπολωλέναι 'to be *undoubtedly* dead'. For *inter fluctus maris et procellas* (*procella* **P**), cf. 44, RA 9/RB 11 *in mari inter fluctus et procellas* (according to Klebs, p.34 n.4, 'genommen aus 44'). A good parallel is provided by Ambr., *De excess. fratris Satyri* 2,5 *ex istius mundi procella et fluctibus*.

defuncta: Cf. 31, RA 11 *decessit*.

Nullum: Cf. 31, RA 11 *neminem* (comm.).

nostram: Cf. 31, RA 12 *meam*: a cunning change.

Quod et factum esse: A standard formulation, cf. above 32, RA 9 (for Klebs, p.54,5 an interpolation from this passus). For *et* 'actually also', cf. 40, RA 14 *quod et video* ~ RB 11 *quod video*.

scias: I.q. *scito*: the apparently friendly subjunctive actually functions as an imperative, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 308.

32, RA 24-27 Nunc vero propter civium curiositatem ad praesens indue vestes lugubres, sicut ego facio,

et falsis lacrimis dicamus eam subito dolore stomachi fuisse defunctam. Hic prope in suburbio faciamus rogu<m> maximum, ubi dicamus eam esse positam.” ‘But now, because of the citizens’ curiosity, put on mourning clothes immediately, as I also am doing, and let us announce with feigned tears that Tarsia has suddenly died from stomach pain. Let us build close to here an enormous tomb in the suburb, where we can say that she is buried.”’

An almost verbal agreement (underlined) with 37, RA 8-10 (according to Klebs, p.34 n.6, ‘hier eingesetzt’. One can also argue: an almost identical situation [reaction of citizens to Tarsia’s death, reaction of Apollonius], an almost identical formulation).

propter civium curiositatem: *Curiositas* is a typical word and concept in the Novel, cf. M. Zimmerman-de Graaf, *Apuleius Madaurensis*: *Metamorphosen X, 1-22*. Tekst, Introd.: Commentaar, Groningen 1992, pp.20-2. We cannot attribute knowledge of such a central concept to an interpolator. Perhaps we can compare περιεργία ‘curiosity’, cf. LSJ, s.v.; *Less.*, s.v. (β): ‘curiosità eccessiva’: Charit, 1,11,6 (πόλεως, i.e. ’Αθηνῶν); id. 4,5,4 (‘Ελληνικῆς). Compare also CGL VI, 298 curiosus περίεργος.

ad praesens, cf. 37, RA 8/RB 10: The translation is somewhat uncertain. Heraeus notes in his copy ‘sofort’; Archibald translates ‘for the time being’, Konstan ‘actually’ ‘in fact’, cf. OLD, s.v. *praesens* (16). Personally I would prefer to interpret *ad praesens* as *in praesenti*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. praesens: Bened., *Reg.* 55 *in praesenti* ‘immediatement’ and *HA* 33, RA 9/RB 8 (see comm.). The other translations seem to offer too much latitude (*ad praesens* <…> *deinceps*). Perhaps from (?) πρὸς τὸ παρόν ‘according to the present situation’, cf. LSJ, s.v. πάρειμι ‘to be present’ (II); Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. πάρειμι (1.b): ‘für den Augenblick, für jetzt’.

indue vestes lugubres: Cf. 2 Kgs 14:2 *Et induere veste lugubri*.

sicut ego facio (i.q. *faciam*): According to Klebs p.34 n.7: ‘Vom Interpolator zugesetzt weil dies am Schluß von c.32 berichtet was’ (= 32, RA 46 *Dionysia vero induit se et filiam suam vestes lugubres*).

falsis lacrimis: Cf. 32, RA 46 *falsasque infund<i>t lacrimas* (comm.). For the term ‘crocodile tears’ Latin has its own word: *lacrimula* (Catull. 66,15).

in suburbio (from [?] προάστιον ‘suburb’): Naturally Tarsia, though only apparently dead, is buried outside the city walls, in accordance with the Greek Novel, e.g. Xen. Eph. 3,7,4 τὴν ’Ανθίαν <…> ἦγεν εἰς τοὺς πλησίον τῆς πόλεως τάφους κἀνταῦθα κατέθετο ἔν τινι οἰκήματι ‘He (sc. Perilaus) took her to the tombs near the city. And there he laid her in a vault’, cf. Daremberg-Saglio, art. *Funus* (E. Cuq), p.1393.

rogum maximum: Curiously used here for a κενοτάφιον ‘empty tomb’, cf. 32, RA 51 *sepulchrum*, and, just after, l.53 *fabricantes rogum*. For this metonymic usage (from ‘pyre’ to ‘monument’ ‘tomb’), cf. OLD, s.v. *rogus* (c), esp. in poets: Prop. 3,7,10 *nec pote cognatos inter humare rogos*; 4,11,8 *obserat herbosos lurida porta rogos*; CE 1996,12 *hoc sita nunc iaceo Iulia Paula rogo* (= sepulcro). The usage may come directly from Greek, LSJ, s.v. θάπτω ‘*honour with funeral rites* <…> but frequently used with ref. to cremation’: e.g. Plut. 2.286f πυρὶ θάπτειν ‘to bury with fire’. The Glossaria equate *rogus* with τάφος, cf. CGL VII, p.656: τάφος *bustum,* <…> *rogus, sepulcrum*. For *bustum* in the sense of *rogus*, i.q. *sepulcrum*, cf. ThLL II 2256,59-2257,81 (with examples throughout Latinity).

positam: Illness, death, burial, apparently all without the citizens knowing. The custom of burying the dead on the day of their passing seems to have prevailed in the Italy of RA/RB too, cf. Greg. Magn., *Dial.* 1,10 *cuius corpusculum* (cf. 25, RA 16, comm.) *cum longius esset efferendum, die eodem sepeliri non potuit*. For the simple *positam* (i.q. depositam), cf. LSJ, s.v. τίθημι (II,11): ‘to lay in the grave, bury’.

32, RA 28-30

Stranguilio ut audivit, tremor et stupor in eum irruit et ita respondit: “Equidem da mihi vestes lugubres, ut lugeam me, qui talem sum sortitus sceleratam coniugem.” ‘When Stranguillio heard this, trembling and amazement came upon him and he answered thus: “Indeed, give mourning clothes to me, so that I can mourn over myself, who unfortunately have acquired such a wicked wife.’

Stranguilio: Put deliberately at the beginning of this new paragraph in order to demarcate from *RA* 14 *Tunc Dionysia* and *RA* 46 *Dionysia vero*.

tremor et stupor: A favoured juxtaposition with many minor variations (thus for *stupor* we find combinations with e.g. *metus, pavor, timor*), in Greek too φόβος καὶ δέος (τρόμος), cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. τρόμος. It often

goes with *inruere*/ἐπιπίπτειν, cf. Passio SS. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli c.65 (ed. Bonnet-Lipsius, I p.175,4) *inruit in eum* (sc. Neronem) *tremor et metus intollerabilis*: Gr. ibid. (p.220,8) ἐπέπεσεν αὐτῷ φόβος καὶ τρόμος ἀνυπόστατος; Ps. Method. [13]12 *Et inruet super eos timor et tremor undique*: Gr. καὶ ἐπιπέσει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς φόβος καὶ τρόμος πάντοθεν G.

equidem: A remarkable position before an imperative, cf. ThLL V,2 723,66. Here, too, the Greek substrate probably plays a role, affirmative on the one hand, adversative on the other: 'Yes, give me mourning clothes, but not to bewail my foster daughter, but myself'.

qui talem sum sortitus sceleratam coniugem: A remarkable formulation, where we would expect *qui* + subjunct. (Klebs, p.34 n.9 refers to RC *quia*) and *sic/tam* (*sceleratam*); both cases can be explained via Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. ὅς, ἥ, ὅ (B.IV), 3: 'in many instances the Greek Rel. must be resolved in a Conj. and Pron.': Xen., *Mem.* 2,17,3 θαυμαστὸν ποιεῖς, ὃς ἡμῖν οὐδὲν δίδως (= ὅτι σὺ) 'You, who gives us nothing, are acting strangely'; LSJ, s.v. τοιοῦτος 'in the expression οὗτος τοιοῦτος, αὕτη τοιαύτη just as he (she, it) is'. This last usage is not uncommon in Late Greek: Vita S. Melaniae c.56 (Sources chrétiennes p.238) τοιοῦτος χειμὼν σφοδρότατος γέγονεν, ὥστε <...> ; Martyr. Petri et Pauli 57 (Lips. p.164,19) τοιοῦτον πρᾶγμα ποιῆσαι δεινόν (cf. Usener, *Theodosios*, p.141); Tabachovitz (1934), p.15 ff.

sum sortitus: A common formulation, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. It is also the standard expression in the *aurea latinitas*, cf. OLD, s.v. *sortior* (4) 'to acquire': Hor., *Sat.* 1,6,53 *casu quod te sortitus amicum*; Iuv., 14,96 *quidam sortiti metuentem sabbata patrem*; Plin., *Ep.* 1,3,4 (of inanim. things); Apul., *Met.* 5,9; Ulpian., *Dig.* 1,9,8.

32, RA 30-33

Heu mihi! Pro dolor!", inquit, "Quid faciam? Quid agam de patre eius, quem primo cum suscepissem, cum civitatem istam a morte et periculo famis liberavit, meo suasu egressus est civitatem; 'Alas! What heartache!" he said, "What shall I do? How shall I deal with her father? In fact, after taking him in when he delivered this city from death and from the threat of famine, it was at my encouragement that he left the city;'

Heu mihi, cf. 32, RA 40 *Heu mihi*; 38, RB 13 Heu, me miserum!

Pro dolor, cf. OLD, s.v. *pro*, interj. (2): '(expressing grief, disapproval)'.

inquit: Used pleonastically after *RA* 28 *respondit*, cf. Löfstedt, *Per.* 229; Heraeus, *GGA* (1915), p.484. This may go back directly to Greek idiom, cf. LSJ, s.v. φημί 'to say': II. Special Phrases (4): 'inserted parenthetically, though the sentence has been introduced by λέγει, εἶπεν, etc.: Xen., *Oec.* 17,10 ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος <…> εἶπεν· ἀλλὰ παίζεις μὲν σύ γε, ἔφη' 'Ischomache answered: "Seriously, you are joking?" he said'. (Schmeling, *Notes*, p.149 [on ed. 25,1] argues for {*inquit*} = Garbugino, p.42, n.64.)

quid faciam? quid agam?: Anaphora, cf. 3, RA 9 *undique* <…> *undique*. The juxtaposition *facere* ~ *agere* is much favoured, cf. ThLL VI.1 124,33-42.

agam de patre, cf. 34, RB 12 *De advenientibus age*; probably in the sense of 'as regards', cf. ThLL I 1379,73-82; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *de* (6): 'relativement à, quant à' (it is probably far-fetched to assume a construction like ποιεῖν μετά τινος, very frequent in LXX).

quem <…> **cum suscepissem, egressus est**: The relative *qui* (as subject of *egressus est*) is implied in the object *quem* van *suscepissem*, a so-called accusative by prolepsis, cf. above 20, RA 10. The phenomenon here could be explained via Greek, e.g. Vit. Patr. 5,10,74 *me miserum quem vides, de* <…> *Roma sum* (Cot. p.659 ἐμὲ ὃν βλέπεις <…>, εἶχον), but it is also found outside Greek, cf. J.B. Hofmann, *Beiträge*, p.92. The term *suscepissem* probably goes back to ὑποδέχομαι 'to receive into one's house', since Hom. a technical term relating to the ξεῖνος, cf. LSJ, s.v.; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v.: e.g. Acts 17:7 ἐνθάδε πάρεισιν, οὓς ὑποδέδεκται Ἰάσων (Vulg. *huc venerunt, quos suscepit Iason*).

cum <…> **liberavit**: Historical perfect + ind. (temporal *cum*).

a morte et periculo famis: Cf. 50, RA 9 *cuius ope famis periculum vel mortem transcendimus* ~ RB 9 *cuius ope periculum famis effugimus* (see comm.). A redundante expression, as *periculum famis* actually stands for 'death by starvation', cf. ThLL V,2 229,45: Terent., *Haut.* 380 *adeon rem rediisse ut periculum etiam a fame mihi sit*; Fronto, p.32,1 v.d. H. (= 32,17 N.) *nullum a fame periculum fore fide mea spopondi*; Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* 1,43,2 (Elias) *ipse se intra periculum famis concluserat*, cf. id., *Dial.* 1,11,2; ibid. 1,16,3 *periculum famis evasit et herbarum venena vitavit*, cf. Löfstedt, *Late Lat.*, p.157. This semantic development 'danger' → 'mortal danger' runs parallel to κίνδυνος, κινδυνεύω, cf. Bauer/Lampe, s.v. κινδυνεύω; a typical example is found in *Vita S. Melaniae*, c.60 (Sources chrétiennes, p.246) ὥστε παρὰ

βραχὺ κινδυνεῦσαι αὐτὴν ἐκ τοῦ λιμοῦ 'so that she came nearly in danger of life from not eating anything'.

suasus (IV): One of the few words of the 4th decl. (cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 232) which did not die out early, cf. OLD, s.v.: Hyg., *Fab.* 243,3 *eius suasu Chrysippus occisus est*; Apul., *Met.* 6,28 *plagarum suasu, quae me saepicule commonebant*. For the situation, cf. 11, RA 1 *hortante Stranguillione et Dionysiade, coniuge eius*.

egressus est civitatem: Though very frequent in Latin, cf. OLD, s.v. *egredior* (transitive, 4 'to go outside' 'leave'), it could also derive directly from Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐξέρχομαι (b): Herod. 5,104 ἐξέρχομαι τὸ ἄστυ, cf. Arist., *Pol.* 1285[a] 5; LXX, Gen. 44:4.

32, RA 33-35 propter hanc civitatem naufragium incidit, mortem vidit, sua perdidit, exitum penuriae perpessus est: a deo vero in melius restitutus est. 'For the sake of this city he was shipwrecked, faced death, lost all his possessions, endured extreme poverty: God however has restored him to better fortune.'

naufragium incidit: For transitive *incidere*, cf. ThLL VII,1 905,67-906,26; very common in Late Latin. This may be based on Greek as well, cf. LSJ, s.v. εἰσπίπτω (2) + acc. (Riese [1893] annotates: 'in naufragium *puto*'; in his review Weyman [1893], *Woch. kl. Phil.* 10, col.577, had already pointed to this unnecessary 'Vermutung'; nevertheless Schmeling [1984], p.25,3 returns to it, cf. *Notes*, p.150 [on ed. 25,3]). An analogous expression is found in Achill. Tat. 3,19,2 ἐπεὶ οὖν τῇ ναυαγίᾳ περιεπέσομεν 'When we had suffered shipwreck'.

mortem vidit 'He looked death in the face': A Greek expression suggests itself here too: ἰδεῖν (θεάσασθαι) θάνατον = 'to die', cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. θάνατος: Luke 2:26 *Et responsum acceperat* (sc. Simeon) *a Spiritu sancto ne visurum se mortem, nisi prius videret Christum Domini* (Gr. μὴ ἰδεῖν θάνατον, πρὶν ἢ ἂν ἴδῃ τὸν Χριστὸν Κυρίου); Hebr. 1:5 *Fide Henoch translatus est, ne videret mortem* (Gr. Πίστει Ἑνὼχ μετετέθη τοῦ μὴ ἰδεῖν θάνατον). Clearly a figurative meaning is at issue here, presumably introduced by **R(Gr)**. The reference is to cc.11-12 RA/RB, esp. 12, RA 1 *morsque nuntiatur* ~ RB 1 *mortemque* (= mors) *minatur*.

exitum penuriae P: The reading *exitum* 'the end' has been defended by Ring, Klebs, p.34 n.10: 'So außer **P** auch **Rα** und **RC**'; compare also ThLL V,2 1538,85 ff., where e.g.: Cassian., *Instit.* 7,22 *paupertatis ac nuditatis exitus tolerasse*, cf. Löfstedt, *Coniect.*, p.122 n.2; H. Armini, *Eranos* 30 (1932), p.87. A Greek parallel is subjective of course, cf. *Pratum Spirituale* 193,8 (ed. Hesseling p.108) εἰς πενίαν ἐσχάτην ἐλάσας. Some editors (Riese [1893]; Schmeling [1988]) argue for *exitium*, cf. Konstan, ad loc.: '*exitium penuriae*: *penuriae* is defining genitive "the death that poverty is".' The reference is to Apollonius' sojourn in Egypt (without further details in *HA*) 28, RA 18 *ignotas et longinquas Aegypti regiones devenit*.

a deo vero in melius restitutus est P: This sentence has led many to delete: Riese (1893) and Schmeling (1984) confine themselves to {est}: Klebs, p.218 deletes the entire sentence *a deo* ‹...› *restitutus* as a 'christliche Zusatz' (with ref. to p.34). In my view the sentence is no more than a Christian formulation for 'to a better state' (Konstan), a reversal in the tragedy, as often expressed in the Greek Novel: Charit. 3,3,16 τὴν πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον μεταβολήν 'The change for the better'; Heliod. 10,4,3 πάντα τὴν πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον ἕξει μεταβολὴν 'everything will change to a better future'. For the distribution and popularity of this phrase εἰς (πρός, ἐπὶ) τὸ βέλτιον, κρεῖσσον, with the alternative χεῖρον, ἧσσον, see H. Almquist, *Studien zur spätlat. Mulomedicina Chironis*, Uppsala 1909, p.99; id., *Plutarch und das Neue Testament*, Uppsala 1946, p.94. Underlying *restitutus est* could be ἀποκατεστάθη, cf. CGL VII 204 *restituo* ἀποκαθίστημι 'to restore' (see LSJ, s.v. [1]).

32, RA 35-39 Malum pro bono, quasi pius, non excogitans neque ante oculos illud habuit, sed omnia oblivion‹i› ducens, insuper adhuc memor nostri in bono, fidem eligens, remunerans nos et pios aestimans, filiam suam nutriendam tradidit, tantam simplicitatem et amorem circa nos gerens, ut civitatis nostrae filiae suae nomen imponeret. 'He did not think of doing evil instead of good, just as befits a righteous man, nor retained before the eyes of his mind the memory of past wrong, but he assigned everything that had happened to oblivion; moreover, remembering us kindly from the period of prosperity, singling out loyality, rewarding us, judging us pious, he even entrusted his daughter to us to bring her up, feeling so

much pure love and affection for us, that he named his daughter after our city.'

Malum pro bono <…> **non excogitans**, i.q. *excogitavit* (participle, with the value of a finite verb, cf. below 32, RA 47 *convocans* and 53 *fabricantes*; for the phenomenon, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. participium pendens). In view of the context, *pro* must be taken here in the sense of 'instead of', 'instead of good' (Konstan), cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *pro* (5): Matt. 2:22 *regnabat pro Herode patre suo* (Gr. Ἀρχέλαος βασιλεύει <…> ἀντὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἡρῴδου). This usage is fairly common in translations, cf. Luke 11:11 *numquid pro pisce serpentem dabit illi?* (Gr. μὴ ἀντὶ ἰχθύος ὄφιν αὐτῷ ἐπιδώσει;) 'if he asks for a fish, will he give him a snake instead?' Ps. Methodius, *Index*, p.202 *pro* ~ ἀντί: [6]4; [10]6. Secondary recensions sometimes remove this *lectio difficilior* by starting from the ordinary meaning of *pro*: in return for, viz. the evil which others have done to Apollonius. They thus arrive at the reading (in my view incorrect, but frequently found) *Malum pro malo* **Rα**, **RC** (some codd.), followed by Klebs, p.34; Schmeling [1988], ad loc.

quasi: Provides the direct, actual reason here (= quia, utpote), cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *quasi* (2) 'comme' 'attendu que' (postcl.): Hier., *Epist.* 14,6 *quasi ignarus fluctuum*, cf. ibid. 108,28. For the broader context, see Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 358. It may therefore come directly from ὡς (δίκαιος), cf. LSJ, s.v. ὡς (Ab. II.2) 'according to' 'for': Soph., *Oed. Col.* 20 μακρὰν ὡς γέροντι <…> ὁδόν 'a long way for an old man'; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ὡς (III) 'ὡς führt die Eigenschaft einer Pers., Sache, Handlung u.ä. ein, auf die es im Zshg. ankommt'.

neque ante oculos illud (sc. malum sibi factum) **habuit**: May be directly based on Greek: Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, p.163 refers to OGI, no.2108 (c. AD 247) πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχειν 'to have before one's eyes'; in the Greek Novel: Xen. Eph. 1,5,1 εἶχον δὲ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τὰς ὄψεις τὰς ἑαυτῶν 'They saw each other before their eyes'; id., 3,5,1 ἀεὶ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν εἶχεν Ἁβροκόμην 'Anthia always had Habrocomes before her eyes'. Some examples from Late Greek, hagiographical writers are offered by Rydén (1970), p.57.

oblivion<i> ducens: The manuscript tradition fluctuates: *oblivõe* (= oblivione) **P**, **RC** (some codd.); *oblivioni* **RC**; *in oblivionem* **Rα**. Editors argue almost unanimously (cf. ed. m. [1984]) for *oblivioni* (final dat.) by analogy with: *laudi, contemptui ducere* (Schmeling [1988], p.25,6: oblivione). **Rα** is possibly supported by Non., p.146,28 M. (p.213 L.) *oblitterare est obscure facere, in oblivionem ducere*. This expression, too, can be traced back to

Greek without much adaptation, cf. LSJ, s.v. λήθη 'forgetting, forgetfulness': Herod. 1,127 λήθην ποιεύμενος τά μιν ἐόργεε 'forgetting what he had done to him'; Men. 467 τῶν αὑτοῦ κακῶν ἐπάγεσθαι λήθην; *Acta S. Marinae* (ed. Usener, p.33) ποιήσω αὐτὸν λήθῃ παραδοῦναι τὴν σοφίαν 'I shall take care that he will consign wisdom to forgetfulness.'

insuper adhuc memor nostri in bono: *in bono*: 'in prosperity' (Konstan) ([?] ἐν ἀγαθῷ), possibly elliptical: *in bono* (sc. *tempore*). So this probably refers to the period when Apollonius was back on his feet and could even look forward to the throne of Antioch (c.24).

fidem eligens, remunerans nos et pios aestimans: Difficult to interpret exactly, since these actions probably reflect Apollonius' psychological state and reactions when after the shipwreck he had to leave his daughter behind with guest friends (c.28), who had first let him down (c.11). There has been some debate over the precise meaning of *fidem* (**P**, Riese [1893]: *fidem nostram* **Rα**, **RC** [some codd.], Klebs, p.34) and the punctuation (Heraeus [1893]: *memor nostri, in bono fidem nostram eligens*). *RA* (and therefore **R(Gr)**) probably mean *fidem* in the most general sense: loyalty and trust between *hospites* – ξεῖνοι. Apollonius thus chooses trust for his own part, but also loyalty on the part of his guest friends. Naturally πίστις 'loyalty' and πιστός (πιστόν) play an important role in this discussion, cf. 37, RA 13/RB 15 *hospites fidelissimi* (comm.). For the Greek Novel, see e.g. Charit. 7,3,11 ὥστε ὑμᾶς μὴ μετανοεῖν τὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ εὔνοιάν τε καὶ πίστιν ᾐρημένους '<so I shall do all I can> to ensure that you do not regret showing this goodwill to me and this trust in me', cf. *Less.*, s.v. τὸ πιστόν 'prova di lealtà'.

pios aestimans: The term *pius* also plays a central role, cf. Bolkestein, p.206: 'Ainsi εὐσεβής et ἀσεβής si disent frequemment en rapport avec la fidélité ou l'infidélité à la foi jurée <…>. La violation du droit d'un ξένος, d'un ἱκέτης ou d'un mort est appelée ainsi.'

filiam suam nutriendam tradidit: Sc. nobis: a standard use of the gerundive with verbs of giving, etc. Also in Late Latin, though the gerundive itself disappeared in the Romance languages, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 328.

tantam simplicitatem et amorem circa nos gerens, ut civitatis nostrae filiae suae nomen imponeret: According to Klebs, p.34 n.15, an interpolation from 28, RA 9-10 *eam cum bono et simplici animo suscipiatis atque patriae nomine eam cognominetis Tharsiam*. But the word formation shows that this phrase is rather to be regarded as an independent, literal trans-

lation of **R(Gr)**. No doubt Romans will have accepted the expression *simplicitatem et amorem*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *simplicitas* (5): '(moral.) 'simplicité, franchise': Cass., *Hist.* 2,2 *morum simplicitas*; Tert., *Praescr.* 7 *Dominum in simplicitate cordis quaerere*', cf. O. Hiltbrunner, *Latina Graeca*, Register, p.199, s.v. *simplicitas*. *Simplicitas* is the standard translation of ἁπλότης, cf. 2 Cor. 11:3 *Timeo autem ne* <...> *sensus vestri* <...> *excidant a simplicitate, quae est in Christo* (Gr. μή πως <...> φθαρῇ τὰ νοήματα ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἁπλότητος τῆς εἰς Χριστόν); Eph. 6:5 *in simplicitate cordis vestri* (Gr. ἐν ἁπλότητι τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν), cf. Col. 3:22. So it is reasonable to assume that *simplicitas* goes back to ἁπλότης here too, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἁπλότης (II): 'simplicity' 'sincerity'. Juxtaposition with a following 'love' also occurs in Greek: *Acta Thomae* 139 (ed. Lipsius-Bonnet, tom. II, p.246,27) ἁπλότητι καὶ ἀγάπῃ. As a result, the combination *simplicitas-amor* forms a kind of ἕν-διὰ-δυοῖν 'a deep, uncomplicated love'. The preposition *circa = erga, ad* probably also points to a Greek origin, viz. περί. Elsewhere in the *HA*, too, *circa* occurs in this sense, always connected with *amor*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. Roman readers will have understood this phrase, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *circa* (4). But closer examples are provided by Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. περί + acc. (5): Isocr. 9,2 ἡ περὶ αὑτὸν ἐπιμέλεια 'to care for oneself'; Bauer, *Wörterb.* s.v. περί: Mark 4:19 αἱ περὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιθυμίαι 'the desires for other things' (Vulg. *circa reliqua concupiscentiae*). In the Greek Novel Heliod. in particular offers many examples of this construction, cf. Heliod. 2,10,2 διὰ φιλίαν τὴν περὶ ἐμέ 'out of love for me'; id. 2,33,1 τῆς ἐμῆς περὶ αὐτὴν εὐνοίας <...> ᾔσθετο '(she too had been so quick) to sense the warmth of my feelings towards her' (tr. J.R. Morgan), cf. id. 6,15,1; 7,16,3; 7,17,3; 7,23,2; 7,24,4; 7,28,2; 8,1,7; 8,1,8; 10,37,1. A combination ἀγάπη περί τινα with a hyperbaton, as here in Latin, is found in e.g. Vita S. Melaniae (ed. Gorce) 68 (p.268) ἡ πολλὴ αὐτῆς περὶ τὸν Κύριον ἀγάπη 'her great love towards the Lord'. In sum: it seems reasonable to conclude that this phrase goes back to a Greek model, and is not the work of an interpolator.

ut civitatis nostrae (gen.) **filiae suae** (dat.) **nomen imponeret**: In all likelihood an incorrect representation of the actual procedure (cf. 28, RA/RB 10-11 [comm.]), to be laid at the door of **R(Gr)**. The formulation probably goes back directly to ἐπιθεῖναί τινι ὄνομα 'to give one a name', cf. LSJ, s.v. ὄνομα (2); Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ὄνομα (2.a). Compare e.g. Mark 3:16 *imposuit Simoni nomen Petrus* <...> *imposuit eis nomina Boanerges, quod est, Filii tonitrui* (Gr. ἐπέθηκεν ὄνομα τῷ Σίμωνι Πετρόν <...> ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς ὄνομα Βοανηργές, ὅ ἐστιν υἱοὶ βροντῆς).

32, RA 40-41 Heu mihi, caecatus sum! Lugeam me et innocentem virginem, qui iunctus sum ad pessimam venenosamque serpentem et iniquam coniugem!" 'Alas, I have been blind! Let me mourn for myself and for the innocent girl, for I am yoked to a most evil and poisonous snake, a wicked wife!"'

Heu mihi, cf. above RA, 30 *Heu mihi!*

caecatus sum!: 'I was blinded' (sc. to the nature of my wife): it is easy to make a connection with τυφλός 'blind', τυφλόω 'to blind, make blind', τυφλώττω 'to be blind', cf. LSJ, ss.vv.; cf. *Less.*, s.v. τυφλώττω 'esser cieco' (Achill. Tat. 1,11,2 πρὸς τὸ κάλλος).

innocentem virginem, cf. 31, RA 16/RB 11 *virgo innocens* (interpolated according to Klebs, p.35 n.1: 'Nach 31').

qui (**P**, **Rα(F)**: *quia* **Va**^{c}) *iunctus sum* (ind.): Cf. above *RA* 29-30 (comm.). (Schmeling, *Notes*, p.150 [on ed. 25,10-12] argues for *quia* **Va**^{c} = Garbugino, p.42, n.64.)

iunctus ad: A common collocation both in classical Latin and in Greek: Cic., *Fin.* 5,14,40 *ad illa, quae semper habuit, iunget ea quae postea accesserint*; id., S. Rosc. 47,136 *perditi civis erat non se ad eos iungere*; Plin., *Nat.* 8,55 *primus Romae ad currum iunxit* (sc. leones) *M. Antonius*. In Greek very often ζεύγνυμι πρός ~ προσζεύγνυμι, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ζεύγνυμι '(von der ehelichen Verbindung)'. For the etymological figure in *iunctus sum* <...> *coniugem*, cf. Zimmermann, p.63.

pessimam venenosamque serpentem et iniquam coniugem: A clear symbol of vicious, cunning behaviour. Romans prefer to talk about *serpens/vipera*, cf. Cic., *Har. Resp.* 50 *in sinu viperam habere*; Petron., *Sat.* 77 *tu viperam sub ala nutricas*, cf. Friedländer, ad loc.; Ohl (on Symphos., *Aen.* 15 *vipera*), p.48; during a quarrel Trimalchio calls his wife *vipera* (Petron., *Sat.* 77,4); W. Whallon, 'The serpent at the breast', *TAPhA* 89, 1958, pp.271-275. Greeks talk about ὄφις, sometimes ἔχιδνα 'viper', ἀσπίς ('snake'), cf. O. Crusius, *Untersuchungen*, p.127; Kittel, *Theol. Wörterb.*, Art. ὄφις.

pessimam venenosamque serpentem: For the combination and position of superlative – positive, cf. Salonius, *Vit. Patrum*, p.196; Blatt, *Index*, p.167, s.v. Komparation; *Act. Andr.* (Cas.) 3 (ed. Blatt, p.37,10) *iniquissimi et crudeles carnifices*.

venenosamque: A standard adjective, cf. Nepos, *Han.* 10,4 *imperavit quam plurimas venenatas serpentes vivas colligi*; Gell. 16,11,2 *serpentium virulentorum domitores*; the adjective *venenosus* is postclassical, cf. Blaise, s.v., (fig.): 'Hier., *Iov.* 1,3 *venenosum caput*; Aug., *Rom. imp.* 20 *venenosus animus*' (not included as a postclassical word in OLD); Greek often talks about ἰοβόλος, cf. LSJ, s.v. (II): 'shedding venom' 'venenous'.

et iniquam coniugem P: Riese (1893) notes: *interpolata puto* (likewise e.g. Tsitsikli): though the comparison is more or less vitiated by these words, the tradition should probably be respected, cf. Headlam (on Herondas 6,14), p.286.

32, RA 42-45

Et in caelum levans oculos ait: "Deus, tu scis, quia purus sum a sanguine Tharsiae, et requiras et vindices illam in Dionysia." Et intuens uxorem suam ait: "Quomodo, inimica dei, celare poteris hoc nefandum facinus?" 'And raising his eyes to heaven he said: "God, you know that I am innocent of shedding Tarsia's blood. May you requite the culprit and avenge Tarsia on Dionysias." And looking at his wife he said: "Enemy of God, how will you be able to hide this abominable crime?"'

Klebs, p.35 proposes to delete this entire passus as 'weitschweifige Interpolation', referring to 32, RA 12 *elevans ad caelum oculos dixit*: *Tu scis, deus,*" and 8, RA 23-24 *et puras manus a sanguine innocentis*. This argumentation is short-sighted: it fails to involve the two preceding and two following sentences in the discussion, though they occupy a central position in the discourse. Like Theophilus, Stranguillio (hence the repetition) addresses the Sun god, averring his innocence of the murder, and praying that God may avenge Tarsia in the person of Dionysias. A remarkable feature is that Stranguillio's prayer forms a mixture of biblical formulations and a purely pagan, ancient prayer for vengeance, cf. Introd. VI.3.

deus, tu scis: Cf. Tob., 3,4 *tu scis Domine, quia (numquam concupivi virum)* (Gr. σὺ γινώσκεις, κύριε, ὅτι [καθαρά εἰμι ἀπὸ πασῆς ἁμαρτίας ἀνδρός]). The analytical construction *scire quia* occurs frequently in Christian authors, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *scio* (1).

purus a sanguine: This construction *purus* + abl. of separation 'free from' is not uncommon in Latin, cf. OLD, s.v. *purus* (4): Sen., *Suas.* 6,2 *puras a*

civili sanguine manus; id., *Epist.* 24,7 *gladio, quem ab omni caede purum servaverat*. But with a view to **R(Gr)** and ultimately **HA(Gr)** we should point out that this kind of adjective is often construed in Greek with ἀπό + gen., cf. Matt. 27:4 (verba Pilati coram Iesum) ἀθῷός εἰμι ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τούτου (Vulg. *Innocens ego sum a sanguine iusti huius*), cf. Bauer, s.v. ἀθῷος 'an etwas schuldig sein'; for the phenomenon in a broader context, cf. Blaß-Debrunner, *Grammatik d. ntl. Griechisch*, Tübingen[8], 1950,§ 182.3.

requiras et vindices: Doubtless a comprehensible formulation for ordinary Romans, cf. OLD, s.v. *requiro* (1) and *vindico* (5): 'to punish' 'avenge'. A more Late Latin construction would be simply: *vindices illam in Dionysiadem* (diunisia **P**), cf. Flor., *Epit.* 1,22 (2,6,55) *Italiae* <...> *clades in Africam vindicare*; Apul. *Met.* 2,27 *extremum facinus in nefariam* <...> *feminam severiter vindicate*. But it is highly curious that Stranguillio's words literally represent the words found on the tombstones of people who have died a premature, violent death (as in Tarsia's case, Stranguillio believes). Thus a funerary inscription (2nd c. BC) from Rhenaia (an island of the Cyclades) reads: ἵνα ἐκδικήσης τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἀναίτιον καὶ ζητήσεις τὴν ταχίστην 'that you (sc. the Sun god) might avenge the innocent blood and go in search (of the murderer) as quickly as possible.' This inscription together with similar maledictions was published by G. Björck, *Der Fluch des Christen Sabinus. Papyrus Upsaliensis* 8, Uppsala 1938, p.29 no.12: as we can see, *requirere* coincides with ζητεῖν/ἐπιζητεῖν and *vindicare* with ἐκδικεῖν. Within the **R(Gr)** thesis this publication is relevant to the extent that Christians, too, could freely use this formulation, cf. G.H. Halsberghe, *The cult of the Sol invictus* (Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain. 23), Leiden 1972, pp.12-3. For the connection with astrology in the **HA(Gr),** see (by the present author), 'The *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* and ancient astrology', *ZPE* 85 (1991), pp.71-85, esp. n.31; Introd. VI. Chronologically/philologically it is perhaps interesting that *vindicare* forms the standard translation in the *Vitae Patrum* of ἐκδικῆσαι, in preference to an apparently obsolete *ulcisci*, cf. J.B. Hofmann, Beiträge, *IF* 87, p.87 n.2. In the Greek Novel the term ἐκδικέω occurs only in Xen. Eph. 4,6,2 Ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς <...> τὸν τεθνηκότα ἐκδικῆσαι φίλον 'They decided therefore <...> to take revenge for their dead companion.' This detail underlines the exceptional position of **HA(Gr)**.

quomodo: The actual reading in **P** (**Rα, RC**) is quô = *quomodo*, misinterpreted by Ring, Riese (1893) (cf. Klebs, p.19 n.2; id., p.35 n.4).

inimica dei: In view of the context probably to be taken in an active sense: 'to adopt a hostile attitude towards the deity (= Sol, as the god of vengeance)', cf. OLD, s.v. *inimicus* (1) 'unfriendly, ill-disposed to a person'. The passive

meaning 'enemy of the deity' (ἐχθρά τοῦ θεοῦ) is not out of the question, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐχθρός (III) 'enemy': 'the act. and pass. senses frequently coincide'. In a passive sense the Greek Novel often uses θεοῖς ἐχθρά, cf. Achill. Tat. 7,6,3 ἡ θεοῖς ἐχθρὰ Μελίττη 'that accursed Melitte'; Heliod., 1,17,3 (Aristippus to his own wife) "ἔχω σε", εἶπεν, "ὦ θεοῖς ἐχθρά "'I have you," he said, "godforsaken wife."' (Klebs, p.218 regards *inimica dei* as an interpolation.)

32, RA 46-57/RB 14-29 (reconstruction in relation to *RA*):

32, RA 46-47 Dionysia vero induit se et filiam suam vestes lugubres, falsasque infund<i>t lacrimas et cives ad se convocans, quibus ait: 'But Dionysias dressed herself and her daughter in mourning and wept feigned tears. She summoned the citizens and addressed them:'

32, RB 14-18 Postera die prima luce scelerata, ut admissum facinus insidiosa fraúde celáret (*pl.*), famulos misit ad convocandos amicos et pátriae príncipes (*t.*). Qui convenientes consederunt. Tunc scelerata lugubres vestes induta, laniatis crinibus, nudo et livido pectore adfirmans dolorem, exiit de cubiculo. Fictas fingens lacrimas ait: 'The next day at dawn, in order to conceal her crime by cunning deceit, the wicked woman sent servants to summon her friends and the rulers of the land. They arrived and sat down together. Then the wicked woman put on mourning clothes, tore her hair and demonstrating sorrow by her bare and bruised breast, she came out of the bedroom. Feigning tears she said:'

Dionysia vero (RA) ~ *Postera die prima luce scelerata, ut admissum facinus insidiosa fraude celaret, famulos misit ad convocandos amicos et patriae principes. Qui convenientes consederunt* (RB). *RA*'s sober account contrasts with a detailed story in *RB*. The placement of the proper name *Dionysia* (RA) is highly functional (14 *Tunc Dionysia*; 28 *Stranguillio ut audivit*; 46 *Dionysia vero*) and can be traced back to **R(Gr)**. Highly functional, too, is *vero*: Dionysias will probably follow her own course now, without involving her husband in the conspiracy, the quarrel having escalated too far. No reason for this high-handed action is given. The influence of epitome? The series of interventions in *RB* is introduced by the application of a sharply defined chronology, cf. l.14 *Postera die*; l.14 *prima luce*; l.19 *hesterna die*; l.24 *Postera die*. The activities are also sharply distinguished: funeral – convocation of friends –

erection of a monument with inscription. The replacement of *Dionysia* by *scelerata* (l.14; l.16) agrees with *RB*'s preference for this adjective, cf. 31, RA 16 *scelesta* ~ RB 11 *scelerata*, comm. The long digression *RA* 14-45 is bridged by *ut admissum facinus* <…> *celaret* (RB), drawn from 32, RA 15 *quomodo posset facinus illud celare*, with which the digression opens in *RA*. The expression *insidiosa fraude* (RB) is a felicitous literary invention: ThLL VI,1 1272,73 offers only the parallel Arnob., *Nat.* 5,9. To lend a greater sense of style to the occasion, friends and rulers are invited. The use of the prefix *con-* is striking. The phraseology is reminiscent of the marriage procedure, cf. 23, RB 1 *Postera die vocantur amici, vicinarum urbium potestates. Quibus consedentibus*. For the central term *patriae principes*, cf. 3, RA 9/RB 7, comm. (Klebs, p.250 n.4 proposes to delete *patriae principes*.)

induit se et filiam suam (RA) ~ (*Tunc scelerata*) *lugubres vestes induta* (RB): *RA* offers a typically Greek construction, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐνδύ(ν)ω (II): '*clothe in* c. dupl. acc.' A similar construction is found in 46, RA 10; 48, RA 18.35. (Besides *induo* we also see [not in HA] the Graecism *vestio* with double acc., cf. Hoppe [1938], p.141.) RB changes consistently. Moreover, *RB* omits the daughter here, so that she is actually left out of the conspiracy: from *RB*'s perspective she is therefore not punished, but is given her liberty at the end of the story, cf. 50, RB 26-27 *et sceleratae <filiam> secum Tharsia tulit*.

falsasque infund<i>t lacrimas (RA) ~ *laniatis crinibus, nudo et livido pectore adfirmans dolorem, exiit de cubiculo. Fictas fingens lacrimas* (RB): A simple statement in *RA* is given a literary elaboration, on the strength of *RB*'s reading. The phrase *laniatis crinibus* (RB) is a favourite τόπος, both in Greek and in Latin. For Latin, see: Ov., *Ars* 1,122 *pars laniat crines*; *Met.* 4,558 *ut abreptum laniabat vertice crinem*; Sen., *Phaedr.* 826 (highly instructive) *quaerit crine lacerato fidem, decus omne turbat capitis, umectat genas: instruitur omni fraude feminea dolus*. The second addition *nudo et livido* (**bM**: *liquido* **βπ**) *pectore* is also a literary τόπος, cf. Reiner, op. cit. p.44 (στερνοτυπία 'beating on the breast for grief'); Betz, pp.71-2; Boulhol, 'Αναγνωρισμός, p.29 (with nn.76,77): Catull. 64,351 *putridaque infirmis variabunt pectora palmis* (cf. Kroll, ad loc.): Luc. 7,38 *lacerasset crine soluto pectora*. A combination of the two *loci* is frequently found in hagiography, cf. Mombr. II (Sebastian) 459,39 *clamans mater advenit et soluto capite canos suae senectutis* (sc. capillos) *ostentans* <…> *vestem, qua pectus tegebatur, scidit et* <…> *ostendebat eis laxis pellibus quas suxerant mammas*; ibid., (Sylvester) 510,44 *Occurrit multitudo mulierum, quae omnes resolutis crinibus nudatisque pectoribus* <…> *lachrymas straverunt*. These details have been added by *RB* solely to make Dionysias' grief appear more credible: the assumption of a Greek origin, theoretically possible (cf. Gow, *Theocr.* XV. 134 [comm.]), is an unnecessary hypothesis. Finally, *RB* adds: *exiit de cubiculo*, as a neces-

sary detail for him, in connection with 16-17 *lugubres induta vestes*. The formulation *Fictas fingens* (**bβπ**: *fundens* Riese [1893]) *lacrimas* is harsher than *falsas infund<i>t lacrimas* (RA): for the combination, cf. e.g. Ambros., *Epist.* 6,14 *fletum magnum flere*.

cives ad se convocans, quibus ait (RA) ~ (15-16) *famulos misit ad convocandos amicos* <…> (18) *ait* (RB): The funeral itself in the ancient world usually takes place in a rather informal atmosphere. Except for state funerals, it often had a closed, private nature, cf. Headlam, op. cit. p.303 (on Herondas 6,56). But *RB* makes it an official event, cf. above. As regards the *RA* construction, though it can be remedied by a minimal intervention, *convocans* should probably be retained as a *partic. pro verbo finito*, cf. 35, RA 1 *gaudens*; Weyman, *Wochschr. f. kl. Phil.* 1893, Sp. 578; Löfstedt, *Per.* 249. (In my view, an emendation like {*quibus*} [Schmeling, 1988, ad loc.] is unnecessary.)

32, RA 47-51

"C<arissimi> cives, ideo vos clamavimus, quia spem luminum et labores et exitus annorum nostrorum perdidimus: id est, Tharsia, quam bene nostis, nobis cruciatus et fletus reliquit amarissimos; quam digne sepelire fecimus." '"Dearest citizens. we have summoned you because we have lost the hope of our eyes, the object of our labours, the late fulfilment of our years; I mean, Tarsia, whom you know well, has left us only torments and most bitter tears. We have had her suitably buried."'

32, RB 18-23

"Amici fideles, scitote Tharsiam, Apollonii filiam, hesterna die stomachi dolore subito in villam suburbanam esse defunctam meque eam honestissimo funere extulisse." Patriae principes adfirmatione<m> sermonis ex habitu lugubri, fallacibus lacrimis seducti, crediderunt. '"Loyal friends, you might know that Tarsia, the daughter of Apollonius, yesterday in our suburban farm suddenly died from a stomach pain and that I have had her buried in a most honourable funeral." The rulers of the land believed the declaration she made because of her mourning dress, persuaded by her feigned tears.'

C<arissimi> cives (RA) ~ *Amici fideles* (RB): The manuscript tradition has handed down *kuum* **P**, arising from *km̃i*, the usual compendium

and spelling of *karissimi*; the emendation was first proposed by Bonnet-Riese (1893), cf. *karissimi* **Rα(G)**. *RB* has lifted the funeral to a higher level.

ideo vos clamavimus (RA) (i.q. *conclamavimus*, cf. καλέω 'to summon') ~ *scitote* (RB): An ingenious emendation by *RB*, so that the questionable *clamavimus* (pl.) is replaced by the neutral *scitote*: most likely the plural is a majestic plural, with Dionysias as speaker and agent, partly on behalf of her husband (in 32, RA 11 she had also involved her husband in the discussion without previous consultation, see comm.).

quia spem luminum et labores et exitus annorum nostrorum perdidimus; id est, Tharsia, quam bene nostis, nobis cruciatus et fletus reliquit amarissimos (RA): A splendid periphrasis entirely in the Byzantine style for the only word lacking in the text: *mortua est*. The choice of the combination *spem luminum* (= oculorum) was probably influenced by Vulg., Tob. 10,4 *fili mi* <...> *lumen oculorum nostrorum*. Almost the entire remainder of the sentence can be easily translated into Greek: for *labores* we can choose between two terms in particular, κάματοι or πόνοι, cf. LSJ, s.v. κάματος 'toil' 'trouble' (II): 'the product of toil' and LSJ, s.v. πόνος (III): 'anything produced by work'; the plural of these words is mainly found in the 3rd-4th century AD (cf. LSJ, s.v. κάματος; Roueché, *Aphrodisias*, p.74), which fits well with **HA(Gr)** and **R(Gr)**. The next term *exitus annorum nostrorum*, which should also be interpreted materially, could go back to many Greek nouns: ThLL V,2 1538-1539 gives 7 options, including τέλος 'achievement' 'attainment', cf. LSJ, s.v. (III); *Hellenica* XIII (1965), p.185. A word like ἀνάπαυσις 'rest' 'repose', in Late Greek often with the meaning *recreatio* (cf. Usener, *Acta S. Marinae*, Index, s.v. ἀνάπαυσις), is also eligible. So the translation would read: 'the late consolation of our years'. For *perdidimus* one naturally thinks of ἀπόλλυμι, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀπόλλυμι (II): 'to lose': Hom., *Od.* 2,46 πατέρ' ἐσθλὸν ἀπώλεσα 'I lost a noble father'. The immediately following *id est* serves to explain the series of preceding *abstracta pro concretis*: it thus has the function of τουτέστι = τοῦτ' ἔστιν 'that is to say', cf. LSJ, s.v., a verbal equivalent. Finally, *cruciatus et fletus reliquit* also makes a Greek impression, cf. LSJ, s.v. λείπω (2) 'to leave behind': 'especially of dying men': Hom., *Il.* 5,156 πατέρι δὲ γόον καὶ κήδεα λυγρὰ | λεῖπ' 'for his father he left only weeping and mourning'. Understandably, this formula occurs frequently in funereal inscriptions, cf. R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*, Ilinois Press., Urbana, 1962, *passim*. But higher literature often uses such *abstracta* too. (Klebs, p.271 deletes *fletus reliquit amarissimos*.) Probably thinking that it is just hollow rhetoric, *RB* has replaced this passage, which is completely appropriate to the context, by the sober, in itself

impeccable period *(scitote) Tharsiam, Apollonii filiam, hesterna die stomachi dolore subito in villam suburbanam esse defunctam*; he could fall back here on 32, RA 25 *falsis lacrimis dicamus eam subito dolore stomachi fuisse defunctam*, cf. 37, RA 10/RB 11.

quam digne sepelire fecimus (RA) ~ *meque eam honestissimo funere extulisse* (RB): Though not a single word is the same, *RA* and *RB* are closely related: in both formulation and content *RB* is an adjustment of *RA*. The construction *facere* + inf. is very rare in the *HA*. In the words of Klebs, p.241: 'nur in *RA* <…> in c.32 in einer großen Interpolation und 44 (= 44, RA 5 *impellens eam conruere fecit*, RB *aliter*). Diese Verbindung findet sich bei den späteren Historikern.' This definition is deceptively superficial. Classical Latin would have formulated: *fecimus, ut digne sepeliretur / sepelivimus eam digne*, cf. OLD, s.v. *facio* (15). But Christian Latin accepts this loose construction from the outset, cf. Blaise, s.v. *facio* (IV): 'faire que' 'faire en sorte que' (with many examples from the Church Fathers). The NT places cited there are interesting, as they literally translate ποιέω + inf.: e.g. John 6:10 *facite homines discumbere* (Gr. ποιήσατε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀναπεσεῖν); Luke 5:34 *Numquid potestis filios sponsi* <…> *facere ieiunare*? (Gr. μὴ δύνασθε τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ νυμφῶνος <…> ποιῆσαι νηστεῦσαι;). See also Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ποιέω (I.1.θ): Mark 7:37 *surdos fecit audire, et mutos loqui* (Gr. τοὺς κωφοὺς ποιεῖ ἀκούειν καὶ ἀλάλους λαλεῖν), cf. Matt. 5:32; Acts 17:26. An origination of *RA* in **R(Gr)** is entirely possible: (?) ἣν εἰκότως ταφῆναι ἐποιήσαμεν. For *fecimus* as majestic plural, cf. above 32, RA 48 *clamavimus* (comm.); *RA* 49 *perdidimus*. This clears the way for *RB*'s transformation: it makes Dionysias' deception even more sophisticated and daring and anticipates Stranguillio's stupid astonishment in c.37. The simple *digne sepelire* (RA) (perhaps *RB* was also irritated by *fecimus* + inf.) is replaced by the standard expression *funere efferre*, cf. OLD, s.v. *funus* (c) 'to carry out for burial' (though one seriously wonders what *honestissimo [funere]* may have meant in practice, for the surreptitious interment of an [apparent] corpse, without a relatively small community of citizens knowing about it). In my view, the next sentence *Patriae principes* <…> *crediderunt* (RB) has been added merely to indicate how it could be that an entire community, including its rulers, gave credence to such a sham. For *credere* + acc., cf. Blaise, s.v. *credo* (I,3).

32, RA 51-53	Tunc pergunt cives, ubi figuratum fuerat sepulchrum a Dionysia, et pro meritis ac beneficiis Apollonii, patris Tharsiae, fabricantes rogum ex aere collato et scripserunt taliter: 'Then the citizens went to the tomb which Dionysias had made. Because of the kindness and benefactions of Apollonius, Tarsia's father, they had a monument raised from money that had been contributed, and put the following inscription on it:'
32, RB 24-26	Postera die placuit universis patriae principibus, ob meritum Apollonii, filiae eius in litore fieri monumentum ex aere collato, non longe a monumento Lycoridis, inscriptum in titulo:

Tunc pergunt cives (RA) ~ *Postera die placuit universis patriae principibus* (RB): *RB* deliberately corrects by introducing a more precise chronology, official terminology (*placuit* ~ ἔδοξε) and official, higher authorities.

figuratum fuerat sepulchrum (RA) ~ *in litore fieri monumentum* (RB): Once again formulations which at first sight appear to be unconnected. For *figuratum*, cf. ThLL VI.1 741,29; OLD, s.v. *figuro* (2) 'to produce by shaping, form, make', a correct term for: making in great haste a κενοτάφιον 'empty tomb' (Klebs, p.262 disputes 'figuratum fuerat' [= *figuratum erat*, cf. LHS, Lat. Gr. II 1965, § 179] as: 'an einer interpolierten Stelle'). The Glossaria (cf. CGL VI,451) unanimously equate *figuro* with σχηματίζω. This σχηματίζω would also make good sense in **R(Gr)** and **HA(Gr)**, cf. LSJ, s.v. σχηματίζω, σχῆμα 'form, shape'.

RB often harks back to the more precise location, cf. 30, RB 5 *in litore illi* (= nutrici) *monumentum fabricatum est*, just as a connection is made here with Lycoris: *non longe a monumento Lycoridis*. In both places *RB* uses the term *monumentum* (cf. 30, RB 50 comm.), cf. 38, RB 4 *in proximo littore* (RA /). The addition *in litore* need not point to special knowledge of the *HA* in any Greek form. Rather it is a τόπος both in Latin and in Greek, cf. Charit. I 6,5 Ἦν δὲ τάφος μεγαλοπρεπὴς Ἑρμοκράτους πλησίον τῆς θαλάσσης 'Hermocrates owned a magnificent vault near the sea – on a ship you could see it from far out.' For fear of pollution Antiquity preferred to bury the dead in the no-man's-land between sea and land, cf. R. Parker, *Miasma*, Oxford 1983, p.226 f.; Bremmer (2000), p.34.

pro meritis ac beneficiis Apollonii, patris Tharsiae (RA) ~ *ob meritum Apollonii, filiae eius (fieri monumentum)* (RB): The *RB* redaction may be connected with the effectively coinciding meanings of *merita* and *beneficia*; the

change from *Tharsiae* (RA) as genitive to *filiae eius* (RB) dative improves both logic and syntax.

fabricantes rogum (RA) ~ *(fieri) monumentum* (RB): The construction (ll.52-53) *et* <…> *fabricantes* <…> *et scripserunt* should be retained, cf. Weyman, *Wo. kl. Phil.* 10, 1893, col.578 as *participium pro verbo definito*, cf. above *RA* 47 *convocans*; Ind. gr., s.v. participium. For a different Greek-based approach, cf. Horn (1918), p.76. See 26, RA 9 (comm.). For the curious meaning *rogus = sepulcrum*, cf. 32, RA 26 (comm.). *RB* was unable to agree with either point: the result is as succinct as it is excellent.

ex aere collato (RA/RB): This typical Latin formulation probably starts a Latin adaptation of an originally Greek funereal inscription, going back via **R(Gr)** to **HA(Gr)**. For the formulation *ex aere dato*, cf. OLD, s.v. *aes* (2.a): *Lex Reg.* (*Font. iur.* p.8); for the formulation *ex aere collato*, cf. OLD, s.v. *confero* (4): 'to apply money': Cic., *Off.* 1,68 *ad beneficentiam* <…> *conferre (pecuniam)*; Tac., *Ann.* 3,72 *opes ad urbis ornatum conferre*; see also ThLL IV 176,62 'saepissime in INSCR', alongside standard abbreviations like *d.s.* (= de suo), *d.p.s.* (= de pecunia sua). The corresponding Greek formula is (?) ἐξ ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀνάλωμα. An amusingly garbled rendering is found in *cod. Vatic. 1984* (RC): *fieri monumentum ex graeco* (et *add.* Va[c]) *latino* (*corr. ex* lat), cf. Schmeling (1988), p.111,6. (E. Sironen in Panayotakis [2003], p.293 wrongly interprets the formula *ex aere collato* as: 'this bronze memorial'.)

et scripserunt taliter (RA) ~ *inscriptum* (**b**: *scribentibus* **βMπ**) *in titulo* (RB): There is no getting away from *et scripxerunt* **P** (cf. above, comm. on: *fabricantes rogum*), despite an emendation *inscripserunt*, proposed by Ziehen (accepted by Riese [1893], Schmeling [1988]). It is probably a direct translation of γράφω, cf. LSJ, s.v. (II.2): 'to inscribe': Demosth. 9,41 γράφειν εἰς στήλην. For *taliter*, cf. 31, RA 8 *coepit cogitare taliter* (? οὕτως). Though the reading *inscriptum* (sc. monumentum) **b** goes some way towards adjusting *RA*'s harsh construction, the exact meaning of *titulus* is hard to establish: tombstone?, memorial column (*stela, columna*)?, or the entire monument (cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *titulus* [3])? For *in titulo* codd. Riese (1893) prefers *hoc titulo*. The meaning 'title' prevails in the immediately following 38, RA 8/RB 7 *titulum legit*.

32, RA 54-57 ~ RB 27-29. With minor adjustments, this inscription is repeated in 38, RA 9-12 ~ RB 8-10. For the sake of convenience I will comment on the two places (abbreviated as I and II) here together.

I **32, RA 54-57**

DII MANES
CIVES THARSI THARSIAE VIRGINI
BENEFICIIS TYRII APOLLONII
<EX AERE COLLATO FECERUNT>

32, RB 27-29

THARSIAE VIRGINI APOLLONII FILIAE
OB BENEFICIA EIUS
EX AERE CONLATO DONUM DEDERUNT

'The Spirits of the Dead: The citizens of Tarsus erected this monument from money they contributed in honour of the maiden Tarsia, because of the benefactions of Apollonius of Tyre.'

II **38, RA 9-12**

DII MANES
CIVES THARSI THARSIAE VIRGINI
APOLLONII REGIS FILIAE
OB BENEFICIUM EIVS, PIETATIS CAUSA
EX AERE COLLATO FECERUNT

38, RB 8-10

DIIS MANIBUS
CIVES THARSIAE VIRGINI
APOLLONII TYRII FILIAE

EX AERE CONLATO FECERUNT

'The Spirits of the Dead. The citizens of Tarsus erected this monument from money they contributed, in honour of the maiden Tarsia, daughter of King Apollonius, because of his benefactions, out of respect.'

A note in general must precede a detailed discussion of these two funereal inscriptions. The occurrence of these inscriptions in a more or less standard Latin form does not, of course, say anything about an assumed

Hi phase, as Klebs pp.191-6 would have it. Rather they should be regarded as a relatively successful adaptation of a Greek original to Roman terminology, cf. 10, RA 17-19/RB 15-17 (comm.).

This adaptation is all the more understandable because the funereal inscriptions both in Latin and in Greek consisted of the same standard elements (dedicatory formula – initiator(s) – beneficiary, sometimes with patronymic and civil status – motivation – donors – funding).

To illustrate the contribution of citizens in the realization of the grave and its στήλη 'gravestone', we can cite Xen. Ephes. 3.2.13 καὶ δυνηθεὶς εὐπορῆσαι που ἑνὸς ἐπιτηδείου λίθου στήλην ἐπέστησα τῷ τάφῳ καὶ ἐπέγραψα εἰς μνήμην τοῦ δυστυχοῦς μειρακίου ἐπίγραμμα 'I could only provide a single stone to serve as a memorial on the grave, and inscribed it in memory of the unfortunate youth with a makeshift epigram'.

As we can see, the two inscriptions (I, II), like RA and RB, are largely in agreement. Yet they display small typical differences, so that caution in textual constitution and interpretation is required. The view that I and II were originally identical word for word, or that II as the more complete inscription is more original (Klebs, p.197 'an unpassender Stelle in c.32 wiederholt'; Schmeling (1988), p.25,23) begs the question.

DII MANES (RA I,II) ~ **DIIS MANIBUS** (RB II): The form *Dii Manes* **Va^{c}P**, **Rα(F)**, completely written out as in *RA* II (**AVa^{c}P**), should be retained as such. It can be explained as a misinterpreted pagan funereal inscription D.M. (i.e. *Dis Manibus* 'to the Divine Spirits'). Christians long continued to use these formulas, on the one hand to protect their graves from desecration, on the other from a longing for the romanticism of earlier days, cf. Delehaye, *Les legendes hagiographiques*, Bruxelles 1955[4] (repr. 1973), p.174. A similar misinterpretation is found in e.g. *B(onae) M(emoriae)* interpreted as *B(eati) M(artyres)*, cf. Delehaye, ibid. p.78 (for other lit., see ed. m. [1984], p.123). For an interesting note on the survival of the funereal inscription D.M., see Garbugino, p.59 n.40.

The fully written formula here could perhaps also be explained directly from the fully written Greek formula θεοὶ καταχθόνιοι, which is found as such in maledictory inscriptions, particularly from Asia Minor, cf. J. Strubbe, *Arai Epitymbioi*, Gent 1983, I, p.248 μήτε θεῶν καταχθονίων εἴλεος τύχυτο (sic) 'nor that he may experience pity from the infernal gods' (from Saittai, Western Asia Minor, AD 109 [= P. Hermann, *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, V.1, Wien 1981, no.101]). Alongside this longer form we also find the abbreviation ΘΚ (= Θεοῖς καταχθονίοις) as an equivalent of *D.M.*, cf. *Inscriptiones graecae urbis Romae* (4), Romae 1990, nos.1163, 1164, 1669, 1670, or also Θ(εοῖς) Χ(θονίοις), ibid., no.1667. RB (II) is still familiar with the correct interpretation of the funereal formula D.M. as a

dative. The absence of this formula in I, RB, together with *Cives* (and perhaps *Tharsi/Tharsiae*) in the next line, should probably be attributed to a minor scribal lacuna, since a subject of RB 29 *donum dederunt* (cf. *Tharsenses* **π**) is urgently required. In relation to a Greek original we should obviously mention the Greek abbreviation ΔΜ = Δίς Μάνιβους (*Dis Manibus*), cf. McLean (2005[4]), p.52.

CIVES THARSI (RA I,II) ~ (RB I /; RB II **CIVES**): For the form *Tharsus* in the *HA*, cf. Ind. nom., s.v. It corresponds to classical Latin, cf. OLD, s.v. *Tarsus* (*-os*), *-i*: Cic., *Fam.* 2,17,1; Vitruv. 8,3,6; Mela 1,70. The elliptical form *Tharsia* (sc. *civitas*) also occurs in RB, cf. Ind. nom., s.v. T(h)arsius. Partly on the strength of RB II we could therefore add in RB I: *‹Diis Manibus Cives Tharsi/Tharsiae› Tharsiae virgini*. The lacuna could thus be due to haplography. (A form *Tharsis* (cf. Θαρσεῖς), as proposed by Riese (1893), (RA II) is unnecessary.)

THARSIAE VIRGINI RA (I,II)/RB (I,II): Fortunately there is agreement on this most crucial part. In particular the word *virgini* made an overwhelming impression on Apollonius.

APOLLONII REGIS FILIAE (RB II; RA I /) ~ APOLLONII (RB I; TYRII *add.* RB II) FILIAE (RB I,II): RA's simple formulation, without any specification (cf. 32, RA 36), is probably the best, cf. McLean (2005[4]), § 4.17 The patronymic, pp.93-96. The addition REGIS (RA II) ultimately goes back to **R(Gr)**. This adjunct is uncommon in the *HA* (cf. Ind. verb., s.v. rex), but forms a real component within the Latin *HA*, cf. Introd. V.2.1. RB (I,II) probably omitted *regis* deliberately: the citizens of Tarsus could not properly understand the use of this title, since in its present form the *HA* had not formally discussed Tarsia's descent. Compare the remark by Konstan, p.89 (on Riese [1893], p.66,3) 'It is not indicated when or how the citizens learned that Tharsia was the daughter of ‹king› (my addition) Apollonius.' (Klebs, p.197 n.5 eliminates 'regis' without any argumentation ['"Regis" ist wie öfter in *RA* hinzu interpoliert'], an opinion shared by Schmeling [1988], p.29,24.)

BENEFICIIS TYRII APOLLONII (RA I) ~ OB BENEFICIA EIVS (RB I cf. RA II) ~ (RB II /): These small differences need no discussion. But we should mention OB BENEFICIUM EIVS, PIETATIS CAUSA (RA II): **AP** actually read *ob beneficium pietatis eius causam*. The editions unanimously follow **γ** in placing *eius* before *pietatis*, so that *eius* (= Apollonii) is connected with *beneficium*, cf. above (38, RA 4-5) *memores beneficiorum tuorum* and 32, RB 28 *ob beneficia eius*. The actual content of *beneficia* (*-um*) is of course formed by the presents of grain, cf. 9, RA 14-15. The Greek

(like RA I in pl.) probably had εὐεργεσίαι (cf. LSJ, s.v.). The phrase *pietatis causa* is very frequent in Latin, esp. in inscriptions, cf. ThLL III 682,53 ff. (40, RA 32 has the combination in a different sense.) We do not know what **R(Gr)** and **HA(Gr)** read: perhaps (?) εὐσεβείας ἕνεκεν could explain the form *pietatis causam* **AP**. It is unclear why *RB* omitted this sentence.

EX AERE COLLATO (RA II; RB I,II): A typically Roman standard formula, cf. above *RA* 33/RB 25 (comm.). The corresponding phrase in Greek is ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων with 'each at his own expense'.

FECERUNT (RA I.II, RB II) ~ DONUM DEDERUNT (RB I): *fecerunt* dominates in the tradition. The addition in *RA* (I) has been made on the basis of **Rα(F)** and RA/RB (II) *ex aere collato* (*colato* **AP**: *conl-* RB), cf. Schmeling, *Notes*, p.150 (on ed. 25,23). Perhaps the omission of *fecerunt* (RA I/) is even authentic, cf. McLean (2005^{4}), § 11.02. The Preparation of Epitaphs, Sarcophagi, Tombs, and Funerary Altars, p.266: 'The verb ἐποίησεν, ἔτευξε etc. is often understood' (compare the literature listed in n.25). In changing from *fecerunt* (RA, I) to *donum dederunt* RB (I) has probably made a mistake: ancient inscriptions do in fact use *donum dederunt* (in the form *d.d.*), but for something which is given as a present, not for a funereal inscription (cf. 10, RA 18/RB 16 [comm.]; Klebs, p.202).

CHAPTER 33

Chapters **33-36** recount in sober words Tharsia's transport to the slave market, her purchase by a brothel-keeper, her placement in a brothel, her vicissitudes there and ultimate rescue with her virginity intact. Such a storyline is a commonplace in ancient literature, probably also because reality and literature touched here. The theme can be traced from ancient tragedy to comedy (both in Greek and in Latin), from prose writers, poets to themes for rhetoric. Naturally we find the same kind of phraseology, though one genre does not necessarily influence another. Since hagiography also likes to use this theme, **R(Gr)** could reproduce the story of **HA(Gr)** without making many drastic changes. The sober style without much detail can be attributed to **R(Gr)**. *RA* probably renders the Greek of his model quite faithfully. *RB* follows, with the usual corrections. Only in a few places, in the specification of proper names, (33, RB 3 *Ninus*; 33, RB 23 *Amiantus*, *Breseida*) has he taken any notice of a Greek text (**R[Gr]**?), and perhaps also in a few details (33, RB 3-4 *leno, nec vir nec femina*). Within Latin hagiographical circles this theme could also be safely broached: the same tribulations could be told of many illustrious saints, in particular of Agnes, cf. F. Augar, *Die Frau im römischen Christenprocess. Ein Beitrag zur Verfolgungsgeschichte der christlichen Kirche im römischen Staat* (TU 13,4) Leipzig, 1905; M. Delbouille, 'Apollonius de Tyr et les débuts du roman français', *Mélanges offerts à R. Lejeune*, t.II, Gembloux 1969 (pp.1171-1204), p.1183; Robert, *Pionios*, p.68; Flemming, J.R.S. 89 (1999), n.7; Bremmer (2000), p.42; Panayotakis (2002), pp.106-12 (with further literature). For Greek, in connection with **R(Gr)**, compare Pall., *Hist. Laus.* (c.65, ll.1-39), where a young man, also employed in the magistrature, tries to smuggle a Christian woman out of the *lupanar* by giving her his (men's) clothing. Klebs, pp.303-7 finds the origin of this theme in Latin to the virtual exclusion of Greek sources (p.303 'novellistische Schulthemata der römischen Rhetorik'); he points to the influence of the *Comoedia Palliata* and a similar theme in Sen. Mai., *Controv.* 1,2,21 *quaedam virgo a piratis capta venit: empta a lenone et prostituta est. Venientes ad se exorabat stipem*. But the development and point of this rhetorical theme are far removed from the *HA*.

For an extensive study of the *themata* and their style in the rhetorical schools, cf. E. Pianezzola, 'Spunti narrativi nelle <<Controversiae>> di Seneca il Vecchio', in: *Attí del convegno internazionale <<Letterature classiche e narratologia>>*. (Selva di Fassano [Brindisi] 6 - 8 ottobre 1980), Istituto di Filologia Latina dell' Università di Perugia 1981, pp.253-67 (for *HA*,

cf. pp.264-5). For some further literature, see Garbugino, p.161 with nn.36,37. The similarity to Greek, esp. Xen. Eph., is much greater, cf. app. font. cc.33-36, *passim*.

33, RA 1-2 Igitur qui Tharsiam rapuerunt, advenerunt in civitatem Mytilenem. Deponiturque inter cetera mancipia et venalis <in> foro proponitur. 'So Tarsia's abductors arrived in the city of Mytilene. She was landed among the other slaves and put up for sale in the market-place.'

33, RB 1-2 Interea piratae, qui Tharsiam rapuerunt, in civitate My<til>ena deponunt et venalem inter cetera mancipia proponunt.

Igitur (RA) ~ *Interea* (RB): The story harks back to 32, RA 6 *collantes altum petierunt pelagus*. *RA* makes a loose connection (with *igitur* in first position, cf. οὖν, LSJ, s.v.), *RB* likes to use *interea*, cf. 28, RA/RB 1 (comm.). En route the pirates probably consulted on what to do with the girl, as usual in the Greek Novel, cf. Achill. Tat. 8,16,3: the epitome leaves this out.

rapuerunt ((RA/RB): Classical prose would have preferred the pluperfect, cf. 1, RA 18.

advenerunt in civitatem Mytilenem. Deponiturque (RA) ~ *in civitate Mytilena deponunt* (RB): *advenerunt* (RA) is eliminated as superfluous.

Mytilenem (RA: *mutilenē)* ~ *My<til>ena* (RB: *militena* **b**$\boldsymbol{\beta}^1$**M**, *militana* **π**): The reference is of course to Mytilene, Μυτιλήνη, the chief city of Lesbos (cf. OLD, s.v. *Mytilenae, -arum fem. plur.* of *Mytilenē, -es*). The name itself is infrequent in *HA*, cf. Ind. nom., s.v. Alongside the form *mutilenem* (*mutilenen*?) **P** here, *RA* constantly has the form *mutilena*, *RB* the metathetical form *militena* (perhaps influenced by Milete). The form *militena* is common in later adaptations, cf. Singer, p.116. Corruptions in vernacular versions are considerable, cf. Klebs, p.365. It is no longer possible to determine the original form in RA/RB; editors argue for a transparent form. The **P** orthography comes closest to the Greek form, cf. Introd., n.52. Also, it agrees with the more poetic form Mytilenē, cf. OLD, s.v. (Hor., *Carm.* 1,7,1; *Ep.* 1,11,17). The frequent combination with *civitas* suggests that *Mytilena* was partly felt to be an adjective, cf. title *HA* (comm.). Remarkable here is the shift towards classical diction in **π**: 39, RB 3 *Militenam civitatem* **βM**: *Militanam urbem* **π**; 47, RB 14 (*universus*

populus) *Militenę*: *Militene urbis* **π**. It is striking that nothing further is said about Lesbos ~ Mytilene, famous for its idyllic location and splendid buildings (cf. Schönberger, comm. on Long. 1,1,1, p.173: Vitruv. 1,6,1 *in insula Lesbo oppidum Mytilenae magnificenter est aedificatum et eleganter)*, no doubt due to the epitome style. In the Greek Novel Μιτυλήνη and Μιτυληναῖος feature only in Longus, cf. *Less.*, ss.vv.

Deponiturque <…> **proponitur** (RA) ~ *deponunt* <…> *proponunt* (RB): *RB* prefers the active form, as being more direct. The choice of verbs, though excellent Latin (cf. Val. Max. 2,7,2 *cibum* <…> *coctum venalem proponi vetuit*), was probably co-determined by Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v.κατατίθημι, κατατίθεμαι 'to put on shore', 'to disembark'; LSJ, s.v. προτίθημι (II.2): 'to set out wares for show or sale': Lucian, *Nigr.* 25 μάλιστα δὲ ἐμέμνητο τῶν ἐπὶ μισθῷ φιλοσοφούντων καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὤνιον ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς προτιθέντων 'especially he recorded the philosophers for money, who set out virtue for sale as in the market place.'

<**in**> **foro** (proponitur) (RA) ~ (RB /): Mytilene was a transit port for the wealthy Ionian hinterland (cf. Mart. 7,80,9 *sed Mitylenaei roseus mangonis ephebus*), in competition with Miletus, cf. Charit. 1,11,7; 2,1,6-7. In effect the sale of Tarsia entailed false imprisonment, cf. Plepelits, *Kallirhoe* (1976), n.52. In practice the authorities tried to curb this trade, cf. F. Zimmermann, 'Kallirhoes Verkauf durch Theron. Eine juristisch-philologische Betrachtung zu Chariton', *Aus der byzantinischen Arbeit der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, Berlin 1957, Bnd. I, p.72 ff. The *HA*, certainly in its present epitome context, ignores these details. The reading *foro proponitur* **Va**^{c}**P** could be defended in various ways, on the basis of both Greek and Latin. It could be regarded as a final dative (cf. Williams, p.130 on Verg., *Aen.* 5,451 *it clamor caelo*), much favoured esp in Late Latin (Greg. of Tours); as an ablative of place (cf. R. van der Paard, p.35, on Apul., *Met.* 3,2 *theatro*); for the combination with *foro* in particular, cf. ThLL VI,1 1200,8-28. For Greek one could point to the disappearance of ἐν, cf. S. Reichmann, *Das byzantinische Alexandergedicht*, 1963 (Beiträge zur klass. Philologie, no.13), p.X. One could even refer to Xen. Eph. 4,1,3 τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Νείλῳ πλεύσαντες 'sailing on the Nile', cf. ibid. 5,1,5. However, such explanations are more or less artificial and incidental, and references usually involve poetry (or poetical prose). Editors argue for *in foro* in this place, partly for palaeographical reasons (*ĩforo*). *RB*'s elimination is self-evident.

For the narrative style, cf. Xen. Eph. 5,5,7 Ἡ δὲ Ἀνθία κατήχθη μὲν εἰς Τάραντα, πόλιν τῆς Ἰταλίας· ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὁ Κλυτὸς <…> ἀποδίδοται αὐτὴν πορνοβοσκῷ 'Anthia was brought to the city of Tarentum in Italy. And there Clytus <…> sold her to a brothel-keeper.'

33, RA 3-5 Audiens autem hoc leno, vir infaustissimus, nec virum nec mulierem voluit emere nisi Tharsiam puellam, et coepit contendere, ut eam emeret. 'The news reached a pimp, an extremely disreputable man. He was not interested in buying anyone, male or female, except Tarsia and he began to bid for her.'

33, RB 2-3 Et videns eam leno, Ninus nomine, cupidissimus et locupletissimus, nec vir nec femina, contendere coepit, ut eam emeret. 'And a pimp, called Ninus, very greedy and very rich, neither man nor woman, seeing her began to bid to purchase her.'

An important passage for the *RA*-*RB* relationship.

Audiens autem hoc (RA) ~ *Et videns eam* (RB): For the interchangeability of *audire – videre*, cf. 5, RA 1 *Rex ut vidit* ~ RB 1 *Rex ut audivit*. In *RA* the procurer hears a rumour that merchandise has arrived and hastens to the market-place; in *RB* this connection is lost: *videns* is no more than spurious logic.

leno (RA/RB): Naturally the main character in this kind of scene, cf. πορνοβοσκός 'brothel-keeper' 'pimp'. In the *HA* this figure occurs *passim* in certain episodes, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. leno. For the *leno* as type, cf. O. Stotz, *De lenonis in comoedia figura*, Darmstadtiae, in aedibus Benderi, 1920.

Ninus (b) nomine (RB): At three places in this chapter *RB* gives descriptive names to anonymous characters (see note on RB 23 *Amiantus* and ibid., *Briseis*). An argument supporting *RA* is that the *leno* figure is usually anonymous, cf. Calderini, p.79 (including the example Xen. Eph. 5,5,4). (Klebs, p.42 follows exactly the opposite line of reasoning and assumes that *Leoninus*, *Briseis* and *Amiantus* have dropped out in *RA*, a curious coincidence!) The name Νίνος seems to have been fairly uncommon in the Greek-speaking world, cf. Fraser ~ Matthews (1987-), I (one reference), III^{A} (one reference). The Greek Novel contains more places, cf. *Less*. The choice of the name *Ninus* for the procurer (actually a eunuch) is subtle, inasmuch as the Assyrian King Ninos was regarded as the prototype of voluptuousness (Iustin. 1,1,7: Curt. 3,3(6),16; August., *Civ. dei* 18,2,3, p.259,7 Dombart[2]). Moreover, the name is relevant to the textual history of the *HA* and its place of origin, because Ninos' name and image occur on local coins in Asia Minor, where he was venerated as a founder of cities (Nineveh) 'κτίστης Νίνος', cf. L. Robert, *A travers l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1988,

pp.332-3; see esp. K.T. Erim, *Aphrodisias, City of Venus Aphrodite*, London 1986, pp.25-7. Later codices of *RB* have missed this link and mangled the name, partly in combination with the 'profession': *Ninus* **b**; *Leoninus* **π** (*a. corr.*), *Leoninius* **π**; *Lenonius* **β**; *Lenoninus* **M**, cf. ed. m. (1984), ad loc.; 40, RB 20 (app. crit.). Perhaps a name like *Leontius* also played a role in the name's corruption, cf. Greg. Tur., *Lib. de Mirac. B. Andreae* (ed. Bonnet, p.841,38) *Leontius autem, servus Sostrati*, alongside an adjective like *lenonius*, cf. OLD, s.v. *lenonius* 'of or belonging to a pander', cf. ThLL VII$^{II\ 2}$ 1150, 74-6 (a name preferred by Klebs, p.39; Schmeling, p.66,23). The question of course is: where does *RB* get this name from? As far as I can see, he took his cue from **R(Gr)** in some or other recension, precisely in view of the significant, caustic meaning of the names, cf. Introd. VII.2.2.2.

vir infaustissimus (RA) ~ *cupidissimus et locupletissimus* (RB): It is unclear why *RB* changes here: elsewhere *infaustus, -tissimus* is a standard adjective for the *leno*, cf. 46, RA 6 *causa lenonis infaustissimi* ~ RB 6 *lenonis causa* (comm.); 46, RA 26/RB 24 *illi infausto*. The adjective itself is totally acceptable, cf. OLD, s.v. (2): 'accursed'. For the superlative ThLL VII 1355,62-3 records only Iulius Valerius 2,25 *infaustissimum iter* and the two places *HA* (RA). As Greek equivalents ThLL, loc. cit., mentions ἀθέμιτος, ἀνεπάγαθος, δυσμενής, δυσοιωνίστος, (sic: *expectares* δυσοίωνος) δύσοναρ. Riese (1893), *index*, s.v. *infaustus* cites κακοδαίμων 'possessed by an evil genius'. This word would fit well: it occurs frequently in the Greek Novel (cf. *Less.*, s.v. κακοδαίμων), also as superlative (cf. LSJ, s.v.: Lucian., *Deor. Cons.* 7). *RB*'s two alternatives, *cupidissimus et locupletissimus*, probably serve to characterize the *leno* in the following market scene, and occur elsewhere in the *HA* too, cf. 46, RA 17 *leno cupidissimus* ~ RB 16 *cupidissimus leno*; 4, RA 2 *locuples valde*; RB 3 *locuples immenso*; 6, RB 18; 16, RA 21/RB 18. The superlative is frequent in classical Latin too, e.g. Cic., *Ver.* 14 *monumenta <...> regum locupletissimorum*; id., *Orat.* 172 *auctores locupletissimi*; Caes., *De bello civ.* 3,31,4 *locupletissimas urbes*; Nep., *Ag.* 3,1 *regio locupletissima*.

nec virum nec mulierem voluit emere nisi Tharsiam puellam (RA) ~ *nec vir nec femina* (RB): For the meaning *nec virum nec mulierem* = *neminem*, cf. 46, RA 2 *ut nullus omnino domi remaneret, neque vir neque femina* (RB *nec vir nec femina*) alongside e.g. Hom., *Od.* 4,142 οὔτ' ἄνδρ' οὔτε γυναῖκα; Long. 3,6,2 οὐδείς, οὐκ ἀνήρ, οὐ γύναιον. For this so-called polar expression, cf. Pall., *Hist. Laus.* (ed. Bartelink), c.34, l.15 (comm. p.362). See also comm. on 46, RA 2. For *nisi*, cf. 22, RA 18-19 *aurum, argentum <...> non quaerit, nisi solum regnum*. The *RA* reading is thus above all suspicion, and can probably be traced back directly to **R(Gr)**. Perhaps something like οὔτε ἄνδρα οὔτε γυναῖκα ἐβούλετο ἀγοράζειν, εἰ μή. (Klebs, p.39 deletes *nec virum nec mulierem voluit emere nisi Tharsiam, et*; p.286 n.3: 'in *RA* nicht

mehr verstanden und durch Interpolationen verderbt.') But *RB* probably thought the sentence too simple and seized the opportunity to introduce the term '*nec vir nec mulier*' = *eunuchus* on the basis of *nec virum nec mulierem* (RA). This was felicitous inasmuch as it also provided a key to the curious situation in 35, RA 14-15/RB 14-15, where the *leno* tells the *villicus puellarum* 'the overseeer in charge of the girls' to deflower Tarsia, instead of actively assuming this role himself, cf. Klebs, p.39 (= Garbugino, p.37).. The word combination *nec vir nec femina* occurs as such in Ov., *Am.* 2,3,1. According to Klebs, p.286, *RB* derived this formulation directly from Ov. ('sicher aus Ov., *Am.* 2,3,1 genommen'), but cf. Ps. Cypr., *De spectaculis* (ed. Boulanger, Paris 1933) 6,4 *et propter unum nescio quem nec virum nec feminam commovetur civitas tota*. Curiously, however, the expression occurs in the same form in Greek too: Eurip., *Or.* 1528 οὔτε γὰρ γυνὴ πέφυκας οὔτε ἐν ἀνδράσιν σύ γ'εἶ 'you neither are a woman nor are you numbered among men'; Lucian., *Eunuch.* 6 οὔτε ἄνδρα οὔτε γυναῖκα εἶναι τὸν εὐνοῦχον, ἀλλά τι σύνθετον καὶ τερατῶδες, cf. Betz, p.79 n.2. See also A.D. Knox – W. Headlam, *Herondas, The Mimes and Fragments*, Cambridge 1922 (repr. 1966), p.237 (on Mim. 3,5). Greek even has a single word at its disposal, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀνδρόγυνος 'man-woman, hermaphrodite'; ibid., s.v. ἀρσενόθηλυς 'hermaphrodite, of both sexes'. In fact this passage in the *HA* places the reader in a dilemma: *RB* may have introduced the expression on the basis of his own reading, but he may also have derived the expression from a Greek (**R[Gr]**?) or similar source, together with the names introduced, cf. Introd. VII.2.2. The mention of '*eunuchus*' was not strictly necessary, since in practice mainly eunuchs were entrusted with the charge of women's quarters, cf. Ov., *Am.* 2,3,1 *Ei mihi quod dominam nec vir nec femina servas / mutua nec Veneris gaudia nosse potes*; Heliod. 9,25,5 Ἔχει τι ζηλότυπον ἔμφυτον τὸ εὐνούχων γένος · ὧν γὰρ ἀπεστέρηται, τούτων εἰς κώλυμα τοῖς ἄλλοις προβέβληται 'Jealousy is endemic in eunuchs: they are employed to prevent others enjoying the pleasures of which they are themselves deprived', cf. E. Maaß, 'Eunuchos und Verwandtes', *Rhein. Mus.*, N.F. 74 (1925), p.432; M. Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite, Mythes et Rites de la Bissexualité dans l'Antiquité classique*, Paris 1958; for eunuchs in Roman hagiography: Delehaye, *Légendier*, p.21.

coepit contendere (RA: *contendere coepit* RB), **ut eam emeret**: *Contendĕre* in the sense of 'to bid a price', cf. 33, RA 11/RB 10. For this meaning, see Lewis & Short, s.v. *contendo* (II.B. 2.b) 'to vie with in bidding, to bid against': Cic., *Verr.* 2,3,42 § 99 *is licere non destitit*: *illi quoad videbatur ferri aliquo modo posse, contenderunt*. Perhaps *contendere* (cf. CGL VI, 268) in the sense of 'to bid' overlies ἀγωνίζεσθαι, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀγωνίζομαι (A): 'to contend for a prize'. This specific sense (cf. Riese [1893], Index s.v. *contendo*) does not exclude the ordinary meaning, cf. OLD, s.v. *contendo* (8): 'to compete, contend'.

33, RA 5-9 Sed Athenagoras nomine, princeps eiusdem civitatis, intelligens nobilem et sapientem et pulcherrimam virginem ad venalia positam, obtulit decem sestertia auri. Sed leno XX dare voluit. Athenagoras obtulit XXX, leno XL, Athenagoras L, leno LX, Athenagoras LXX, leno LXXX, Athenagoras LXXXX, 'But when Athenagoras, prince of the city, realized that the girl up for sale was of noble birth, intelligent and very beautiful, he bid ten thousand gold sesterces for her. But the pimp bid twenty thousand. Athenagoras bid thirty thousand, the pimp forty thousand, Athenagoras fifty thousand, the pimp sixty thousand, Athenagoras seventy thousand, the pimp eighty thousand, Athenagoras ninety thousand,'

33, RB 4-8 Et Athenagoras, princeps civitatis eiusdem, intelligens nobilem et sapientem pulcherrimam puellam, obtulit decem sestertia. Leno ait: "Ego XX dabo". Athenagoras obtulit XXV, leno XL. Athenagoras obtulit LX, leno obtulit LXXX, Athenagoras obtulit XC,

Sed Athenagoras nomine (RA) ~ *Et Athenagoras* (RB): A main character in the *HA* as Tarsia's future husband, frequently cited, cf. Ind. nom. The name occurs in Greek with various endings: Ἀθηναγόρης, -ας, -ος. The codd. of *RA* and *RB* also have widely varying spellings, cf. app. crit. I have opted for the form corresponding most closely to Ἀθηναγόρας, cf. *Less.*, s.v. Though the name *Athenagoras* may have been chosen at random, it is useful to mention in connection with the Asian Minor origin of the *HA* (cf. Introd. VI.2) that Chariton, author of the eponymous novel, was a clerk in the service of a lawyer called Athenagoras and that he worked in Aphrodisias, a famous city in Caria (Asia Minor), cf. Charit. 1,1,1 (tit.) Χαρίτων Ἀφροδισιεύς, Ἀθηναγόρου τοῦ ῥήτορος ὑπογραφεύς 'My name is Chariton of Aphrodisias, and I am clerk to Athenagoras the lawyer.' The form *Antenagora* **P** is probably popular etymology, based on the bidding scene between Athenagoras and the *leno* at the market (ἀντί ~ ἀγορά). Though lacking elegance the sentence construction (RA) has been retained: 'one Athenagoras by name' (Konstan). Sometimes τις can drop out as indefinite pronoun, cf. LSJ, s.v. τις (15).

princeps eiusdem civitatis (RA: *civitatis eiusdem* RB) (RA/RB): This title is reserved in the *HA* for Athenagoras (in various cases), cf. Ind. nom., s.v.

princeps. Naturally the corresponding Greek form is subjective (?) (ὁ) πρῶτος τῆς πόλεως, cf. LSJ, s.v. πρότερος, B. πρῶτος: 'as a title: I.G.I. 2(5).292,2 (Paros)': used especially in Asia Minor, cf. 4, RB 2 (comm.). It is very common in Late Greek too, cf. Gelzer (1893), *Wörterverzeichnis*, s.v. πρῶτος. For a broader context, see Introd. VI.2. Athenagoras was probably ἄρχων ('chief magistrate') of Mytilene and so was one of the highest administrators of the city, cf. 34, RA 15 *collega suus* (comm.). He was a widower aged 30-35, with a probably marriageable daughter, cf. 34, RA/RB 9-10 (comm.). Hence he had to proceed cautiously (34, RA/RB 2 *velato capito*), hence, too, as regards age and position, he was eminently suitable to become Tarsia's eventual husband (47, RA 17-18/RB 16-17).

intelligens nobilem et sapientem et pulcherrimam virginem ad venalia positam (RA) ~ *intelligens nobilem et sapientem pulcherrimam puellam* (RB): By means of three small corrections *RB* is able to sanitize a sentence with clear sexual overtones: *et*[2] (RA) ~ (RB /); *virginem* (RA) ~ *puellam* (RB) (likewise 33, RA 15 *virgo* ~ RB 12 *puella*; 33, RA 26 *virginem* ~ (RB /); finally *ad venalia positam* (RA) ~ (RB /). For the expression *ad venalia* (sc. *mancipia*) *positam*, cf. above 33, RA 2; Mombr. I 591,511 ff. (Papa Gregorius) *contigit, ut Gregorius* <...> *cum caeteris advenisset ac vidisset inter alia pueros vaenales positos lactei corporis* (sc. *Anglos*). Of course *ad venalia* can also be interpreted as 'had been put up for sale' (Konstan). On the other hand there may be a Greek substrate here too, viz. τὰ ὤνια 'market wares', cf. LSJ, s.v. For the ellipsis *positam* (sc. esse) (RA), cf. Bieler, op. cit. p.104, on Patrick, *Epist.* 1,4 *Expectamus adventum ipsius mox futurum*, a construction favoured by ecclesiastical writers (see also Salonius, *Vitae Patr.*, p.323). For the situation and choice of words, cf. Xen. Eph. 5,5,8 ὁ δὲ ἰδὼν κάλλος οἷον οὔπω πρότερον ἐτεθέατο, μέγα κέρδος ἕξειν τὴν παῖδα ἐνόμιζε 'this brothel-keeper, seeing a beauty he had never seen before, thought it a great gain to acquire the girl.' For the *RB* construction *intelligens nobilem* <...> *puellam* (sc. *esse*), cf. 16, RB 18 (comm.).

obtulit decem sestertia auri <...> **LXXXX** (RA) ~ *obtulit decem sestertia* <...> *XC* (RB): An amusing bidding scene, popular among Greeks and Romans; Klebs, p.305 plays one of his main trumps for **Hi** when he points out that such scenes occur specifically in *Roman* comedy, the *comoedia palliata*. In particular he refers to Plautus, *Mercator* (426 ff.), where father and son bid against each other. Yet this argument is spurious. It does not take great erudition to realize that Plautus' comedies are based on Greek examples: geographical names, names of characters, names of coins (*mina*) point to Greek examples, cf. P.J. Enk, *Plauti Mercator*, pars altera, Lugduni Batavorum, 1932, p.94 (comm. on v.429). The same line of thought should be followed here: we can no longer establish in detail

the form of **R(Gr)** and ultimately **HA(Gr)**. The Latin adaptation will mostly have consisted in the name of the coinage used (? ἀργυροῖ, χρυσοῖ), for which *RA* introduced *sestertia auri*, systematically replaced by *RB*, on the basis of actual knowledge, with *sestertia*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. sestertius. The bidding in *RA* increases gradually in ten steps of 10 (10–20; 30–40; 50–60; 70–80; 90–100). Greeks like to count upwards in tens, cf. LSJ, s.v. δεκαπλασιάζω 'to multiply by ten'; this is called ἐπιδέκατον (as ἐγκύκλιον 'by turns') ὑπερβάλλειν 'to outbid a person by *ten*', cf. U. Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit*, Leipzig-Berlin 1927, p.511. The coin probably most suitable for this kind of bidding is called δεκάργυρος, cf. LSJ (Suppl.), s.v. (4th c. AD). It is unclear why *RB* shortens the bids and uses a different scale of values (10–20; 25–40; 60–80; 90–100). Perhaps he wanted to introduce a more current unit, viz. 20, cf. Gen. 37:28 *tradiderunt Ioseph Ismahelitis XXXX aureis* (Vulg. εἴκοσι χρυσῶν), where the codd. alternate between XXXX, XXXVX, and XXXXX and between the currencies *aureis* ~ *argentis*. For an amusing example in the Greek world, cf. Herod. V,51 Ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἄρχετο ἐκ δέκα ταλάντων ὑπισχνεόμενος <…>. Ἀνανεύοντος δὲ τοῦ Κλεομένεος προέβαινε τοῖσι χρήμασι ὑπερβάλλων ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης, ἐς οὗ πεντήκοντά τε τάλαντα ὑπεδέδεκτο καὶ τὸ παιδίον ηὐδάξατο· "Πάτερ, διαφθερέει σε ὁ ξεῖνος, ἢν μὴ ἀποστὰς ἴῃς 'Then Aristagoras started the bidding from ten talents upward; Cleomenes refusing every bid, Aristagoras continued, increasing every time his bid, until finally he had promised fifty talents. At that point his little daughter cried: "Father, the stranger will destroy us, if you don't cease and go home."' For quotations of prices for often highly specialized male and female slaves, cf. Headham, p.239 (on Herondas 5,20).

33, RA 9-11 leno in praesenti dat C sestertia auri et dicit: "Si quis amplius dederit, X dabo supra." 'The pimp put down one hundred thousand gold sesterces in cash and said: "If anyone offers more, I will go ten thousand higher."'

33, RB 8-9 leno in praesenti dat C dicens: "Si quis amplius dederit, ego X sestertia superdabo."

in praesenti (sc. pecunia) (RA/RB): Cf. ThLL X 2,1 848,25-33; OLD, s.v. praesens (7): '(of money) paid at once in cash, ready': Liv. 34,35,11 *daret <…> talenta centum argenti in praesenti et quinquaginta talenta in singulis annis per annos octo*. A translation like 'immediately' seems less correct, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *praesens* (2): *in praesenti* (sc. *tempore*): *Ben.*, Reg. 55,15 *accipientes nova* (vestimenta) *vetera semper reddant, in praesenti reponenda in vestiario propter pauperes*. A corresponding expression could be (?) ἐν τῷ

παρόντι, cf. Charit. 7,3,11 ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι σὺν θεοῖς ἔνδοξοι καὶ περίβλεπτοι γενήσεσθε <…> εἴς τε τὸ μέλλον <…> 'For the moment, with the help of the gods you shall become famous and celebrated <…> and for the future <…>'. But the prevailing meaning here is 'for the moment <…> later', cf. LSJ s.v. πάρειμι (II): 'Thud. 5,63 ἐν τῷ παρόντι "for the moment" opp. τὸ ἔπειτα "later on".'

amplius dederit (RA/RB): Cf. (?) Theophr., *Charact.* 12,8 Δεινὸς δὲ καὶ προσάγειν ὠνητὴν πλείω διδόντα ἤδη πεπρακότι 'He also is quite capable of bringing you to one who has already sold out a purchaser bidding more.' For *amplius dare*, cf. LSJ, s.v. πλείων; *neutr.* πλεῖον, πλέον; Bauer, s.v. πολύς; ibid., s.v. δίδωμι (4).

X dabo supra (RA) ~ *ego X sestertia superdabo* (RB): *RA* continues to use the jargon of ἐπιδέκατον (?) ὑπερβαλῶ, cf. LSJ, s.v. ὑπερβάλλω: '*overbid* or *outbid* at auction: *POxyr.* 1633,5 (III. A.D.)', cf. Herod. V,51 ὑπερβάλλων (quoted above) 'he went on bidding more and more' (ὑπερδίδωμι has a different meaning: 'to give instead'). *RB* specifies both the person and the sum and cancels the tmesis. For *dabo supra* (RA), cf. OLD, s.v. (5) 'in amount' 'over'. For tmesis in Late Latin, cf. Löfstedt, *Per.*, p.186 ff.; id., Synt. II, pp.401-5; D. Norberg, 'Adnotationes ad epistulas Gregorii Magni', *Eranos* 48 (1945), p.314. At the same time it is one of the characteristics of Ionic (cf. Groeneboom, p.50 on Herondas 1,36 κατ' οὖν λήσεις), so that it may be indicative of the provenance of **HA(Gr)**, cf. Introd. VI.3. The reading *superdo* (RB) does not seem to occur often, cf. OLD, s.v. *superdo* 'to apply on the surface'; the required meaning is supplied by *superdono*: see Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *superdono*: 'donner en plus' Hadr. I c.1242.

33, RA 11-12 Athenagoras ait: "Ego si cum hoc lenone contendere voluero, ut unam emam, plurium venditor sum. 'Athenagoras said: "If I want to compete with this pimp, I shall have to sell several slaves to buy one girl.'

33, RB 9-10 Athenagoras ait: "Ego si cum hoc lenone contendero, ut eam emam, plures venditurus sum.

contendere voluero (RA) ~ *contendero* (RB): For *contendere* 'to bid', cf. above 33, RA/RB 4. *RA* means to say: *si amplius/longius contendere voluero*. *RB*'s abridgement is classical.

unam … plurium (venditor) (RA) ~ *eam <…> plures* (RB): In *RA* we find a classical antithesis, cf. LSJ, s.v. *plures* (4): Cic., *Orat.* 206 *utrum una spe-*

cies … sit earum anne plures; Sen., *Ep.* 113,13; Tac., *Ann.* 6,12 *una seu plures fuere* (sc. Sibyllae); Lucr. 5,1050. Any attempt to retrieve the text underlying *RA* is speculative. Though CGL VII 398 suggests only πράτης/πρατήρ 'seller', πράσιμος and ἀνδραποδιστής as possible substrate forms, πωλητήρ/πωλητής + obj. gen. 'seller' would also be very acceptable in terms of word shape, cf. LSJ (+ Suppl.), s.v. *RB*'s change aims both at overcoming the problem of the possibly weakened sense of *unus* towards an indef. pron. (cf. 1, RA 2 *unam filiam* ~ RB 2 *filiam*, comm.) by means of a classical pronoun, and at replacing the lively present tense (*venditor sum* + obj. gen.) with a syntactically correct *futurum periphrasticum*, a fairly common procedure in Late Latin, LHS II, p.312; Müller-Marquardt, p.216; Salonius, *Vit. Patr.* p.282; Linderbauer, p.182; Adams (1976), p.68. Moreover *venditor* does not, as here in *RA*, mean an incidental seller, but rather a professional one, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *venditor*: 'marchand': Ambros., *Luc.* 9,20 *venditores ovium et boum*. For this phenomenon in a broader context, see Blaise, *Manuel*, p.23, § 20. From a classical viewpoint *RB*'s changes can therefore be called brilliant. (In the opinion of Klebs, p.262, *venditor sum* **P** is: 'nur handschriftliche Verderbnis des ursprünglichen, auch in **Rα** erhaltenen und in *RA* herzustellenden *venditurus sum*.')

33, RA 12-14 Sed permittam eum emere, et cum ille eam in prostibulo posuerit, intrabo prior ad eam et <e>ripiam nodum virginitatis eius vili pretio, et erit mihi ac si eam emer<i>m." 'So I will let him buy her, and when he puts her in the brothel, I will be her first client, and will deflower her for a low price, and I shall feel just if I had bought her."'

33, RB 11-12 Sed permittam eam emere, et cum in lupanar constituerit, intrabo prior et eripiam virginitatem eius, et erit ac si eam comparaverim."

eum (sc. Athenagoram) (RA) ~ *eam* (sc. Tharsiam) (**bM**): A striking change in **bM**, typical of their attitude (the other codd. of *RB* specify even further: *eum illam* **β**; *eum eam* **π**, cf. ed. m. [1984]). This also meant that *eam* (RA) could be dropped in the next temporal coordinate clause, as in the remaining principal clause.

in prostibulo posuerit (RA) ~ *in lupanar constituerit* (**bM**: *instituerit* **β**: *statuerit et* **π**): *Prostibulum* in classical Latin means: *meretrix*, cf. OLD, s.v. *prostibulum*: Plaut., *Aul.* 285 *bellum prostibulum popli*; id., *Cist.* 331 *meretri-*

cem astare in via solam prostibuli sanest; Lucil. 334 *si olim lupa prostibulumque, nummi opus*. In Christian Latin it moreover assumed the specific sense of *lupanar*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *prostibulum* (Vulg., Max.-Taur., Ruf., Isid., Ps. Ambr.). On account of this presumably quite crude meaning, *RB* has consistently changed *prostibulum* (33, RA 13; 46, RA 7) to classical *lupanar* (33, RB 11; 46, RB 7). For various examples of vulgar words ending in *–bum* (cf. *desidiabulum, mendicabulum, conciliabulum*), see J. Svennung, *Anredeformen, vergleichende Forschungen zum indirecten Anrede in der dritten Person und zum Nominativ für den Vokativ*, Lund 1958, pp. 115-6. The two terms also occur side by side: Ezek. 16:39 *et dabo te in manus eorum et destruent lupanar tuum et demolientur prostibulum tuum*. See also 33, RA 22/RB 20 (comm.) (Klebs, p.272 proposes to delete *prostibulum* as a 'christliche Wendung'). There is no way of determining the Greek substrate term: (?) οἴκημα (cf. *Less.*, s.v.: Xen. Eph. 5,5,5; 5,7,1; 5,7,3; Achill. Tat. 8,8,11; 8,9,3; Heliod. 7,10,5) or possibly (?) πορνεῖον (Charit. 1,7,3). The term πορνοβοσκεῖον 'brothel' does not occur in the Greek Novel, but we do find πορνοβοσκός, cf. *Less.* For *posuerit* (RA), cf. Sen., *contr.* 1,2,20 *licet illam ponatis in lupanari*; also in Christian authors: Hier., *in Ioel* 3, p.980[A] *principes mundi istius et rectores tenebrarum* <...> *posuerunt pueros in prostibulum*, cf. 980[C]. For *constituerit* **bM**, see also Schmeling, *Notes*, p.394 (on ed. 67,4 *instituerit* **β**).

intrabo prior ad eam (RA) ~ *intrabo prior* (RB): *RA* is probably meant as a euphemism, cf. εἰσέρχομαι, LSJ, s.v. 'to go into' 'to enter': Xen., *Cyr.* 3,3,13 εἰσέρχομαι πρός τινα 'visit him'. Regarding *prior* (RA/RB) 'as the first', classical Latin would have preferred the superlative: *primus*. Perhaps *prior* can be defended here as relating to two (sc. I/the others), cf. 34, RA 2 *Athenagoras princeps affuit prior* ~ RB 2 *Athenagoras prior adfuit*. But in language the *HA* is probably transitional (cf. *unus*): we cannot rule the possibility *prior* = (class.) *primus*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *prior* (2). For the decline of the degrees of comparison, see Väänänen, *Introd.*, §§ 261-2.

<**e**>**ripiam** (ex: *aripiam* **P**: *abripiam* ?) **nodum virginitatis eius** (RA) ~ *eripiam virginitatem eius* (RB): *RB* has removed the probable Graecism *nodum*, cf. 1, RA 15/RB 14 *nodum virginitatis* (= ἅμμα κορείας/παρθενίας, see comm. ad loc.); 35, RA 15/RB 12-13. Roman readers will have latched on to the meaning: Heraeus notes in his author's copy: Arnob., *Nat.* 1,64 (p.44,17) *qui matronarum pudorem et virginum vi subruunt atque eripiunt licentiose*.

vili pretio (RA) ~ (RB /): Omitted by *RB*, because Athenagoras is greatly mistaken, see 33, RA 26/RB 24-25. Perhaps *vili pretio* goes back directly to εὐώνως 'at a fair price' 'cheap', cf. CGL VII,416.

erit mihi ac si eam emer<i>m (RA) ~ *erit ac si eam comparaverim* (RB): The phrase with *mihi* (RA) is easier to translate to Greek: (?) ἔσται μοι ὡσεί / ὡς ἄν / ὥσπερ ἄν, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. εἰμί (4). On the other hand colloquial Latin also likes to use *esse* + dat.: Plaut., *Cist.* 59 *excrucior*: *male mihist*; Cic., *Fam.* 16,5,1 *cum meliuscule tibi esset*; id., *Nat. deor.* 1,114 *mihi pulcre est*; Cat. 14,10 *non est mihi male* (cf. Fordyce on Catull. 23,5). The connection *ac si* occurs repeatedly in the *HA*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. Classical Latin would perhaps prefer *aeque ac si* (Klebs, pp.243-245; Konstan, ad loc.), but for Late Latin this sense is perfectly plausible, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *ac si* (postcl.) 'comme si'. An interesting feature is the replacement of *emerim* (RA) by *comparaverim* (RB): *RB* thus follows the tendency to substitute longer words for shorter ones (Ital. *comprare* / Span. *comprar*), cf. Linderbauer, p.354 on Ben., *Regula* 55,12 *vilius comparari*; Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 147; Adams (1976), p.28: '*Emo* was replaced by *comparare* in the late period, and leaves no trace in Romance.' For *comparare* in *RA* too, see 8, RA 26/RB 30 *comparatur*.

33, RA 15-16 Quid plura? Addicitur virgo lenoni, a quo introducitur in saluta<to>rio, ubi habebat Pr<i>apum aureum, gemmis et auro reconditum. 'What more need be said? The girl was made over to the pimp, who led her into the reception room, where he had a gilded statue of Priapus, covered with precious stones and gold.'

33, RB 12-14 Addicitur puella lenoni. Numeratur pecunia. Ducitur in domum, ducitur in salutatorio, ubi Priapum aureum habebat ex gemmis et unionibus.

Quid plura? (RA) ~ (RB /): *RB* consistently omits these rhetorical questions, cf. 35, RA 4 *Quid plura?* ~ (RB /). See also 23, RA 9 *Quid multa?* (RB *aliter*); 47, RA 17 *Quid multa* ~ (RB 16 /).

Addicitur (RA, **π**) ~ *Adducitur* **bβM**: *addicere* 'to award' is the standard term, cf. OLD, s.v. *addico* (2): 'to sell' 'to knock down to'. In view of the unanimous reading in **bβM**, it may be that *RB* reads: *adducitur*, cf. OLD, s.v. *Adduco* (1): 'to lead or bring a person to'. In that case **π** is merely a learned emendation. As the Glossaria indicate (cf. ThLL 576,14-77; CGL VI,22), *addicitur* could translate προσκρίνω, cf. LSJ, s.v. 'to adjudge' 'to award'.

virgo (RA) ~ *puella* (RB): *RB* changes systematically, cf. above 33, RA 6 *virginem* ~ RB 6 *puellam*.

Numeratur pecunia (RB): For a similar addition, cf. 23, RB 6 *Numerat<ur> dos amplissima* (cf. app. crit.). It makes *a quo* (RA) redundant.

introducitur in saluta<to>rio (RA) ~ *ducitur in domum, ducitur in salutatorio* (RB): *RA*'s *introducitur* (? εἰσάγεται) is specified by RB(**bM**), cf. 6, RB 9-10 *Ducitur in domum suam* <…>, *interiorem petiit cubiculum*. He probably envisages the *salutatorium* as giving out on the *atrium*. Such minor variations are standard in translations back and forth, e.g. Luke 22:54 εἰσήγαγον ('they introduced him') εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως: *duxerunt ad domum principis sacerdotum*.

in saluta<to>rio (ex: *salutario*) **P**: *in salutatorio* (**b**; *-tatorium* **Mπ**; *-torium* **β**) (RB): Though *salutatorius* already occurs in classical prose (Plin., *Epist.* 15,38 *salutatoria cubicula* 'reception rooms'), the substantivized adjective is mainly found in postclassical Latin (in the special sense of 'sacristy' in churches or cathedrals, 'reception room' in a monastery/convent), cf. Souter, *Glossary*, s.v. Besides this place it is recorded for non-religious authors only in *Luxorius* (in the title of *Carm.* 90: *In Anclas*; *in salutatorium domini regis*). The haplographical form *salutarium* is fairly frequent (Arnob. ad Greg. 19, p.423,18; Greg. Magn., *Epist.* 4,54 (5,61), p.375,20), so that normalization in *HA* (**P**, **β**) is questionable, cf. 32, RA 20 *salutarias* <…> *litteras* (comm.). This *saluta<to>rium* corresponds directly to Gr. ἀσπαστικόν, as recorded in the Glossaria, cf. CGL VII,227; ibid., 472 s.v. ἀσπαστικός. To my knowledge, neuter is not recorded in the lexicons, which do have masculine, cf. Lampe, *A Patristic Lexicon*, s.v. ἀσπαστήριος: Theodoret. Cyrrhen. *Epist.* 145 α. οἶκος (where οἶκος = 'room' 'chamber', cf. LSJ, s.v. οἰκος [2]). In connection with a Greek origin and the translation milieu we can refer to *Pass. Thom.* 140,8 *in secundo* (sc. tabulato) *salutatorium disponam*.

Pr<i>apum (*Priapum* RB) **aureum** (RA/RB): The reference is of course to: 'simulacrum Priapi' 'an image / statue of Priapus', cf. OLD, s.v. *Priapus*: 'esp. his image erected in gardens to keep off birds and thieves'. This kind of brachyological expression may have been transferred directly from Greek to Latin, in this case Πρίαπος χρυσοῦς, see e.g. Thuc. 2,13,5; LSJ, s.v. χαλκοῦς/χάλκεος (2); Roueché, p.114 Πατρὶς Ἰωάννην <…> στῆσεν: 'His fatherland set up (this statue of) John'; p.141 Εὐγένιον τάξις στῆσεν 'the members of the city council set up (this statue of) Eugenius'. For Latin, cf. Verg., *Georg.* 4,110 *custos furum atque avium* <…> *Hellespontiaci servet tutela Priapi*; Hor., *Sat.* 1,8,1 *Olim truncus eram ficulneus* <…> *cum faber, incertus scamnum faceretne Priapum, maluit esse deum*; Cic., *Verr.* 2,4,112; Plin., *Nat. hist.* 36,25, etc. Priapus himself as the ithyphallic god of fertility is a familiar figure. He was originally venerated in Lampsacus (-um;

Λάμψακος) on the Hellespont, cf. below 32, RA 17 *Numquid Lampsacenus es?* After Alexander the Great he became popular everywhere in Greece and from there in the entire Western Empire. His provenance from Lampsacus continued to be mentioned, both in Greek and in Latin (Paus. 9,31,2; Verg., *Georg.* 4,111 *Hellespontiaci* <...> *Priapi*; Ov., *Fast.* 6,345 *Lampsacos hoc animal solita est mactare Priapo*, cf. ibid. 1,415; Petron. 139,2 *me quoque per terras, per cani Nereos aequor / Hellespontiaci sequitur gravis ira Priapi*; Mart. 11,6,3 *iam mea Lampsacio lascivit pagina versu*, cf. id. 11,51,2; 14,69; Sen., *De const. sap.* 18,3. But references are not confined to higher literature; he was immensely popular among ordinary people too. Hagiography also awards him a place among the great gods: Mombr. I 395,37 (Passio SS. Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii Martyrum): *Aras, quas vides* (sc. Paulus in Areopago), *Martis et Herculis et Mercurii et Priapi nomine et honore sacratae sunt*. This popularity is reflected in the so-called *Priapea*. For more information, see the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford 1949 (repr. 1957), s.v.; H. Herter, *De Priapo*, RVV 23, Giessen 1932; H. Hunger, *Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Wien 1953, s.v. *Priapus*: J.J. Dulaure, *Les cultes priapiques*, Paris 1953; A. Richlin, *The Garden of Priapus. Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humor*, Brill (Leiden) 1983.

The HA(**Gr**) could easily link up with this material. No doubt the original way in which it used the theme contributed to its popularity. Perhaps this special use even provides a background to the Asian Minor provenance of the HA(**Gr**), cf. Introd. VI.2. But it is also clear that epitome **R(Gr)** and thence *RA* and *RB* could tell their story without dwelling on the background details.

ubi habebat Priapum in salutario aureum P ~ *ubi Priapum aureum habebat* (RB): In view of its position the reading *in salutario* **P** has every appearance of being a gloss on *ubi*: it may be due to dittography, but may also have served to emphasize the place where the statue was located: normally such a statue was found in gardens or orchards. It seems far-fetched to see an underlying Greek pecularity here, viz. the repetition of the antecedent in a relative clause (cf. Ljungvik, *Studien zur Sprache der apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, p.28). Editors delete, cf. ed. m. (1984) ad loc. For the sake of readability the words have not been incorporated in the text.

(Priapum) aureum, gemmis et auro reconditum (RA) ~ *(Priapum) aureum, ex* (**βMπ**: *et* **b**) *gemmis et unionibus* (RB): The combination *aureum* <...> *auro* (RA) seems laboured (Heraeus would have *aureum* deleted), but is probably authentic, since *aureus*/χρυσοῦς can also mean 'gilded', cf. OLD, s.v. *aureus* (2); LSJ, s.v. χρύσεος: Herod. 8,121 ἑστήκεε δὲ οὗτος (sc. ἀνδριάς), τῇ περ ὁ Μακεδὼν 'Αλέξανδρος ὁ χρύσεος 'This statue was placed close to the gilded statue of Alexander of Macedon'. So the statue

of Priapus was adorned with pearls and probably strips of real gold; or perhaps it had gold bands studded with pearls, cf. Verg., *Aen.* 1,659 *duplicem gemmis auroque coronam*. The Priapus thus resembles the precious statues of gods as found e.g. in the temple of Hera at Hierapolis, cf. Lucian., *De Syr. dea* 32, cf. ibid., 33 ξόανον ἄλλο χρύσεον, cf. H.D. Betz, *Lukian von Samosate*, p.43. By choosing such a partly gilded, partly golden statue, the *leno* probably indicated the importance he attached to Priapus in his trade, cf. K. Scott, 'The Significance of Statues in Precious Metals in Emperor Worship', *TAPA* LXII (1931), pp.101-23.

reconditum: This word probably means 'covered over', so that the actual statue was almost hidden from view. The term corresponds with the Glossaria, cf. CGL VII,464 s.v. ἀποκρύπτω: ἀποκεκρυμμένον *abstrusum, reconditum*. (Garbugino, p.45, n.71 doubts the originality: 'soltanto in RA') *RB*'s formulation is more transparent: the eliminated *aurum* has been replaced by *unio*, the long pearl usually worn on its own. For *ex* **βMπ** in the sense of 'with' 'made of', cf. OLD, s.v. *ex* (16): Plaut., *Bac.* 640 *huic decet statuam statui ex auro*; Cato, *Hist.* 93 *mons ex sale*. For later references, cf. ThLL IX^{II} 1031,68-72; *AB* 51 (1933), p.78, c.8 *et introducti sunt* (sc. subreguli Abdon et Sennen martyres) *ornati ex auro et lapide pretioso, vincti catenis*.

Later adaptations, especially in the vernaculars, expanded generously on this statue. Where the *Gesta Romanorum* confines itself to (c.91,15) *Priapum aureum et gemmis reconditum*, the French translation/adaptation goes much further (*Le violier des histoires Romaines, Ancienne traduction française des Gesta Romanorum*. Nouvelle édition, revue et annotée par M.G. Brunet, Paris 1858) (caput 125): 'Priapus, qui avait le membre de la generation d'or, aorné de pierres precieuses.' The Italian prose version expresses itself in almost identical terms (ed. Salvioni): 'la natura overo la vergha dell' omo, la quale vergha era d'or con gemme'; the Middle German prose version is worth citing too: 'ein nagket Mannes Bilde, das hatte gar einen großen Pint, der waß von Golde und waß gecziert mit edelem Gestheine.' For further information, see Singer, op. cit. p.108; Nillson, p.99.

33, RA 16 Et ait ad eum: "Adora n<u>men praesentissimum meum." 'He said to her: "Worship my god, who is most powerful."'

33, RB 14 Et ait Tharsiae: "Adora <numen> praesentissimum."

ait ad eam (RA) ~ *ait Tharsiae* **b**: *ad Tharsiam* **βMπ**: Classical Latin mostly uses *aio* without an addressee; a construction with dat. is quite rare:

Plaut., *Most.* 806 *inspicere te aedis has velle aiebat mihi*; id., *Rud.* 2,4,14 *vel tu mihi aias vel neges*; Ov., *Epist.* 11,59 *mihi vive, soror,* <…> *aisti* (v.l. *dixti*); Liv. 21,54,2 *hic erit locus, Magoni fratri ait, quem teneas*. Compare ThLL I 1459,51-67. In Late and Christian Latin the construction *aio ad aliquem* (by analogy with the almost exclusively Christian *dicere ad*) is common, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *ad*; Ind. verb., s.v. aio. So *RB*'s reversion to the dative is remarkable, the more so because the dative becomes obsolete, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 249. For an analogous case, see 34, RA 20 *quantum dedit ad te iuvenis?* ~ RB 21 *quantum dedit tibi iuvenis?* (comm.).

n<u>men (RA) ~ <*nomen*> (RB): As regards *RA*: alternation between *u* and *o* is very frequent, certainly within an Italian codex like **P**, cf. ed. m. (1984), pp.31-4; Williams, p.768 on Verg., *Aen.* 5, 768. As regards *RB*: a remarkable feature is the omission (probably for religious reasons) of *numen*: it is hidden in *Adornamentum* b. The addition is made on the strength of secondary recensions, cf. app. crit.

praesentissimum (RA/RB): The *leno* uses the standard formulation *praesens deus/numen* here, cf. OLD, s.v. *praesens* (3): 'esp. of gods, often combining with the sense "bodily present"'; e.g. Plaut., *fr. inc.* 159 *vinum precemur, nam hic deus praesens adest*; Terent., *Phorm.* 345; Verg., Georg. 1,10; Ov., *Ibis* 281; Apul., *Met.* 3,12, cf. ibid. 11,12 (see Klebs, p.290 = Garbugino, p.120). The crude and painful aspect here is that he makes the new-comer 'pray' (probably by means of a curtsy, genuflection or bow) to his 'specific' 'actual' god, viz. who brings fertility. A substrate term like ἐπιφανής 'present to aid' (in superlative too) seems plausible, cf. LSJ, s.v.: Diod. Sic. 1,17 θεοὶ ἐπιφανέστατοι; IG 5(1).1179 τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων θεῶν. Perhaps we can even find an indication here for the genesis of **HA(Gr)** in Asia Minor, cf. C. Mohrmann, *Études sur le Latin des chrétiens* I, Roma 1962^2, p.248 'particulièrement en Asie Mineure'. Though the actual formulation cannot be demonstrated for the Greek Novel, it agrees with the language, cf. *Less.*, ss.vv. ἐπιφάνεια θεοῦ (Achill. Tat. 8,18,1; Charit. 2,2,6), ἐπιφανὴς εἶναι 'apparire della divinità' (Charit. 2,2,5; id. 3,6,4); φανερός: Charit. 7,2,7 τὸν Ἡρακλέα, φανερώτατον θεὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς 'Hercules, who is their most prominent god', cf. id. 6,7,12. The adjective ἐπιφανής does not form part of Priapus' standard epithets, cf. C.F.H. Bruchmann, *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas graecos leguntur*, Lipsiae 1893, pp.199-200.

meum (RA) ~ (RB /): Typical: the *leno* regards Priapus as *his* most actual god. *RB* removes the point and generalizes.

33, RA 17-19 Puella ait: “Numquid Lam<p>sa<ce>enus es?” Leno ait: “Ignoras, misera, quia in domum avari lenonis incurristi?” ‘The girl asked: “You surely do not come from Lampsacus?” The pimp said: “Wretched girl, don’t you know that you have entered the house of a greedy pimp?”’

33, RB 15-18 Puella ait: “Domine, numquid civis La<m>psacenus es?” Leno ait: “Quare?” Puella ait: “Quia cives La<m>psaceni Priapum colunt.” Leno ait: “Ignoras, misera, quia in domum incidisti lenónis avári (*pl.*)?” ‘The pimp said: “Why?” The girl said: “Because the people of Lampsacus worship Priapus.”’

Numquid (RA/RB), cf. OLD, s.v. *numquid*: ‘(introducing questions where a negative answer is anticipated, implying anxiety, caution, incredibility, etc.)’. This stronger variant of *num* occurs in two other places in the *HA* (37, RA 21/RB 22; 50, RA 6 [*e coni.*]/RB 7). It is part of informal, everyday speech and as such is already found in Plaut. and Terent., cf. OLD, s.v. (This is pointed out by Klebs, p.241 too.) It occurs frequently during the Principate: Sen., *Epist.* 88,30 *Numquid liberalia studia hos mores praecipiunt?* In the Vulg.: John 18:35 *Numquid ego Iudaeus sum?* (Gr. μήτι ἐγὼ ’Ιουδαῖός εἰμι;), cf. LHS II, p.542[4], 543[1]; Hofmann, *Umgangssprache*, p.42; Bonnet, p.324; Blatt, p.43,17; Bieler, p.200. A Greek substrate could well be μήτι, also in the Greek Novel, cf. Zimmerman, p.167.

Lam<p>sa<ce>nus (RA) ~ *civis La<m>psacenus* (RB): Alongside *Lampsacenes* (Cic., *Verr.* 2,1,24, § 63) we also find the form *Lampsaceni* (Cic., *Verr.* 2,1,32, § 81) as an inhabitant of *Lampsacus/Lampsacum (-os)*. The orthography *Lapsacenus* recurs in the Old French prose adaptations, cf. Lewis, *Index*, p.272, s.v. Lapsacene, Lapsace, Lapsacien. Tarsia’s reaction typifies her open-mindedness: she is able to make the connection *Priapus* ~ *Lampsacus*; she is unable to see through the combination *Priapus* ~ *leno* ~ *lupanar*. The *leno* immediately points out the horrible reality of her situation.

Numquid Lam<p>sacenus es? (RA) ~ *Domine, numquid civis La<m>psacenus es?* (RB): The two polite additions are typical of *RB*. For *domine*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. dominus (*in honorifica allocutione*).

Leno ait: “Quare?” Puella ait: “Quia cives La<m>psaceni Priapum colunt.” (RB): *RB* thinks it necessary to explain this, to him, logical link

in explicit terms. For ancient reality it is a completely unnecessary statement, cf. above, s.v. *Priapus*. (Riese [1893], Praef. VI, n.1 wrongly regards **AP** as corrupt.) Precisely this kind of addition proves the secondary character of *RB*.

ignoras, quia (RA/RB): A postclassical construction, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *ignoro*: Hier., *Rom.* 6,3; 1,13 (*quia* + ind.); ThLL VII 313,22-27. Perhaps influenced by (?) οὐκ οἶδας, ὅτι, very frequent in the NT, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. οἶδα (I.e); Blaß-Debrunner, § 397,41.

avari lenonis (RA) ~ *lenonis avari* (RB): A standard adjective in this trade, used both for the *meretrix* (Plaut., *Truc.* 238; Terent., *Eun.* 927; Catull. 110,7), and for the *leno* (Plaut., *Persa* 687 *leno* <...> *impure, avare*; Terent. *Haut.* 39; Ov., *Am.* 1,10,23; Sen., *Contr.* 9,1,12). In Greek this image corresponds to the πορνοβοσκός 'brothel-keeper', cf. Herond. 2,74; Theophr., *Char.* 6,5 (comm. R. Ussher, London 1960, p.75,7); Dio Chrysos., I,171. The adjective is rendered by φιλάργυρος 'fond of money' 'avaricious'; ἄπληστος 'insatiate', possibly by σκνίφος 'niggardly', cf. CGL VI, p.120 s.v.

incurristi (RA) ~ *incidisti* (RB): The difference between *RA* and *RB* is difficult to judge. *RA* could go back to Greek 'to end up in', cf. Gloss. ἐμπίπτω, ἐπιτρέχω (thus ThLL VII 1083,32); possibly to ἐντρέχω, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐντρέχω (II): 'to slip in' 'to enter'; Luc., *Am.* 24. *RB* normalizes the image: 'to fall into', cf. OLD, s.v. *incido* (5): 'to pass (esp. suddenly or unexpectedly) into specified circumstances, usu. unpleasant': Plaut., *Trin.* 658 *vi Veneris vinctus in fraudem incidi*; Terent., *Phorm.* 175 *ego in eum incidi infelix locum*.

33, RA 19-20	Puella vero, ut haec audivit, toto corpore contremuit et prosternens se pedibus eius dixit: 'When Tarsia heard this, she trembled all over; throwing herself at his feet she begged:'
33, RB 18-19	Puella ut audivit, toto corpore contremuit et prostrata pedibus eius dixit:

toto corpore contremuit (RA/RB), cf. 37, RA 7 ~ RB /; 50, RB 18 (~ RA, 19 *imo corpore*); the Latin expression is quite rare: ThLL IV 775,41 s.v. *contremisco* quotes: Caecin., *apud Cic., Epist.* 6,7,4; Chir. 286 (*iumentum*) *contremiscit toto corpore*. Standard expressions in the Greek Novel are τρέμω 'to tremble' 'to quiver', τρομέω and τρόμος, cf. *Less.*, s.v. τρέμω (Achill. Tat. 5x; Charit. 3x), τρόμος (Achill. Tat. 6x, Charit. 1x, Heliod. 4x).

prosternens se (RA) ~ *prostrata* (RB): A well-known procedure to change or eliminate a present participle with aorist/perfect value, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. participium praes. *pro* perf.

33, RA 20-22 “Miserere mei, domine, succurre virginitati meae! Et rogo te, ne velis hoc corpusculum [tu] sub tam turpi <tit>ulo <pro>stituere.” ‘“Have pity on me, master, protect my virginity! I implore you not to prostitute my tender body under such a vile sign.”’

33, RB 19-21 “Miserere, domine, succurre virginitati meae! Et rogo, ne velis hoc corpus sub tam turpi titulo prostituere.”

miserere mei (RA) ~ *miserere* (RB): A stereotypical abridgement by *RB*, cf. Ind. verb., misereor + gen. From (?) οἴκτειρον.

domine (RA/RB): Said here to the *leno*, in 35, RA 21/RB 17 even to the *villicus puellarum*. Such an honourable term of address need not be based on Christian humility, nor flow from the distress of the situation, but may simply derive from **R(Gr)**: κύριε, cf. Zimmermann, p.62 n.8: ‘κύριος bezeichnet wie Dem. 46,18 den, der über das Mädchen zu verfügen hat (nicht im streng jur. Sinn “Frauenvormund”), worüber vgl. Preisigke, *Fachw.* 115, Bdtg 2; ebenso Charit. 2,6,2 κύριος γὰρ εἶ, καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχεις αὐτῆς “You‘re her master, you can make her do what you want.”’

corpusculum (RA) ~ *corpus* (RB): For *RA* we can cite in the first place OLD, s.v. *corpusculum*: ‘often used of an adult human body to express contempt, pity, affection etc.’: Iuv. 10,173 *quantula sint hominum corpuscula*. Christian Latin also liked to use the diminutive in this sense, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *corpusculum* (2): ‘pauvre corps (humain)’: Tert. *Marc.* 3,17 *corpusculum illud*; Hier., *Vigil.* 4 *ad imbecillitatem corpusculi sustentandam* (for the special meaning: ‘corpse’, cf. 25, RA 16 *corpusculum*/RB 12 *pectus* [comm.]). *Corpusculum* mainly has this meaning ‘fragile, mortal body’ in Late Latin, cf. Greg. Tur., *Hist. Fr.* p.30,15 *ut corpusculum meum immaculatum Christo a virili tactu servarem*. It is relevant to the *HA* that σωμάτιον also has this semantic development ‘the weak, human body’, cf. LSJ, s.v. (1): ‘small body’ ‘poor body’; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v.: ‘besonders das arme, elende Leib’. A good example is found in the *Hist. Laus.* (ed. Bartelink), c.19, l.53. (on the robber Moses, as strong as an ox, who is converted) κατατήξας οὖν αὐτοῦ τὸ σωμάτιον ἔμεινε πυρούμενος ἔτι

καὶ ἐνυπνιαζόμενος 'castigating so severely his body, nevertheless he remained tortured by impure desires, even during his sleep' (Sozomenes 6,29,16 μυρίαις ἀσκήσεσι τὸ σῶμα κατέτηξε 'he castigated his body with innumerable tortures'). In the Greek Novel the word σωμάτιον is lacking. Our place may therefore either go back directly to **HA(Gr)**, which would make the diction notable, or to **R(Gr)** and thence to *RA*: *RB* has removed it.

[tu] sub tam turpi ‹tit›ulo ‹pro›stituere (RA) ~ *sub tam turpi titulo prostituere* (**bM**): In *RA* we read: *tu sub tam turpi prostibulo constituere* **P**. The garbling can be easily explained as a result of successive, similarly sounding words, a failure to understand *titulus*, and perseveration from *pro(stibulo)* to *prostituere*. The text can be emended via 34, RA 5 *sub tam turpi titulo* and Rα. A failure to understand *titulus* also plays an important role in *RB*: *sub tam turpi titulo* **bM** becomes *sub tam turpido* **β** and ultimately *sub tanta turpitudine* **π**. The crude *prostituere* **bβM** is weakened to *mittere* **π**. The noun *titulus* (RA/RB) is part of the technical jargon, cf. Sen., *Controv.* 1,2 (p.20,6 f. M) *accepisti locum* ‹...› *titulus inscriptus est* ‹...› *quid in cellulam me et obscenum lectum vocas?*; (ibid., p.32,30) *superpositus est cellae tuae titulus, venientem recepisti*; Petron., *Sat.* 7-8; Juv. 6,116-32; Mart. 11,45; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *titulus* (2): Tert., *Pud.* 1 *sub ipsis libidinum titulis*. For the entire expression *sub titulo prostituere*, cf. Forcellini, *Lex.*, s.v. *titulus*. This term may also derive directly from **R(Gr)** and **HA(Gr)**, since ὁ/ἡ τίτλος 'titulus' 'title' in Greek derives from Lat. *titulus*, cf. Bauer, s.v. τίτλος: John 19:20 ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ τίτλον ὁ Πιλᾶτος καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ· ἦν δὲ γεγραμμένον, Vulg. *Scripsit autem et titulum Pilatus*: *et posuit super crucem. Erat autem scriptum* (cf. *HA* 33, RA 25/RB 24 *titulus scribatur*). This was a wooden board, easy to change, cf. Leont., *Ioh. Eleem.* (p.59,14) τίτλον ξύλινον ἐπιγεγραμμένον. Naturally synonyms like ἀναγραφή, ἐπιγραφή are also possible, cf. CGL VII, p.352 s.v. *titulus*.

prostituere (RA ex: *constituere* **P**/RB): Standard jargon, cf. OLD, s.v. *prostituo* (1). The corresponding Greek form is very close here too: προϊστάναι, cf. LSJ, s.v. προΐστημι (3) 'to exhibit publicly, prostitute': Dio Chrys. 7,133 προϊστάναι ἐπ' οἰκημάτων.

33, RA 22-24

Cui leno ait: "Alleva te, misera: tu autem nescis, quia apud lenonem et tortorem nec preces nec lacrimae valent." 'The pimp replied: "Get up, you wretch. You do not realize that neither prayers nor tears have any effect on pimps or torturers."'

33, RB 21-22 Leno ait: "Alleva te, misera; nescis, quia apud tortorem et lenonem nec preces nec lacrimae valent?"

Alleva te (RA/RB), cf. 34, RA/RB 27: In both cases literal, after prostration 33, RA 20 *prosternens se* ~ RB 19 *prostrata*; 34, RA 25/RB 26 *prostravit se*.

autem (RA) ~ (RB/): *autem* (RA) here seems halfway between 'however' and 'for' (= *enim*), cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *autem* (Peters, p.139: "Du scheinst nicht zu wissen"). *RB* has eliminated the word, probably on account of this duality.

nescis, quia (RA/RB): An analytical construction instead of *nescio + acc. cum infin.*, very common in Late and Christian Latin, cf. Hier., *Epist.* 129,5; *quia* is usually followed by indic., cf. Blaise, *Man.* § 262. The phenomenon probably arose by analogy with Greek ὅτι of ὡς, here perhaps even on the basis of οὐκ οἶδας, ὡς / ἀγνοεῖς, ὅτι.

apud lenonem et tortorem (RA: *tortorem et lenonem* RB) **nec preces nec lacrimae valent**. This formulation sounds like a proverbial saying (Klebs, p.278; p.305), though there are no direct parallels either in Latin or in Greek, cf. Stephens, *The Greek Novels* (1995), pp.195; 212; 401; 404. In Greek the δήμιος 'executioner'/δημόκοινος (sc.-δοῦλος) was notorious for his cruelty (cf. Headlam, p.244 on Herondas 5,30). He plays an important role in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. (The term βασανιστής 'torturer' occurs in the Greek Novel only in Charit. 3,4,12.) In theory the collocation *tortorem lenonem* **β** (cf. *lenonem tortorem* **π**) is possible (a noun with the value of an adjective, combined with another noun, e.g. *femina sacerdos*; *deus arbiter*; *comites lacrimas*, cf. Blaise, *Manuel* § 12), but this detracts a great deal from the expressiveness of the proverb. The combination *blandae preces* **π** occurs frequently: Hor., *Carm.* 4,1,8 *abi quo blandae iuvenum te revocant preces*; id., *Ars* 395; Ov., *Epist.* 3,30; *Ars* 1,710; *Met.* 10,642; Epiced. Drusi 424; Sen., *Herc. fur.* 1014. The punctuation after *valent* is uncertain, both a full stop (RA) and a question-mark (RB) are possible. The question-mark is more sophisticated, cf. ed. m. (1984) ad loc. For the train of thought, cf. Charit. 4,4,5 Σὺ μόνος ἀγνοεῖς τὴν φύσιν τοῦ Ἔρωτος, ὅτι οὗτος ὁ θεὸς ἀπάταις χαίρει καὶ δόλοις 'You are the only one who does not know the nature of Love? Love revels in tricking people, setting traps.'

33, RA 24-27 Et vocavit ad se villicum puellarum et ait ad eum: “Cella ornetur diligenter, in qua scribatur titulus: Qui Tharsiam virginem violare voluerit, dimidiam auri libram dabit; postea vero singulos aureos populo patefit.” ‘He summoned the overseer in charge of the girls and said to him: ‘Have a room carefully decorated and put this sign on it: “Whoever wants to deflower Tarsia will pay half a pound of gold; but after that she will be open to the public for one gold piece.”’

33, RB 22-25 Et vocavit villicum puellarum et ait: “Amiante, cella, ubi <*Breseida*> stat, exornetur diligenter et titulus scribatur: Qui Tharsiam violare voluerit, libram auri mediam debet; postea singulos aureos populo patebit.”

vocavit ad se <…> **ait ad eum** (RA) ~ *vocavit* <…> *ait* (RB): Usual abridgements.

villicum puellarum (RA/RB) ‘brothel servant’, cf. OLD, s.v. *vilicus* (2) ‘overseer’. This figure plays an important role in the *HA*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. The term could come directly from Greek (?) οἰκονόμος τῶν παιδισκῶν, cf. LSJ, s.v. οἰκονόμος (1): ‘*house-steward* being a slave’; LSJ, s.v. παιδίσκη (2): ‘prostitute’. For *puellae* in this sense, cf. 46, RA 22.25/RB 20.23.

“Cella <…> (RA) ~ *“Amiante, cella, ubi <Breseida> stat,* (RB): This passage is relevant to the RA ~ RB relationship. *RA* confines himself to a simple task, without further presentation, cf. OLD, s.v. *cella* (3): ‘a chamber or cubicle in a brothel’: Sen., *Contr.* 1,2,5 *meretrix vocata es* <…> *superpositus est cellae tuae titulus*. A more detailed description occurs in Iuv., *Sat.* 6,121-128; 10,239 (comm. Friedländer). This term may derive directly from Greek, where both κέλλα and τίτλος served as direct loan words from Latin, cf. LSJ, s.v. κέλλα ‘room’ ‘chamber’ (P.- Oxyr. 1128.15, II A.D.). This sober indication was not enough for *RB*: both the *villicus puellarum* (anonymous in *RA*) and *cella* are provided with further details.

Amiantus (RB): The name *Amiantus* (*Amianthus*) ~ ’Αμίαντος is a felicitous choice of name in the sense that it was common in 1st/2nd c. Rome (see also *HA* 35, RB 10), cf. ThLL I, 1889,33-55 as a cognomen of emancipated slaves (to which Klebs, p.42 n.3 therefore gratefully refers). *Amiantus* also occurs in Christian inscriptions in Rome, cf. I. Kajanto,

Onomastic Studies in the Early Christian Inscriptions of Rome and Carthage, Helsinki (1963), p.53. In Greek Ἀμίαντος is fairly frequent, cf. Fraser ~ Matthews (1987-), I, II, III^{A}. It is uncertain to what extent the name was also clear to a Roman audience; it seems likely. In any case the name was highly appropriate κατ' ἀντίφρασιν to a brothel servant. For the etymology must be: privative α + μιαίνω 'to defile' 'to pollute' 'to dishonour', cf. LSJ, s.v. μιαίνω (3): so: unpolluted, 'pure'. (Riese [1893], p.68,9 less correctly proposes to link the name *Amiantus* to ταμίας 'steward'.) We can assume that some readers will have chuckled at this name.

<**Breseida**> (RB): The debate over *Breseida* = *Briseis* follows the same lines as in the preceding note. On the orthography *Breseis* ~ Βρησηΐς, see ThLL II 2194,28.55. A similar vocalic alternation occurs in Greek: Βρισηΐς ~ Βρη-. For the diminutive *Breseida* (nom. sing. fem.), very rare in Latin (cf. *Anthol.* 135,2 *prodidit atque urbem his (malis) Briseida suam*), see (with the same formation) 31, RB 1.4 *Dionysiada* (comm.). This corresponds to Βρησηΐδα (nom. fem. sing.). There is great uncertainty in the codices of *RB*: the main cod. **b** omits the words *Breseida stat, exornetur diligenter*; the other codd. **βMπ** do offer the second part, but mangle the opening words: *bresi ad//stat* (ras. one letter) **β**; *bresia stat* **π**; *preseis stat* M. These readings suggest that a reading *Breseida stat* is acceptable, cf. ed. m. (1984), ad loc. The reference is of course to Briseis, Βρισηΐς, slave and friend of Achilles (Klebs, p.31; Schmeling [1988], p.67,15; Merkelbach [1995], p.13). Her beauty has been sung by many since Hor., *Carm.* 2,4,2-4 *prius insolentem | serva Briseis niveo colore | movit Achillem*. Her name was popular both among slaves and among free women, cf. ThLL, loc. cit.; Henrichs (1972), p.109. Courtesans adorned themselves with this name into the early Middle Ages, cf. *Querolus* (loc. cit. ad 26, RA 11 comm.), c.33, p.21 *Sume Paphien, Cytheren, Briseiden* with the same manuscript variation *briseiden, breseiden, bresiden*. So it is no wonder that *RB* introduces precisely this name: Tarsia could move into the room of the 'prima donna'. The later tradition was unable to get to grips with the two names. The changes made to the name *Amiantus* are amusing; in Heinrich von Neustadt (cf. Archibald, p.194) he is called *Turpian*, cf. *RA* 22/RB 20 *sub tam turpi titulo*; in the Italian prose version (ed. Leone del Prete, Lucca 1861) he is called *Pocaroba* 'Of no importance', which the Greek adaptation (ed. Wagner, *Carmina graeca medii aevi*, Lipsiae 1874, v.459) in its turn makes into Πωκαρώπα, cf. Klebs, p.452. The most radical change is probably found in Shakespeare, who in his adaptation *Pericles, Prince of Tyre* (ed. F.D. Hoeniger, *Pericles*, The Arden Edition, London 1963, Act IV, Scene II) introduced *Boult* here, a doublet form of *bolt*, probably meant as a euphemism for *penis* (cf. Singer (1895), p.55). For changes to *Breseida*, see ibid. p.214.

The question remains: where did *RB* get these highly significant names from (cf. above RB 3 *Ninus <...> nec vir nec femina*)? Both names may have been added from his reading: we cannot rule out the possibility that *RB* drew these names from a more pointed, Greek original, cf. Introd. VII.2.2.2. The more so because Βρισηΐς actually means: from Brisa (Bressa), on Lesbos (very close to the centre where the **HA(Gr)** came into being) and because her beauty is also praised in the Greek Novel: Achill. Tat. 1,8,5 ἂν τὸ Βρισηΐδος κάλλος Ἀχιλλεὺς ποθῇ, πένθος αὐτῷ προξενεῖ 'Achilles desires the beautiful Briseis and introduces himself to sorrow'; see also Dar. Phryg., *De excidio Troiae* 17,7 *Briseidam formosam, non alta statura, candidam, capillo flavo et molli, superciliis iunctis, oculis venustis, corpore aequali, blandam, affabilem, verecundam, animo simplici, piam*. Moreover, the names of hetaerae ending on -ίς were traditionally very popular, cf. A. Henrichs, *Die Phoenikika des Lollianos*, Bonn 1972, p.107. (Klebs, p.31,42 goes precisely the opposite way: he believes that both names are 'fortgefallen' in *RA*.)

stat (RB): *Sto* here has the meaning *prosto*, cf. OLD, s.v. *sto* I(c) 'spec. as a prostitute': Ov., *Trist.* 2,310 *nudas matronas <...> et Veneris stantes ad genus omne videt*; Suet., *Calig.* 41,1 *cellis, in quibus matronae ingenuique starent*; Sen., *Controv.* 1,2,7 *stetisti sic ornata, ut populo* (cf. 33, RA 27/RB 25) *placere posses, ea veste quam leno dedit*. The meaning is: 'where Briseis normally works' (some codd. RC modify to *stetit*, cf. Schmeling [1988], ad loc.). A wrong interpretation is given by Thielmann [1881], p.57: i.q. moratur; likewise wrong Riese [1893], Index, s.v. *stare = esse* (Ital. stare), cf. Klebs, p.30 n.1 *stare = in fornice stare*.) The term *stat* could derive directly from later Greek (?) ἵσταται/ἕστηκε(ν), cf. Lampe, s.v. ἵστημι (2): '*be a prostitute*', with examples from Clemens Alexandrinus, *Paed.* 3,3 and Theodoretus Cyrrhenensis, *Haer* 1,1. See also Xen. Eph. 5,7,3, προέστη 'to put herself up for hire', quoted 34, RA/RB 1 (comm.). But the most usual term is ἐργάζεται 'is working' in a customary euphemism, *cf.* LSJ, s.v. ἐργάζομαι II(5): 'of courtesans'. Compare also ἐργαστήριον 'brothel'; ἐργάτιμαι 'the ladies'.

ornetur (RA) ~ *exornetur* (RB): For this change in RA ~ RB, cf. 31, RA 13/RB 9. The decoration probably involved flowers, carpets. The reading *Preparetur cella* **M** is connected with *Previde cellam* **π**, relevant to the secondary recensions (R. Tegernsee, Stuttgart) and the Old French prose adaptations 'pourvoie toy d'un maison bordeliere en laquelle tu mettes ceste vierge' (Lewis [1915], p.174).

in qua scribatur (RA) ~ *et <...> scribatur* (RB): A subtle change, since the *titulus* was written or fixed above the door.

Tharsiam virginem (RA) ~ *Tharsiam* (RB), cf. above *RA* 6 *virginem* / RB 6 *puellam* (comm.). As regards the combination *violare voluerit* (RA/RB): derivative recensions (RStuttgart, RC) are cruder: *deflorare, deviolare, devirginare*.

dimidiam auri libram (RA) ~ *libram auri mediam* (RB): *RA* and *RB* use the two terms interchangeably: 33, RA 26 *dimidiam auri libram* ~ 26, RB 11 *dimidiam partem habeas*; 51, RA 13 *medium suum dedit tribunarium* ~ 33, RB 25 *libram auri mediam*. It is hard to find any real difference between the two words: both belong to the oldest Latin, cf. OLD, s.v. *dimidius* 'half': Vitruv. 9,2,3 *(luna) dimidia lucet*; Sen., *Nat.* 6,6,3 *navis dimidia*. In particular the combination with *pars* is frequent: Plaut., *Aul.* 767 *dimidiam tecum* <...> *partem dividam*; Liv. 42,3,2, *aedem* <...> *ad partem dimidiam detegit*. For a similar combination with *medius*, cf. OLD (5,6): Varr. in Non. p.551 M *quod de musto ad mediam partem decoxerant*; Ov., *Met.* 1,501 *nudos media plus parte lacertos*. For *media* = *dimidia*, cf. Linderbauer, p.228 on *Reg. Ben.* 8,4 *ut modice amplius de media nocte pausetur* (compare Ital. 'mezzo') (Klebs, p.237 *aliter*; moreover to be corrected on 51, RA 13 ~ RB /). *RA*'s actual reading is: *dimidiam auri partem vel libram dabit* **P**; probably from a failure to understand the situation in 34, RA 20-24/RB 21-24 (where a generous Athenagoras lays down 40 *aurei* on his first visit, almost a *libra integra*, with the comment [RA 12] *plus quam virginitas tua expostulat*), a later glossator felt at liberty to raise the price: 'half a pound [or a pound]': within the text he could confine himself to *dimidiam auri* [partem vel] *libram*, cf. Klebs, pp.195 and 237.

libram (RA/RB): This may overlie λίτρα, cf. LSJ, s.v. λίτρα: 'in later times a pound of gold was coined into 72 pieces'.

dabit (RA, **βMπ**) ~ *debet* (**b**): A splendid emendation preserving the word shape, cf. Introd., I, VII.2.1; for *debere* 'to owe', cf. ThLL V,1 86,63 ff.: Plaut., *Poen.* 1401 *aurum, argentum, collum leno tris res nunc debes simul*, etc.

singulos aureos (RA/**bβ**): An acc. of price, defended in particular by E. Löfstedt, *Spätlateinische Studien*, Uppsala-Leipzig 1908, p.80; id., *Vermischte Studien zur lateinischen Sprachkunde und Syntax*, Lund 1936, p.171. The codd. **Mπ** normalize: *singulis aureis*, cf. *Actus Petri cum Simone* c.23 (Lips.-Bonn. I, p.70,27) *occupantes loca* (sc. in theatro) *singulis aureis*. For *aureus* = χρυσοῦς, cf. 10, RA 9/RB 8 *singulos aureos* (comm.); see also the scale of values there. Naturally both prices here are related to the high 'Novel standard'. For the real prices in prostitution, cf. Mart., 1,103,10 (Friedländer); H. Herter, 'Die Soziologie der antiken Prostitution im Lichte des heidnischen und christlichen Schriftkunst', *JhrbAChr.* 3 (1960), pp.70-111; Flemming (1999), p.48 and n.52.

patefit (RA) ~ *patebit* (RB): The P reading, preferred by Ring (questioned by Riese [1893; ThLL X,1 652,12.]), has been retained: a translation like 'she is open' (Konstan) is not impossible in itself, also on the basis of Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀνοίγνυμι/ἀνοίγω (II): 'to be open' 'to stand open'. But I do not know any examples of both *patefit* and ἀνοίγεται 'she opens' (ironically: as a workshop), specifically said of a *meretrix*/πόρνη. Perhaps we can compare LSJ, s.v. ἐργαστήριον: '"any place in which work is done"; "euph. for a brothel", combined with the verb in question: Pap. Oxy. 2109,31 (III A.D.) μισθωσάμενος ἐργαστήριον πρὸς ἄνοιξιν καπηλείου "after having hired a local to open a huckster's shop."' A second place, cited by LSJ, s.v. ἀνοίγω I[b], is also relevant: Astrampsychos (s. IX ?), *Oracula* 43 (*ed*. R. Hercher [Berlin 1863]) p.5 εἰ ἀνοίξω ἐργαστήριον; 'shall I open a shop (euphem. for a *brothel*)?'

The reading *patebit* (RB) is shared by **Rα** (preferred by Riese [1893] and Löfstedt). But it is probably a fine emendation, as regards both meaning and tense, based on a term recorded esp. for Christian authors, cf. Hier., *Epist.* 64,7,2 *meretrix, quae multorum libidini patet*; Rufin, *Orig. in exod.* 8,5 p.227,10 *qui ergo ingreditur ad meretricem, scit se ad eam ingressum esse mulierem, quae prostituta est et cunctis volentibus patet* (Gr. ἡ μὲν γὰρ πρόκειται πᾶσιν), cf. CGL II 418,23 προκειμένη proposita. For some places in pagan authors, cf. ThLL X,1,1 664,52-4. This *patere* is destined to have a long life, cf. *Babio* (ed. Cohen, *La "comédie" latine en France*, Paris 1931, t. II p.41 *Plebs, Babio, recitat Petulam Fodio patuisse*.

33, RA 27-28	Fecit villicus, quod iusserat ei dominus suus leno. 'The overseer did as his master the pimp had told him.'
33, RB 25-26	Et fecit villicus, quod iusserat dominus eius:

Fecit (RA) ~ *Et fecit* (RB): The sentence structure is stereotypical, cf. Luke 9:15 *Et ita fecerunt* (Gr. καὶ ἐποίησαν οὕτως); Acts 12:8 *Et fecit sic* (ἐποίησεν δὲ οὕτως). This formulary technique, after an order issued, is found throughout Antiquity, both in Greek and in Latin: Xen. *Anab.*, 1,1,11 καὶ ἐποίουν οὕτως οὗτοι; *Protevang. Iacobi* 7,2 (ed. De Strycker, p.98) καὶ ἐποίησαν οὕτως; Vie et récits de l'abbé Daniel, p.67,3 ἐποίησεν καθὼς προσέταξεν αὐτῷ ὁ γέρων; ibid. p.373,29 ὁ δὲ ἐποίησε καθὼς εἶπεν αὐτῷ; Mombr. I 546,49 (Firmicus et Rusticus) *et ita fecerunt ministri, sicut praecepit eis Anolinus*; ibid., II 71,47 *Cyprianus autem accipiens formeum fecit, sicut praeceperat ei daemon*. For the Greek Novel, cf. Heliod. 9,2,1; 10,3,2. On the basis of this technique *RB* adds *Et* (fecit).

iusserat ei (RA) ~ *iusserat* (RB): For *iubere* + dat. (RA), see also 48, RB 7. This construction (RA) is rather rare in Latin, is often influenced by Greek and is often corrected by *RB*, as here, cf. ThLL VII II I 577,39-59. The redactor refers e.g. to Vet. Lat. Matt. 8:18 (cod. f) *iussit discipulis suis ire*, where the Vulg. reads *iussit ire*. The present construction may derive directly from Greek, not so much classical Greek as later writings. LSJ, s.v. κελεύω (6), note: 'rarely c. dat. pers. et acc. rei.'; Men., *Perik*. 224 τί δ' ἐστὶν ὅ κελεύεις ἐμοί; 'what is it that you are commanding me?' In later writings the construction κελεύω + dat. + *acc. rei* is very frequent, cf. Kühner-Gerth II, 1 p.411 n.7; Vogeser (1907), pp.30-1 + lit. It may well be that *RA* goes back to a Greek, late source **R[Gr]**, as an intermediate phase. In passing we can point out that as well as the classical improvement of *iubere* + dat., *RB* has also eliminated *suus* (instead of *eius*).

CHAPTER 34

34, RA 1 Tertia die antecedente turba cum <sy>mpho<ni>acis ducitur ad lupanar. ‘On the third day Tarsia was taken to the brothel, preceded by a crowd and musicians.’

34, RB 1 Tertia die antecedente turba et symphonia ducitur ad lupanar.

Tertia die (RA/RB): On the custom of giving future *filles de joie* a little time to recover, also with a view to their sale and work, cf. Xen. Eph. 5,5,8 ἡμέραις μέν τισιν αὐτὴν ἀνελάμβανεν ἐκ τοῦ πλοῦ κεκμηκυῖαν ‘He (namely the brothel-keeper) rested her for some days, as she was weary from her voyage’; id. 3,11,1 οἱ δὲ (sc. ἔμποροι ‘the merchants’) ἔτρεφόν τε αὐτὴν πολυτελῶς καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐθεράπευον, ζητοῦντες ἀεὶ τὸν ὠνησόμενον κατ’ ἀξίαν ‘They looked after her at great expense and lavished attention on her appearance, always looking for a buyer at a suitable price’; Achill. Tat. 3,9,1 Ἐνδιατρίψαντες οὖν ἡμερῶν δύο καὶ ἀναλαβόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐκ τῶν κακῶν ‘After two days of rest and recuperation from the evils endured.’ The *leno* is apparently in a hurry: Tarsia is granted only one full day of respite. A translation from (?) (ἐν) τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ‘on the third day’ is probable, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. τρίτος; Konstan’s explanation, loc. cit., is unclear: ‘“on the third day”, i.e. two days later (the Romans counted inclusively).’

turba cum <**sy**>**mpho**<**ni**>**acis** (RA) ~ *turba et symphonia* (RB): a somewhat droll detail in the *HA*, as if the event is a party, cf. e.g. Sen., *Controv.* 1,2,10 *convenit omnis libidonosorum turba et concurrit ad meretricem novam*; Xen. Eph. 5,7,3 ἤγετο (sc. ἡ Ἀνθία) ἐπὶ τὸ οἴκημα τοῦ πορνοβοσκοῦ <…> Ὡς δὲ ἦλθε καὶ προέστη, πλῆθος ἐπέρρει τῶν τεθαυμακότων τὸ κάλλος, οἵ γε πολλοὶ ἦσαν ἕτοιμοι ἀργύριον κατατίθεσθαι τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ‘She was brought to the brothel <…> When she arrived and put herself up for hire, a crowd of admirers came flocking to, most of them ready to pay money to satisfy their desires.’ Perhaps the happening in the *HA* goes back to a real event, cf. *Martyrium SS. Theodoti et Ariadne* (from Ancyra), (ed. Franchi de’ Cavalieri, ST 6), c.14,10-24 (p.70) ἦγον οὖν αὐτὰς διὰ μέσου τῆς πόλεως γεγυμνωμένας τοῖς σώμασιν, ὀρθὰς ἑστώσας ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀχήμασιν <…> συνεξῆλθεν δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς πολέως πάσης ἐπὶ τῇ θεωρίᾳ τῶν γιγνομένων, αὐλῶν γὰρ καὶ κυμβάλων ἦχος ἐθεωρεῖτο <…> καὶ πολλὰ δὲ μουσικὰ μεθ’ ἑαυτῶν εἶχον ‘And they conveyed the holy virgins through

the midst of the city, naked, right on the chariots: the people of the whole city flocked together to see what was happening; sound of flutes and cymbals was heard; they had many music instruments with them.' In *RA* some citizens make music individually, cf. LSJ, s.v. *symphoniacus*: '(esp. masc. or fem. as substantive)'; in *RB* a regular band leads the way. Translation from (?) συμφωνιακός '*of* or *for a choir*' is plausible. LSJ, s.v. συμφωνιακός records Cic., *Mil.* 21,55: *pueri symphoniaci* 'singing boys'. Perhaps this also led *RB* to adjust, cf. W. Richter, 'Συμφωνία. Zur Früh- und Vorgeschichte eines musikalischen Begriffs', in: *Convivium musicorum*, Festschrift W. Boettiger, hrg. v. H. Hueschen, Berlin 1974, pp.264-90. This detail must have made the **HA(Gr)** fairly unique: corresponding terms are lacking in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.* Incidentally, this transportation could lead to other wild goings-on, cf. Ps. Ambr., *Serm.* 48,7 (PL 17, p.727[A]) *illius iuvenis factum ad animum revocemus, quem contra Agnetis infantiam sic armaverat inimicus, ut nudam faceret trahi ad lupanar per vulgus, sub voce praeconantis ducis populum ad libidinem invitantis*. For a noteworthy example of Christianization in the *editio princeps* (cf. ed. m. (1984), pp. 134-5) based on Red. Stuttgart, see Kerényi, *Romanlitt.*, p.213 n.40.

34, RA 2-3	Sed Athenagoras princeps affuit prior et velato capite ingreditur ad lupanar. 'Athenagoras, the first man, arrived first; with his head covered he went into the brothel.'
34, RB 2	Athenagoras prior adfuit et velato capite lupanar ingreditur.

Athenagoras princeps (RA) ~ *Athenagoras* (RB): For Athenagoras and his probable function, cf. 33, RA 5/RB 4 (comm.).

prior (RA/RB), cf. 33, RA 13 *intrabo prior ad eam* (comm.).

velato capite (RA/RB): Obviously to avoid recognition, cf. OLD, s.v. *celo* (b) 'to cover (for concealment)': Plaut., *Poen.* 744 *operire capita, ne nos leno noverit*. To do the opposite was brazen: Plaut., *Captiv.* 475-6 *Ipsi de foro tam aperto capite ad lenones eunt, quam in tribu aperto capite sontes condemnant reos*, cf. ThLL III, s.v. *caput* 387,50 (with lit. there on the analogous Greek custom). Translation from (?) (ἐγ)κεκαλυμμένος, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐγκαλύπτω 'veil' (II,2) 'as a mark of shame'. In a similar situation (cf. Introduction to cc.33-36) Pall., *Hist. Laus.* c.65, l.34 uses περικαλυψαμένη 'her head enveloped (by the hem of her cloak)'. (Klebs, p.208 is of no value.) This custom persisted deep into the Middle Ages: medieval woodcuts often depict Athenagoras in this way.

ingreditur ad lupanar (RA) ~ *lupanar ingreditur* (RB): Classical Latin prefers *ingredi in*, cf. OLD, s.v. *ingredior* (1.b). But the combination *ingredi ad* is not uncommon, cf. ThLL VII, s.v. *ingredior* 1568,78 ff., esp. in Christian Latin (Vulg., Hier., Aug., Greg. Magn.), cf. Matt. 18:8 *ad vitam ingredi* (Gr. εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ζωήν), cf. ibid. 19:17. Greek probably influenced this construction here too: (?) εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὸ πορνεῖον. *RB*'s emendation of a probable Graecism is classical, cf. Introd. IV.3. For other places in the *HA*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. ingredior ad. (Klebs, p.257 n.7 'nur in P' can be ignored.)

34, RA 3-4 Sed dum fuisset ingressus, sedit; et advenit Tharsia et proc<i>dit ad pedes eius et ait: 'When he came in, he sat down. Tarsia went over to him, fell at his feet and said:'

34, RB 2-4 Intravit cellam et sedit in lectum puellae. Puella ex demonstrato ostium clausit et procidens ad pedes eius ait:

Sed dum fuisset ingressus, sedit (RA) ~ *Intravit cellam et sedit in lectum puellae* (RB). The initial subordinate clause in *RA* is less than classical; compare 1, RA 4 *dum <...> pervenisset*; *RB* seems to have a slight preference for *intrare*, in certain passages dealing with the *lupanar*, cf. 34, RA 18 *ingresso* ~ RB 19 *intravit*; 34, RA 20 *introivit* ~ RB 21 *intravit*; 35, RA 5 *<in>ibant* ~ RB 4 *intrabant*, cf. 30, RA/RB 7.

sedit (RA) ~ *sedit in lectum puellae* (RB): This digression forms part of the technical jargon, cf. Sen., *Controv.* 1,2 (p.20, 6 M) *quid in cellulam me et obscenum lectum vocas?*

et advenit Tharsia (RA) ~ *Puella ex demonstrato ostium clausit* (RB): An apparently major change by *RB*. For *puella*, cf. 33, RB 6 *puellam* (comm.). *RA* causally mentions the action *ostium clausit* further on: 34, RA 19 *Solito more puellam claudit ostium*. Following standard procedure, *RB* moves this forward, also with a view to the secrecy necessary within the story. This aspect, too, which *RA* passes over, is emphasized two times by *RB*: 34, RB 14 *Rogo, ne cui narres, quae a me audisti* (RA /); 34, RB 29-30 *peto, ne cui narres, quae a me audisti*. *RA* does not talk about the pledge of secrecy itself until 35, RA 2-3 *Et adiurantes se invicem, ne alicui proderent* (comm.).

ex demonstrato bβM: A very rare expression: for *demonstratum* (perf. pass. part. with the value of a substantive) the ThLL V,1 509,26 adduces only one other parallel place outside of the *HA*: *Pass. Theclae*, c.19 (ed. v.

Gebhardt, 1902, p.49,18) *qui secundum demonstratum* (*indicium ianitoris* v.l.) *pervenerunt ad carcerem*, cf. H. Delehaye, 'Les Recueils antiques de miracles des saints', § 7 Les Miracles de St. Thècle, *AB* 44 (1925), pp.49-57. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *demonstratum* gives no other reference either. For a conclusion to be drawn from this, cf. Introd. II.3.

proc<i>dit ad pedes eius (RA) ~ *procidens ad pedes eius* (RB), cf. 34, RA 25/RB 26 *prostravit se* and 34, RA/RB 27 *Alleva te, domina*.

34, RA 4-5	"Miserere mei! Per iuventutem tuam te deprecor, ne velis me violare sub tam turpi titulo. '"Have pity on me! I implore you by your youth, do not dishonour me under such a vile sign.'
34, RB 4-5	"Miserere, domine! Per iuventutem tuam et per deum te adiuro, ne velis me sub hoc titulo humiliare.

Miserere mei! (RA) ~ *Miserere, domine* (RB): For the stereotypical omission of *mei* in *RB*, cf. 12, RA 11 (RB 14 /), comm. For the courteous term of address to the new customer, cf. 34, RB 14 *domine* (RA /).

per iuventutem tuam te deprecor (RA) ~ *Per iuventutem tuam et per deum te adiuro* (RB): *RB* reasons that there is no harm in slightly reinforcing the adjuration by adding '*et per deum*', cf. 45, RB 17-18 *per deum vivum te adiuro* (RA *aliter*). (Klebs, p.218 – conversely – deletes [et per deum te adiuro].)

violare (RA) ~ *humiliare* (RB): For *RA* 'rape', cf. 33, RA 22 *prostituere* (comm.) and OLD, s.v. *violo* (c). Perhaps we can compare (?) ὑβρίζω, cf. LSJ, s.v.: 'esp. of lust'; *Less.*, s.v. (β) 'fare violenza sessuale' (e.g. Xen. Eph. 4,5,5). This term was doubtless shocking to *RB*: he replaced it by the euphemism *humiliare*. This is a typically Christian term (cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v.) and as a non-classical word is not incorporated in OLD, but seee ThLL VI.3 3102,23-29; Garbugino p.95, n.14. For *RB*'s attitude in a broader context, see Introd. III.2 (Klebs, p.273 proposes to delete *humiliare*).

34, RA 5-7 Contine impudicam libidinem et audi casus infirmitatis meae vel origine<m> ste<mm>atum considera.” ‘Restrain your shameless lust, and listen to the wretched misfortunes of a helpless woman, think of my ancestry.”’

34, RB 6-7 Contine inpudicam libidinem et casus infelicissimae virginis audi et natalium meorum originem.”

Girls beleaguered in the *lupanar* tried to get out of the situation in various ways. The most frequent method was to tell their life story and real descent. Thus ’Ανθία in Xen. Eph. is able to fend off Ψάμμις, an Indian king, by pretending that she was dedicated at birth to Isis (Xen. Eph. 3,11,4-5). Elsewhere she feigns an epileptic fit (ibid. 5,7,4-9). The closest parallel is Xen. Eph. 2,9,4 (pointed out by Riese [1893], Index s.v. *casus fortunae*): καὶ ἡ μὲν ἤγετο ἐπ’ ἀγρὸν συνεσομένη τῷ αἰπόλῳ· γενομένη δὲ ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἔνθα ὁ Λάμπων ἔνεμε τὰς αἶγας, προσπίπτει τοῖς γόνασιν αὐτοῦ (34, RA 4 procidit ad pedes eius) καὶ ἱκετεύει κατοικτεῖραι (34, RA 4 miserere mei) καὶ <ἁγνὴν> τηρῆσαι· (34, RA 5 ne velis me violare) διηγεῖται δὲ ἥτις ἦν, τὴν προτέραν εὐγένειαν (34, RA 7 cui cum universos casus suos exposuisset / 34, RA 6 vel originem stemmatum considera) <…> ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Λάμπων οἰκτείρει τὴν κόρην (34, RA 8 pietate ductus vehementer obstipuit) καὶ ὄμνυσιν ἦ μὴν φυλάξειν ἀμόλυντον καὶ θαρρεῖν παρεκελεύετο (34, RA 8 et ait ad eam: <…> scimus fortunae casus) ‘She (sc. Anthia) was taken to the country to live with the goatherd (sc. Lampon). And when she got to where Lampon pastured his goats, she went down on her knees (34, RA 4 she fell at his feet) and implored him to take pity on her (34, RA 4 Have pity on me!) and respect her chastity (34, RA 5 don’t rape me). She told him who she was, how she had once been a lady (34, RA 7 When she had told him all his misfortunes / 34, RA 6 and think of my ancestry) <…> when Lampon heard her story, he took pity on her (34, RA 8 he was disconcerted and moved by pity) and swore that indeed he would not molest her, and tried to reassure her’ (34, RA 8 and he said to her: <…> We too are human and subject to misfortunes). An extreme method is found in Greg. Tur., *Lib. de mirac. B. Andreae*, c.23, where a girl saves herself by using a Bible as shield (Bonnet, p.839,15): *deducitur ad lupanar ac lenoni donatur* <…> *illa ingressa lupanar, orabat assidue, cumque venissent qui eam contingerent* (cf. *HA* 27, RA 10.21/RB 9.19), *ponebat evangelium, quod secum habebat, ad pectus suum, et statim omnes vires perdebant accedens* (*v.l.* accedentes) *ad eam. Quidam vero inpudicissimus* (cf. *HA* 34, RA 5/RB 6) <…> *disrupit vestimenta eius et cecidit evangelium ad terra*. For further literature, see: Kerény, p.209 ff.; R.M. Rattenbury, ‘Chastity and Chastity Ordeals in the Ancient Greek Romances, *Proceedings of the*

Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, Lit. and hist. section 1, 1926, p.59 ff.; S. Trenkner, *The Greek Novella in the Classical Period*, Cambridge 1958.

casus infirmitatis meae (RA) ~ *casus infelicissimae virginis* (RB): Many critics have tinkered with the reading *infirmitatis* **P** (in **Rα**: **F**). It can mean both physical infirmity (see in the parallel text *HA* 29, RA 6/RB 5) and defencelessness, cf. OLD, s.v. *infirmitas*. On account of the parallel text and *RB hoc loco* preference has been given to *infelicitatis* (thus γ, RC 5, Welser, Riese [1893], followed by modern editors, cf. ed. m. [1984]). Nevertheless *RA* should most probably be retained, also as a possible translation from Greek (?) ἀσθένεια (cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. 1.b and c) or ἀτυχία, LSJ, s.v. 'ill-luck'. *RB*'s change follows from the unusual meaning of *infirmitas* (Klebs, p.112 deletes *casus infirmitatis meae*).

vel originem stemmatum considera (RA) ~ *et natalium meorum originem* (RB): *RA*'s reading is deleted by Klebs, p.38 n.3, who argues that *vel* means *et* here ('Spätlateinisch = et, nur in den Interpolationen von *RA*'). For *vel* in the *HA*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. In fact *RB* emends classically. For the other changes in *RB*, cf. 29, RA 11 *stemmata originis tuorum natalium* (comm.), where the probable Greek background of στέμμα 'family tree' is discussed. This element is also eliminated by *RB*. The result is a smooth, almost classical period.

34, RA 7-8	Cui cum universos casus suos exposuisset, princeps confusus est et pietate ductus vehementer obstipuit et ait ad eam: 'When she had told him all her misfortunes, the first man was disconcerted and moved by pity. In his great astonishment he said to her:'
34, RB 7-8	Cui cum universos casus suos exposuisset, confusus et pietate plenus abstinuit et ait:

confusus (RA/RB): *Confundo* here has its ordinary, classical sense of 'to confound', cf. OLD, s.v. *confundo* (10): 'to disconcert' 'to embarrass'. Likewise 34, RA/RB 26; 40, RA 21/RB 17; 50, RA 25. From Gr. (?) συγχέω, cf. LSJ συγχέω (II): 'to confound' 'to trouble': *Od.* 8,139 ἄνδρα γε συγχεῦαι. For a different meaning and construction, cf. 14, RA 12/RB 10 *introire confunditur* (comm.).

pietate ductus (RA) ~ *pietate plenus* (RB): *Pietas* here clearly has the meaning 'pitié', *misericordia*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *pietas* (4): 'bienveillance' (de l'homme envers l'homme, Suet., Plin.). For parallel places, see Ind.

verb., s.v. pietas (1). It is unclear why *RB* changes the reading *ductus* (cf. 12, RA 16 *misericordia motus*) to *plenus* (cf. 12, RA 18 *ut plenius misericordiae suae satisfaceret*).

vehementer obstipuit (RA) ~ *abstinuit* **b**: *obstupuit* **βMπ**: *Obstipesco* (*-stu-*) is the ordinary, expected verb, cf. OLD, s.v. *obstupesco* (1): 'to be struck dumb' 'astounded by any powerful emotion'. It is the standard translation of (?) ἐξεπλάγη, cf. CGL VII,9. *RB* was more interested in the practical effect: hence, almost preserving the word shape (cf. Introd. III.5), the change to *abstinuit*, i.q. *abstinuit se a coitu*. For *se abstinere* in the amorous sphere, cf. ThLL I 196,39-40; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *abstineo*: '(refl.) se séparer de'; ibid., s.v. *abstinens*: Lact., *Epist.* 10 *abstinentior Iupiter fuit in una Thetide*. The intransitive use of properly transitive verbs is very common in Late Latin, cf. *abstinere, frequentare, infrigidare, inpinguare, inviscare, movere, peiorare, reficere, resumere, rumpere, siccare, tardare*. It has been widely covered: Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 295; LHS II, p.31 ff. (with lit.); Blatt, p.189; Blomgren, p.48; Linderbauer, p.308 (on *Reg. Ben.* 39,20); Salonius, *Vit. Patr.*, p.256; B. Junel, *Studia in Cassium Felicem*, Uppsala 1936, p.5.128; Löfstedt, *Coni.*, p.51. Schmeling, *Notes*, p.394 (on ed. 67,26) also argues for *abstinuit* ('could be the reading in RB').

ait ad eam (RA) ~ *ait* (RB): *RB*'s stereotypical abridgement is especially striking in cc.34-35: 34, RA 26 *ait ad eam* ~ RB 27 *ait*; 35, RA 7 *ait ad eam* ~ RB 6 *ait*.

34, RA 9	"Erige te. Scimus fortunae casus: homines sumus. '"Get up. We all know the mishaps of fortune: we are all human.'
34, RB 8-9	"Erige te. Scimus temporum vices: homines sumus.

Erige te (RA/RB): To be interpreted literally, cf. 34, RA/RB 4 (comm.).

Scimus fortunae casus (RA) ~ *Scimus temporum vices* (RB): *homines sumus* (RA/RB), cf. below 34, RA 27 *Et nos homines sumus, casibus subiacentes* (RA: *subiacemus* RB) (RA/RB). This is a τόπος in both Greek and Latin. For *casus fortunae* as a direct formulation, cf. ThLL III 582,48 ff. Indirectly the fickleness of fate in human existence was formulated countless times and in countless ways in Latin literature. Specially the next words *homines sumus* can be regarded as a Roman proverb, cf. Otto, *Sprichwörter*, p.165; Klebs, p.290 n.2. This saying serves either as an apology for human foibles and sins (cf. Petron., *Sat.* 39,4 *hominem inter homines*; ibid., 75,1 *homines sumus,*

non dei) or as an argument for human sympathy, as here. In Greek the saying is just as widespread. Fine examples are e.g. Men., *Sent.* 10 Ἄνθρωπος ὢν μέμνησο τῆς κοινῆς τυχής 'Being mortal you must be aware of our common fate'; Eurip., *Med.* 1018 Κούφως φέρειν χρὴ θνητὸν ὄντα συμφοράς 'Being mortal you should patiently endure adversities'; Philemon (cited by J. Maillon, *Héliodore*, *Les Éthiopiques*, (1960), tome II, p.99 n.1): fr. 117 (ed. J.M. Edmonds, *The Fragments of Attic Comedy*, vol. III^{A} [Leiden, Brill 1961] ἄνθρωπος εἶ δήπουθεν· ὢν ἔστ' οὐδὲ εἷς / ᾧ μὴ κακόν τι γέγονεν ἢ γενήσεται 'Of course you are a man: simply, there is no one to whom no harm will come, neither in the past, nor in the future'; fr. 133 ΟΙΚΕΤΗΣ οὐκ ἂν δύναιο μὴ γενέσθαι, δέσποτα, / ἄνθρωπος ὢν ἄνθρωπος· ἄλλως οὖν βοᾷς· τὸν ζῶντ' ἀνάγκη πόλλ' ἔχειν ἐστὶν κακά 'SLAVE Human is human, sir; don't cry like this; Living means bearing much we'd rather miss' (transl. Brittain-Soweis). Compare also Herod. 1,86 with the reflections of Cyrus (καὶ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐών 'he himself being also human') on Kroisos at the stake. Further parallels in Headlam, p.73 (on Herondas 2,9). This motif, the precariousness of human existence, is of course common throughout the Greek Novel (cf. Kussl, 1991, p.44-45), from the earliest witnesses (the so-called Ninos novel) to Heliodorus. Such expressions of uncertainty are very frequent in the latter, which has sometimes been attributed to the restlessness of the times, cf. A.M. Scarzella, 'Testimonianze della crisi di un' età nel romanzo di Eliodoro', *Maia* 24 (1972), pp.8-41. It is therefore reasonable to assume that Athenagoras' words of comfort go back to a Greek original. For the role of τύχη in the **HA(Gr)**, see Introd. VI.1. For *HA* in relation to the present place we could refer to Xen. Eph. 1,16,3 δεῖ δέ σε τῇ τύχῃ πάντα λογίσασθαι 'accept the fate that rules over you' (cf. Dalmeyda, *Introd.*, p.XXI n.4) and Heliod. 1,15,2 εἰ δέ τι τῶν μὴ κατὰ γνώμην ἐκβέβηκεν, ἐκεῖνα μὲν τῇ τύχῃ λογιστέον 'If all has not gone as you wished, then you must put it down to Fortune.' For similarity in point of view we could follow Riese (1893), Index, s.v. *casus fortunae* and point to Xen. Eph. 2,9,4 (quoted above, see 34, RA 1-2); 3,3,1; 5,1,3; 5,10,11. We do not know what the Greek substrate text **R(Gr)** and further on **HA(Gr)** specifically read. The change from *fortunae casus* (RA) to *temporum vices* 'vicissitudes' (RB) is distinctly literary, cf. Auson., *Epigr.* 143 *Fortuna numquam sistit in eodem statu / semper movetur, variat et mutat vices*. The decision to eliminate a dangerous term like *fortuna* (= τύχη) is true to *RB*'s pattern, cf. Introd. III.3.

As regards the rest of the quotation 34, RA/RB 27 *Et nos homines sumus, casibus subiacentes* (RA: *subiacemus* RB) (RA/RB): Klebs, p.290, excluding all other parallel places (Greek is ignored), believes that the entire expression *Scimus fortunae casus: homines sumus* can be attributed to Apul., *Met.* 11,19 *vitam, quae multis casibus subiacet*, on account of the combination *casibus* and *subiacere*. This phrase is in fact rare in classical literature:

OLD, s.v. *subiaceo* (2) ‘to lie exposed to’ also refers to Apul., *Met.*, loc. cit. (Klebs himself, p.290 n.2 moreover points to Veget., *Mil.* 3,1). But Klebs (p.290 n.3) deliberately passes over patristic literature, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. (2): ‘être sujet à’ with many examples, e.g. Tert., *An.* 24 *nulli passioni subiacebit*; Hier., *Epist.* 79,10 *passionibus humanis subiacere*; Ps.-Cypr., *Sing.* 4 *temptationibus subiacere*, etc. The expression in question is found directly in patristic writings: Prud., *Praef.* 15 *male pertinax | vincendi studium subiacuit casibus asperis*; Aug., *Civ. dei* 19,4 (p.361,20 D.) *vita <…> subiacet casibus*, cf. ibid., 22,22 (p.606,7 D.); *Acta Thomae* (ed. Bonnet), *index* (p.216), *subiacere casibus* 143,19; 148,10. More culpably, Klebs fails to discuss any links with a Greek original, though in particular a verb like ὑποκεῖμαι suggests itself, cf. LSJ, s.v. ὑποκεῖμαι (5): ‘to be subject to’; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. (2): ‘ausgesetzt sein’: 1 *Clem.* 41,4 κινδύνῳ ὑποκεῖσθαι. Compare also 8, RB 9 *Subiacet <…> litus Tarsiae*: (?) Gr. ὑπόκειται (comm.). The form *subiacentes* (RA) could therefore go back directly to (?) ὑποκείμενοι (main term in the participle): the form *subiacemus* (RB) is merely a Latin clarification. (Klebs, p.290 prefers RB: ‘*so richtig* RB’).

34, RA 9-10 Habeo et <ego> filiam virginem, ex qua similem possum casum <me>tuere.” ‘I too have a daughter, who is a virgin: I can be afraid of a similar disaster in her case.”’

34, RB 9-10 Habeo et ego ex amissa coniuge filiam bimulam, de qua simili casu possum metuere.” ‘I too have a daughter by my deceased wife, a baby two years old; concerning her likewise I could be preoccupied.”’

et <ego> (RA): The reading *et* e^{i} *(= enim)* **P**, i.q. *etenim*, could perhaps be retained, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *etenim* (2) ‘placé après le premier mot’: John 13:13 *Vos vocatis me Magister: bene dicitis: sum etenim* (Gr. εἰμὶ γάρ ‘In fact, I am’). In view of *RB* and **Rα(φF)**, editors opt for *ego*.

filiam virginem (RA) ~ *ex amissa coniuge filiam bimulam* (RB). *RA*’s reading is formulated precisely, cf. ThLL VI,1 794,4. Usually an (almost) adult, marriageable daughter is involved. Moreover, these words in this order may have been translated directly from Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. παρθένος: Xen., *Cyr.* 4,6,9 θυγάτηρ παρθένος ‘a virgin daughter’. It is very important for *RB* to present Athenagoras as a highly favourable suitor:

1. Hence the emphasis on *ex amissa coniuge* (RB): cf. 1, RB 2 *Hic* (sc. rex Antiochus) *habuit ex amissa coniuge filiam*: like Antiochus once, Athenagoras hands are untied;

2. *filiam bimulam* (RB): Athenagoras is still relatively young;
3. but this does force *RB* to add: 34, RB 15-16 *filia mea, cum ad tuam venerit aetatem* (sc. about 16) (RA /);
4. all this probably leads to the change 34, RA 15 *collega* ~ RB 17 *discipulus suus* (comm.).

ex qua similem possum casum <me>tuere (RA) ~ *de qua simili casu possum metuere* (RB): A splendid adjustment by *RB*: he need not fear such a thing resulting from his daughter (ThLL VIII 904,78 ff.), but with regard to her (ThLL VII 904,47 ff.). Moreover, it is not something identical to Tarsia's situation, but 'in a similar situation'. At the same time *ex qua* (RA) could be a direct translation of ἐξ ἧς, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐκ III.6: '*of Cause, Instrument or Means*, by which a thing is done'. As references they mention e.g. Hdt. 3,29 τελευτῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ τρώματος 'to die from the wound'; Luke 16:9 ποιεῖτε ὑμῖν φίλους ἐκ τοῦ Μαμωνα τῆς ἀδικίας 'make yourselves friends of (i.e. by means of) the mammon of injustice'. Compare also LSJ, s.v. φοβέω 'to terrify', (B.II) 'to be seized with fear', 2: φοβοῦμαι ἔκ τινος 'from some case'. They refer to Soph. *Trach.* 671 δίδαξον <...> ἐξ ὅτου φοβεῖ 'Tell me <...> on what account you are afraid'. In this case *RB* in all his logic would have eliminated a Graecism, cf. Introd. IV.3.

34, RA 10-11	Haec dicens protulit XL aureos et dedit in manu virginis et dicit ei: 'With these words he produced forty pieces of gold and put them in Tarsia's hand, and said to her:'
34, RB 10-11	Dedit XL aureos in manu virginis dicens:

Haec dicens (RA) ~ (RB /): A typical abridgement by *RB*, the more so because of the end of the sentence: see in this cap. *RA* 17 ~ RB /.

protulit (RA) ~ *Dedit* (RB): *RA* offers the standard reading 'he took out', i.e. from the fold of his toga. In the Greek world this also served as a money-pouch, cf. LSJ, s.v. προκόλπιον 'part of a robe which falls over the breast'. The usual Greek verb, as in *RA*, is προκομίζω 'to bring forward', cf. 37, RB 2 (comm.). *RB* chooses a neutral term here, perhaps on account of the large sum, difficult to carry in a 'fold'.

aurei (RA/RB) = χρυσοῖ, cf. 10, RA 9/RB 8 (comm.): For the real value of this, see 34, RA 23/RB 24 *libram auri integram* (comm.).

dedit in manu virginis (RA/RB): Not an unusual construction in Late Latin, cf. Levison, *Script. Rer. Meroving.* I^2, Index p.569: Greg. Tur., *Hist.*

Fr. 217$_5$ *hunc in manu vestra tradam*; Act. Andr. (ed. Blatt) c.3, p.37,11; ibid. 6, p.45,3 *tradidimus in manibus*; Mombr. II p.84,18; ibid. 148,24. The present construction is fairly common in the Vulg. and in the Vet. Lat., cf. Vet. Lat., Dan. 1:2 (Cypr., *Domin. orat.* 25) *in manu dedit* (Gr. ἔδωκε <…> ἐν χειρί). Classical Latin naturally prefers *in manum*, cf. ThLL V 1695,75 ff. This construction must have struck Roman readers; thus Aug., *Loc. in Hept.* VII, Migne PL 34, p.541,31 notes in connection with Judg. 2:14 *Tradidit eos in manu praedantium*: *non dixit in manum, quod videtur latina locutio postulare* (Gr. παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ἐν χειρί). So an assumption that *RA* implies influence/direct translation from Greek does not seem too bold. In Hom. we already find the construction ἐν χερσὶ τίθει (cf. Il. 1,585; 21,82; 23,597). *RB*, linking up with existing practice, could safely adopt this. Greek, too, was probably influenced from outside in this construction, cf. Blaß-Debrunner, § 217,2. (Klebs, p.258 is worthless; Garbugino, p.106, n.72 confines himself to the label 'Volkssprache', thus shedding insufficient light on the actual situation.)

34, RA 11-13	"Domina Tharsia, ecce habes plus, quam virginitas tua expostulat. Advenientibus age similiter, quousque liberaberis." '"Lady Tarsia, here is more than the price demanded for your virginity. Behave in the same way with all comers, until you can free yourself."'
34, RB 11-13	"Domina Tharsia, ecce habes amplius, quam virginitas tua venalis proposita est. De advenientibus age precibus similiter, quousque libereris."

Domina Tharsia (RA/RB): A striking address, certainly in a *lupanar*, cf. 34, RA 27/RB 28. Compare Ind. verb., s.v. domina *in honorifica allocutione*.

plus (RA) ~ *amplius* (RB): The *titulus* mentioned for a first visit 33, RA 26 *dimidiam auri libram* = 20 (eventueel 21) *aurei*. *RB* probably exemplifies a preference for heavier, polysyllabic forms, cf. 35, RB 8 *ampliores pecunias*. (For *ecce* (RA/RB), see 8, RA 23/RB 27.)

expostulat (RA) ~ *venalis proposita est* (RB): *expostulat* is the technical term ('demands'), cf. ThLL; V,2 1778,35-45: cod. Iustin. 8,53,25,1 (*a.* 316) *ubi hoc leges expostulant*. Perhaps we can compare ἐξαιτέω/ἐξαιτέομαι 'to demand'. *RB* substitutes a seemlier term, cf. 33, RA/RB 2.

Advenientibus age (RA) ~ *De advenientibus age* (RB): In principle *Advenientibus* (RA) could be both abl. and dat.; but without a preposition the references for both cases are few and questionable (for abl., cf. ThLL I 1379,82; for dat., ibid. I 1386,30 ff., including [p.1386,31] the present place). We can hardly allow for the possibility that a preposition has dropped out. Konstan, loc. cit. p.91, takes *advenientibus* as a 'dative of reference, "toward all comers"'. But rather we should assume a translation error here, viz. (?) ποιέω + dat. This construction is not very frequent in classical Greek (cf. LSJ, s.v. ποιέω (B.2): 'less freq. c. dat. pers.'), but very common in the κοινή: Luke 6:31 καὶ καθὼς θέλετε, ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως (Vulg. *Et prout vultis ut faciant vobis homines, et vos facite illis similiter*), cf. ibid. 2,48; 6,23.26.27 (in Vulg. always rendered by forms of *facere*). For later and Byzantine Greek, cf. Usener, *Acta Marinae*, Index, s.v. ποιεῖν; Ghedini, *La lingua dei vangeli apocrifi greci*, p.450; Vogeser, p.31. (The latter particularly refers to Pall., *Hist. Laus.* [ed. Bartelink], c.21, l.6.) Such a ποιεῖν + dat. as substrate text could well explain a translation with *agere* + dat. *RA* links up with accepted usage. The correction by *RB* shows great linguistic sensibility, cf. ThLL I 1379, 73-82: e.g. Vulg., *Esth.* 3,11 *de populo age, quod tibi placet*. The examples can be supplemented with hagiographical material: *Acta Maximi* 19 (ed. Knopf-Krüger) p.60,20 *Marcianus ait: Recipieris in carcerem, ut imperator gesta cognoscat et ex eius nutu, quid de te agi debeat*; *Acta Andreae* (ed. Blatt) p.148,12 *sicuti pater de probis filiis agere debet*.

advenientibus (RA/RB): A technical term both in Latin and in Greek, cf. ThLL I 830,51: Plaut., *Truc.* 100 *adveniunt ad scorta*; Ov., *Am.* 1,8,31 *adveniens* <…> *dives amator*; LSJ, s.v. πρόσειμι; Lucian., *Dialogi meretricii* 1 (comm. Mras, p.8,14). The simple verb has this shade of meaning too: Sen., *Contr.* 1,2,5 *venientem recepisti*; id. 1,2,7 *venientes deprecata est* (sc. meretrix).

similiter (RA) ~ *precibus similiter* (RB): Probably added on purpose by *RB*, since a *scortum* also has other weapons at her disposal. For the phrase, cf. 35, RA 10 *similiter precibus et lacrimis* (RB /). Riese (1871, *Praef.* XIII; 1893, *Index*, s.v.) refers to ὁμοίως 'alike, equally'.

quousque liberaberis (RA) ~ *quousque libereris* (RB): The rise of the meaning 'until what time' 'till when' of *quousque* (conjunction) took place from the 4th c. onwards (Souter, s.v.). It is connected with ind. (RA) or with subjunct. (RB), cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *quousque*. Perhaps *RB*'s subjunct. renders the meaning more keenly than *RA*'s ind. ('temporal'): the longing for freedom.

34, RA 13-14 Puella vero profusis lacrimis ait: "Ago pietati tuae maximas gratias." 'The girl, however, wept and said: "I am extremely grateful for your compassion."'

34, RB 13-16 Puella profusis lacrimis ait: "Ago, domine, pietati tuae gratias. Rogo, ne cui narres, quae a me audisti." Athenagoras ait: "Si narravero, filia mea, cum ad tuam venerit aetatem, patiatur similem poenam." Et cum lacrimis discessit. 'The maiden wept and said: "Sir, I am grateful for your sympathetic words. Please, do not tell anyone what you have heard from me." Athenagoras said: "If I shall speak, my little baby may suffer similar hardship when she reaches your age." He left in tears.'

vero (RA) ~ (RB /): A standard retrenchment, cf. 34, RA 24 ~ (RB /).

Ago <…> **maximas gratias** (RA) ~ *Ago, domine,* <…> *gratias* (RB): As usual, *RB* avoids the superlative, cf. 34, RA 28 ~ RB 29; he does deem *domine* an appropriate term of address. This also shows that 34, RA/RB 14 *pietati tuae* should not be taken as an honourable term of address (Riese [1893], *Index*, s.v. *pietas*). For this function, see Ind. verb., s.v. *pietas* (3). In Greek there are many possibilities, cf. Less, s.v. χάρις: χάρις σοι, χάριν γινώσκειν, χάριν εἰδέναι, χάριν ἐπίστασθαι, χάριν ἔχειν.

Rogo, ne cui narres <…> **discessit** (RB): An addition by *RB* in the context of compulsory secrecy (necessary to the story), not related by *RA* until 35, RA 2 *adiurantes se invicem, ne alicui* (RA: *cui* RB) *proderent* (comm.). The phrase 34, RB 15-16 *filia mea cum ad tuam venerit aetatem* elaborates on *filiam bimulam* introduced by *RB* in 10. The words *similem poenam* should be taken in a loose sense (cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *poena* (2): 'mauvais traitement (PLIN., SEN., IUST.)', since there is no question of punishment. For the final sentence *discessit cum lacrimis*, see the next annotation. The entire passage is logical, but it is, one feels, a dispensable kind of logic.

34, RA 15-16 Quo exeunte collega suus affuit et ait: "Athenagoras, quomodo tecum novitia?" 'When Athenagoras went out, his colleague was present and asked him: "Athenagoras, how did you get on with the new girl?"'

34, RB 16 Et cum lacrimis discessit. Occurrit illi discipulus suus et ait: “Quomodo tecum novitia?”

Quo exeunte <…> **affuit** (RA) ~ *discessit* <…> *occurit illi* (RB): Though perfectly understandable, *RA*’s formulation is agrammatical. *RB* was probably less bothered by *suus* instead of *eius* (he does this himself too) than by the insipid *affuit*, unconnected with a dative. The ‘solution’ is successful to a certain extent. For *quo exeunte* he substituted *discessit*; *cum lacrimis* was added on account of *RA* 16/RB 18 *usque ad lacrimas*; *affuit* was replaced by the literary *occurrit illi*, cf. OLD, s.v. (1) ‘To run or hurry to meet’; the Late Latin use of *suus* remained, cf. 2, RB 13; 28, RB 5 (comm.).

collega suus (RA) ~ *discipulus suus* (**b**, cf. Introd. III.5): In *RA*’s version Athenagoras was *princeps civitatis*, the most important man of the town, and so probably chief magistrate as leader of the town council, cf. Charit. 1,1,2 ἡ βουλὴ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες; id., 7,6,4 οἴκημα τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐν ᾧ συνήθως οἱ ἄρχοντες ἐχρημάτιζον ‘a building in the square where the town council usually transacted its business’. In particular various Asian Minor towns had archontates in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, cf. PW RE II 569,10. This would make his colleague a second magistrate, ὁ συνάρχων ‘partner in office, colleague’, cf. LSJ, s.v. συνάρχω (2). The two men were of different ages: Athenagoras had an almost adult daughter (34, RA 10), his colleague a two-year-old daughter (34, RB 10). So the age gap was about 12 years. Though Tarsia beseeches Athenagoras in the *lupanar* with the words (34, RA 4) ‘*Per iuventutem tuam te deprecor*’, the term *iuvenis*, *iuventus* was a very elastic concept in Antiquity, cf. OLD, s.v. *iuvenis* (1) ‘any adult male, up to the age of 45’. So when Athenagoras’ *collega* is addressed by the term *iuvenis* (34, RA 19.26), *RA* is displaying coherent usage. The situation is completely logical when a second magistrate presents himself as a rival. It is unclear why *RB* has opted for the substitute term *discipulus*. In any case it changes Athenagoras from a *princeps*/(?)ἄρχων into a kind of *magister*. Perhaps *RB* wanted to introduce an age difference between Athenagoras and his ‘rival’ (cf. 34, RB 9-10 comm.) and he invented the teacher-*discipulus* relationship himself. But the idea may also have been prompted by a term in **R(Gr)** or a slightly adapted version, cf. Introd. VII.2.2. A possible term in that case would be ἄρχων, cf. LSJ (+ Suppl.), s.v. ἄρχων (II): ‘chief magistrate’, but also (ibid.) ‘ruler of a synagogue’, cf. Matt. 9:19 ἰδοὺ ἄρχων [εἷς] προσελθὼν προσεκύνει αὐτῷ (Vulg. *ecce princeps unus accessit et adorabat eum*), cf. ibid. 9:23; Luke 8:41. Compare also Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ῥαββί with the translation διδάσκαλος ~ *magister*. If this hypothesis is correct, *RB iuvenis* can be retained in its strict sense of ‘young man’ ‘youth’, cf. RB 19.20.22.27; 35, RB 1. Further developments in the *RB* codd. (see app. crit., l.17) prove that the copyists had problems with the term *discipulus* **b**.

Athenagoras (RA: RB /), **quomodo tecum** (**P**, RB: *te cum* **Va**^{c}) **novitia** (sc. erat)**?** (RA/RB): Direct colloquial language, cf. Hor., *Sat.* 1,9,43 *Quomodo tecum Maecenas* (sc. est, agit)? 'How does Maecenas behave with you?' (also noted by Riese [1893], Index, s.v. *quomodo*, cf. Klebs, p.277). Perhaps the expression *quomodo tecum* + subject was still current in Rome (5th-6th c.), perhaps it is purely a literary reminiscence from school literature, evoked by the original Greek text, cf. the next note.

novitia (RA/RB): This term agrees with the relevant Latin jargon (cf. Terent., *Eun.* 582 *noviciae puellae*; Sen., *Controv.* 1,2,10 *omnis libidinosorum turba* <…> *concurrit ad meretricem novam*; Quintil., *Declam.* 340 *mango novitium puerum per publicanos transiecit praetextatum*), but also with Gr. νεώνητος 'just bought', cf. LSJ, s.v. νεώνητος: 'newly bought' of slaves; *Less.*, s.v. (Xen. Eph. 3,12,6 ὁ νεώνητος δοῦλος); cf. Zimmermann (1936), p.91. As here, the adjective could also be used by itself (cf. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *I Martirii di S. Teodato e di S. Ariadne*, Roma 1901, p.113 n.5). The entire expression can be easily rendered in Greek, e.g. (?) πῶς σοι εἶχε ἡ νεώνητος·, cf. Theophr., *Charact.* 23,3 ὡς αὐτῷ εἶχε 'how familiar he (sc. Alexander) was with him', cf. LSJ, s.v. ἔχω B.2. We might also consider, with the usual ellipsis of ἐστί(ν)**:** πῶς ἡ νεώνητος σὺν σοί; compare ThLG (H. Stephanus) V, s.v. σύν p.1166 B: 'Σύν τινι εἶναι, pro eo quod Latini dicunt Facere cum aliquo, Stare a partibus alicuius, Favere alicui, Juvare aliquem' (cf. LSJ, s.v. σύν A.2: 'generally, of personal cooperation'). For the ellipsis of ἐστίν, cf. E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, München 1950, II 623$^{1.2}$.

(Schmeling's spelling/interpretation [1988], p.27,7-8 *quomodo te cum novicia?* goes against the textual tradition and Latin usage, cf. id., *Notes*, pp.150-151: *quomodo (iuvat) te cum novicia (cubare)?*)

34, RA 16-17	Athenagoras ait: "Non potest melius; usque ad lacrimas!" 'Athenagoras said: "It could not have been better: even to tears!"'
34, RB 17-18	Athenagoras ait: "Non potest melius: cum magno effectu usque ad lacrimas!"

Non potest melius (RA/RB): Cf. 16, RA 14/RB 13.

usque ad lacrimas! (RA) ~ *cum magno ergo effectu* (**b**: *affectu* **βMπ**) *usque ad lacrimas!* (RB): In *RA* Athenagoras' *lacrimae* should be interpreted as 'tears of emotion'; *RB* puts an entirely different construction on them. The expression itself is found in a different context in Petron., *Cen.* 57,1

Ascyltos <…>, cum <…> usque ad lacrimas rideret (reference in Klebs, p.277). *RA* is probably based on a similar Greek phrase, e.g. ἕως δακρύων, cf. 35, RA/RB 2 *Non habuisti cui lacrimas tuas propinares* (cf. comm.). *RB* goes one better (despite his usual prudishness, cf. Introd. III.2): Petron. 140,9 (*de coitu*): *Cum res ad effectum spectaret* (cf. Mart. 11,81,4 *sine effectu prurit utrique labor*; *Vit. Elegab.* 32,9 *sine effectu libidinis*), cf. Adams, J.N. *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, Duckworth 1982 (repr.), p.144. The other codd. of *RB* hasten to eliminate this word: the two words (*effectus*: *affectus*) are often interchangeable in codd.

34, RA 17-18	Et haec dicens eum subsecutus est. Quo introeunte insidiabatur, exitus rerum videre. 'After saying this Athenagoras followed closely behind him when he went inside, and lay in wait to see how things would turn out.'
34, RB 18-19	Et secutus est eum ad videndum rei exitum.

As usual, *RB* has strongly abridged the sentence, eliminating the awkward elements.

subsecutus est (RA) ~ *secutus est* (RB): *RA* describes the detail, cf. OLD, s.v., *subsequor* (1): 'to follow at the heels'; from Greek (?) ὑφέπομαι, cf. LSJ, s.v.: 'to follow behind'.

insidiabatur exitus rerum videre (RA) ~ *ad videndum rei exitum* (RB): *Insidiari* in the sense 'to lie in wait' is entirely classical, cf. ThLL VII 1895,27-43. See also 35, RB 4 *insidiantibus illis* (RA 4 *illis expectantibus*) (comm.). The term in *RA* probably comes from (?) ἐνεδρεύω, cf. LSJ, s.v. (I,2) 'to lie in wait'; such a translation is common practice, cf. Acts 23:21 *insidiantur enim ei*: Gr. ἐνεδρεύουσιν γὰρ αὐτόν. ἐφεδρεύω, παρεδρεύω are also used in this sense without directly involving an ambush. Remarkably, παρεδρεύω 'to lie in wait' is used in an analogous situation (cf. Introduction to cc.33-36) by Pall., *Hist. Laus.*, c.6, l.18 παρήδρευσαν τῷ ἐργαστηρίῳ τῆς ἀπωλείας 'they lay on the look-out for the workshop of ruination' (cf. 40, RA 40 *naufragium castitatis*). The term *exitus rerum* is also completely normal in Latinity, cf. ThLL V.2 1537,45-9. Yet we should also mention a similar Greek phrase, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἔκβασις (4): 'accomplishment'; Ruf., *Anat.* 1 ἔκβασις τῶν ἔργων; Theodoros (ed. H. Usener, *Schriften des Theodoros und Kyrillos*, Leipzig 1891) p.91,8 τὴν ἀλήθειαν διὰ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκβάσεως '(we learned) the truth through the outcome of things'.

exitus rerum videre (RA) ~ *ad videndum rei exitum* (RB): The infinitive (RA) can be regarded as final; *RB* prefers the literary form of the gerundive here, cf. 31, RB 28. Noteworthy is RC's fine, logical correction (Schmeling [1988], p.113,14): *ad audiendum exitum rei*.

34, RA 18-19 Ingresso itaque illo Athenagoras foris stabat. Solit<o> puella claudit ostium. 'So he went in and Athenagoras stayed outside. The girl closed the door in the usual way.'

34, RB 19-20 Iuvenis cum intravit, puella solito more ostium clausit.

ingresso (RA) ~ *cum intravit* (RB): The usual change in *RB*, cf. 34, RA 3 *fuisset ingressus* ~ RB 2 *Intravit*.

Athenagoras foris stabat (RA) ~ (RB /): Cf. 34, RA 24 *Athenagoras de foris stans* ~ RB 24-25 *foris audiebat*: *RA* alternates *foris* (*a foris*) with *de foris*, without any difference in meaning, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *foris*: Hier., *Epist.* 125,17 *(ut) habeas de foris bonum testimonium*. For the phenomenon in a broader context, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 203. *RB* retains the classical form (34, RB 24), but considers the present statement superfluous. (Klebs, p.255: *de foris* 'nur in P' can be ignored.)

solito (ex: *solita* P) ~ *solito more* (RB): The conjecture *solito* is based on Vulg., Judg. 15:1 *cumque cubiculum eius solito vellet intrare* (Gr. *aliter*); Ruf., *Hist. mon.* 1,6,8 (bis),13 (cf. E. Schulz-Flügel, *Tyrannius Rufus, Historia Monachorum*, Berlin-New York 1990, p.419, s.v. Ellipse). Since the *Historia monachorum* is a translation from Greek and circulates among the *Vitae Patrum* (Migne, P.L. 73,74), while the *HA* as a translation can also be situated in the milieu of the *Vitae Patrum* (cf. Introd. VII), there is every reason to retain this form, cf. Svennung, *Untersuchungen zu Palladius und zur lateinischen Fach- und Volkssprache*, Lund 1935, p.522 n.3. The shorter form could thus correspond to Gr. (?) συνηθῶς 'as usual', cf. LSJ, s.v. (III.2) συνήθης 'habitually'. Classical Latin uses *solito* in a different construction, cf. OLD, s.v. *solitus* (2): 'esp. in abl. w. a compar. adj. or adv.', e.g. Acc., *Trag.* 129 *solito* <…> *longius*; Liv. 45,28,5 *sacrificium amplius solito*; Ov., *Fast.* 5,547 *solito citius*. Presumably for this reason *RB* has emended to *solito more*, a form which editors have also incorporated in *RA*, following Ring (1888) and Riese (1871), cf. ed. m. (1984). Perhaps the longer form should also be introduced in *RA*, cf. 31, RA 28/RB 17; until the emergence of further information I have retained the short form here.

claudit (RA) ~ *clausit* (RB): The gesture itself refers to the bolting of a door, possibly the drawing of curtains, as often represented in *lupanar* scenes: Ov., *Am.* 3,14,9 *meretrix* <…> *opposita populum summovet ante sera*; Mart., *Epigr.* 1,34 *meretrix abigit testem veloque seraque* | *raraque* <…> *rima patet* (cf. *HA* 35, RA/RB 4). Naturally **HA(Gr)** will have expressed itself in the same way, cf. (on a slightly different level) Matt. 25:10 ἦλθεν ὁ νυμφίος <…> καὶ ἐκλείσθη ἡ θύρα (Vulg. *venit sponsus* <…> *et clausa est ianua*).

34, RA 19-20 Cui iuvenis ait: "Si salva sis, indica mihi, quantum dedit ad te iuvenis, qui ad te modo introivit?" 'The young man said to her: "Please tell me, how much did you get from the young man who came in to you just now?"'

34, RB 20-21 Cui iuvenis: "Si valeas, indica mihi, quantum tibi dedit iuvenis, qui ad te intravit?"

Si salva sis (RA): *Si valeas* **b** (*vales* **βπ**): In my view, several interpretations are possible: (1) 'May you be safe', cf. ThLL s.v. *amo*, 1957, 53-6, *si/sic te di amant* (*-ent*); *Carm. Epigr.* (ed. Engström) 14 *cacator, sic valeas, ut tu hoc* (sic!) *locum transeas*; ibid. *ita valeas, scriptor, hoc monumentum praeteri*; Peters, loc. cit, p.141: "Bei deinem Heile, sag mir"; Konstan: '"if you would be well", i.e. may you be well'. (2) LHS II, p.658[3]: 'etwa *si*, lautliche Nebenform von *sic*'. (3) Perhaps we are merely dealing with a direct translation from (?) εἰ δύνῃ (ind./subj.) / εἰ δύνασαί γε 'if you can', cf. LSJ, s.v. δύναμαι 'to be strong enough to do'.

dedit (RA/RB): Classical Latin would have preferred *dederit*.

dedit ad te (RA) ~ *tibi dedit* (RB): Late and Christian Latin like to construe *dare ad* instead of classical *dare* + dat., cf. Itin. Anton. 30 *munera dantes ad servientes ibidem*; Vlp., *Dig.* 24,1,32,27 *non quasi ad extraneam, sed quasi ad uxorem fecit donationem*; likewise *HA* 35, RA 18 *exponens ad omnes* (RB /; cf. comm.). This has to do with the disappearance of the dative, though examples of this analytical construction can be found in the earliest Latin, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 249. The reading *tibi* (RB) was already recognized by Riese (1893), p.V to be an attempt at improvement. (Klebs, p.254 proposes to eliminate [ad te]: 'offenbar durch ein Schreiberversehen aus dem zweiten [nl. *ad te introivit*] entstanden.')

34, RA 20/RB 21-22 Puella ait: "Quater denos mihi aureos dedit (RA: aureos dedit mihi RB)." Iuvenis ait: 'The girl said: "He gave me forty gold pieces." The young man said:'

quater denos (RA/RB): Late Latin likes to use distributives instead of prosaic cardinals. For *quater deni*, cf. Klebs, p.286; ThLL V,1 526,62; Blatt, p.135; *Irish Penitentials*, p.132,1 'quater denis diebus' (= 40-day fasts). (It is unclear to what extent τετράκις δέκα 'four times ten' has played a role.)

34, RA 21-23 "Malum illi sit! Quid magnum illi fuisset, homini tam diviti, si libram tibi daret integram? '"Damn him!" (said the young man) "For such a rich man it would not have been much, to give you a whole pound of gold."'

34, RB 22 "Non illum puduit? Homo dives quid grande fecerat, si libram auri tibi complesset?

illi <…> **illi** <…>**, homini tam diviti,** (RA) ~ *illum* <…> *homo dives* (RB): An elegant elimination in *RB* of a series of datives.

Malum illi sit! (RA) ~ *Non illum puduit?* (RB): *RB* probably wanted to replace the direct malediction/curse in *RA* with a slightly more decorous expression: 'wasn't he ashamed?', cf. OLD, s.v. *pudeo*.

quid magnum illi fuisset (RA) ~ *quid grande fecerat* (**bβπ**; *fecisset* **M**): Perhaps we can compare *RA* 'would it have been much' with Hor., *Serm.* 2,3,283 *quid tam magnum?*; for *RB*, cf. e.g. Aug., *Civ. dei* 5,18 p.225 D. *cur extollatur, velut grande aliquid fecerit*; ibid. 22,8 p.571,7 *quid grande fecit?* For the obselescence of *magnus* and its replacement by *grandis*, cf. 32, RA 17 (comm.). *RA*'s phrase may go back directly to Greek, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. μέγας (2.b.β.): '2 Cor. 11,15 οὐ μέγα οὖν, εἰ (Vulg. *non est ergo magnum, si*) es ist also nichts besonderes, wenn', including further examples. (Schmeling, *Notes*, p.395 [on ed. 68,11-12] argues against **bβπ** for *fecisset* **M**.)

si libram <…> **daret integram** (RA) ~ *si libram auri complesset* (RB): Together with other arguments an important passage for establishing the time of **HA(Gr)**, viz. after the reign of Caracalla (211-217) and, more specifically, after Caracalla's visit to Tarsus in the last years of his reign (215-217), cf. 10, RA 15 *statuam statuere* (comm.); for the broader context, cf. Introd. VI.4.

From Old Latin onwards Romans liked to talk about *integer* ‘untouched’ in connection with properties, sources of income, weights, etc., cf. OLD, s.v. *integer* (6): Plaut., *Truc.* 245 *datores novos oportet quaerere, qui de thensauris integris danunt*. The adjective played an important role particularly in combination with terms relating to money, weights, and measures, cf. ThLL VII 2077,42-56. The clipping of coins and tampering with weights was rife in this time of inflation: Lucif., *Ath.* 1,8 (p.78,25) therefore talks about *pondera integra et mensuras iustas*. The economic depression also led to a variation in gold content and so to a constant need for assaying, the so-called *aurum ad obrussam* ‘tested, i.e. fine gold’, cf. E. Benvenisti, ‘Le terme *obryza* et la métallurgie de l’or’, *Revue de philologie* 27 (1953), pp.122-6. The varying scale of gold found in the *HA* here should also be interpreted in this light: 40 *aurei* (χρυσοῖ) are regarded as more than half a pound of gold, but at the same time they are just shy of forming an entire pound: had he been slightly more generous, Athenagoras would have given a pound of gold. Under Caracalla (211-217), for the first time, 50 *aurei* were coined from one pound; before then, from Traianus to Marcus Aurelius, 44; under Commodus-Septimus Severus, 44/45, cf. Ziegler (1984), nn.6,7; R. Duncan-Jones, *Money and Government in the Roman Empire*, Cambridge 1994, p.217 (Table 15.3). As a result, in my view, this information about coinage, advanced in the earliest phase of scholarly interest in the *HA* (Riese [1871]), still holds good for **HA(Gr).** I believe that the intermediate phase **R(Gr)**, too, could have easily adopted this monetary fact of a sliding scale of value. Later times were weighed down by a constantly declining monetary situation. In my view, this line of reasoning should also be upheld against scepticism about the validity of the *aurei libra* argument, as recently expressed: ‘praticamente incomprensibile all’ epoca della redazione cristianizzata’ (M. Mazzo, *Il vero e l’immaginato. Profezzia, narrativa e storioagrafia nel mondo romano*, Roma 1999, p.174; Garbugino, p.54, n.25). Though precise details were probably lost on Roman readers, I believe they will have understood and savoured the essence of these remarks. A translation of RA/RB *libra integra* readily presents itself, e.g. (?) λίτρα τελεία, cf. LSJ, s.v. λίτρα (II); LSJ, s.v. τέλειος (5): ‘full’ ‘complete’; CGL VI, 590. (Klebs’s remarks on *integer*, p.248, can be ignored.)

daret (RA) ~ *complesset* (RB): *RB* uses the technical term, cf. ThLL III 2094,57-80 *numerum, summam, sim. complere*: Cic., *Flacc.* 32 *neque est* <...> *ea summa completa*; esp. in the legal sphere (ThLL, loc. cit., l.67): Papin., *Dig.* 28,6,41,5 *post completum assem* (i.e. usque as assem testamento facto) *ita scripsit testator*.

34, RA 23 Vt ergo scias me esse meliorem, tolle libram auri integram." 'To show you that I am more generous, here is a whole pound of gold."'

34, RB 23-24 Et ut scias me animo esse meliorem, tolle libram auri integram."

meliorem (RA) ~ *animo meliorem* (RB): The adjective *meliorem* (RA) covers a broad range of possibilities, cf. OLD, s.v. *melior*: '(1) better; (2) more virtuous, more honourable; (3) kinder; (4) worthier'. The clever addition of *animo* (RB) establishes the meaning: 'generous'. From Gr. (?) ἀμείνων 'better'.

tolle (RA/RB) = *sume*, 'take', cf. 12, RA 20/RB 22 (comm.).

34, RA 24-25 Athenagoras vero de foris stans dicebat: "Quantum plus dabis, plus plorabis!" 'But Athenagoras, who was standing outside, said: "The more you give, the more you will cry!"

34, RB 24-25 Athenag<oras> foris audiebat et dicebat: "Plus dabis, plus plorabis!"

vero (RA) ~ (RB /): *vero* 34, RA 13 ~ RB /.

de foris (RA) ~ *foris* (RB): Cf. above 34, RA 18 (comm.). Riese (1893), Praef. V, had already pointed out that *de foris* was better than *foris* (RB): cf. Fr. *dehors*, Ital. *difuori*.

stans dicebat (RA) ~ *audiebat et dicebat* (RB): *RB* does not nod off easily!

Quantum plus (RA) ~ *Plus* (RB): For *RA*, compare 35, RA/RB 7 *quantum melius*; classical Latin would have used *quo* (abl. of measure), cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *quantum*: '(dév. un compar.) Tert., *Verg. vel.* 14 *quantum plures*'. *RB* omits *quantum* here, probably on account of the rhyming dicolon (with homoioteleuton). The standard Greek phrase would be (?) ὅσῳ πλέον <…> τοσούτῳ 'by how much <…>, the more <…>', cf. LSJ, s.v. ὅσος (V).

plus plorabis (RA/RB), cf. 35, RA 5 *plorantes abscedebant* ~ RB 5 *flentes recedebant*. It typifies the *RA*-*RB* relationship that in this situation *RB* uses literary *flere*, cf. 16, RA/RB 2 *quem ut rex vidit flentem*; for the difference, see Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 146.

34, RA 25-26 Puella autem prostravit se ad eius pedes et similiter casus suos exposuit: 'The girl threw herself at his feet and told him her misfortunes in the same way as before.'

34, RB 25-26 Puella acceptis aureis prostravit se ad pedes eius et similiter exposuit casus suos.

Puella autem (RA) ~ *Puella acceptis aureis* (RB): Both the elimination/addition and their manner characterize *RB*, cf. Introd. III.

ad eius pedes et ait (**P**) ~ *ad pedes eius* (RB): **P** probably wrote *et ait* by mistake (internal dictation), amending later, cf. 19,1 (app. crit.); perhaps it also comes from 34, RA 26 *Et ait*. Riese (1893), app. crit. ad loc., suggests that the reading *et ait* can perhaps be retained with the addition '*miserere mei*' (cf. 34, RA 4; 35, RA 21). But *RB* shows that no addition is necessary.

34, RA 26 confudit hominem et avertit a libidine. 'He was disconcerted and distracted from his lust.'

34, RB 26-27 Confudit hominem et avertit libidinem.

confudit (RA/RB), cf. 34, RA/RB 8 (comm.).

avertit a libidine (RA) ~ *avertit libidinem* (RB): *RA*'s construction is very common, cf. ThLL II 1320,9 ff.: Cic., *Phil.* 10,6 *(legiones) a scelere avertit*; Liv., 10,10,6 *eos a proposito avertit*; Tert., *nat.* 2,13 *(homines) a fide avertere*. From Gr. (?) ἀποστρέφω, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀποστρέφω (I,3): 'to dissuade from' Din. 2,23 τινὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ λήμματος 'to keep someone from an unjust gain'. With a minimum of change *RB* introduces the classical form, cf. OLD, s.v. *averto* (4): 'to keep off', 'to banish': Verg., *Georg. 3,210 Venerem et caeci stimulos avertere amoris*; Sil., 8,572 *sitim* <…> *avertunt fluvio*; Tac., *Ann.* 15,45 *invidiam* <…> *averteret*.

34, RA 26-27 Et ait iuvenis ad eam: "Alleva te, domina! Et nos homines sumus, casibus subi<ac>entes." 'He said to her: "Get up, lady! We are human too, and subject to misfortunes."'

34, RB 27-28 Et aporiatus iuvenis ait: "Alleva te, domina! Et nos homines sumus: casibus subiacemus."

ait iuvenis ad eam (RA) ~ *aporiatus iuvenis ait* (RB): *Aporiatus* is one of *RB*'s favourite words, cf. 32, RB 11 *Villicus aporiatus*. (Klebs, p.273 wants to delete; Garbugino, p.95, n.14 accepts this Christianism.)

et nos homines sumus (RA/RB): Cf. above 34, RA/RB 9.

subi‹ac›entes (RA) ~ *subiacemus* (RB), cf. above 34, RA/RB 9. *RA* from (?) ὑποκείμενοι; see also there for examples illustrating *casibus subiacere*. (The reading *subi‹ac›entes* is based on **Rα** (cf. ed. m. [1984], app. crit.) for *subicientes* **P**: the latter is probably a mistake and not to be regarded as a change in conjugation. Hence it has not been incorporated in the app. crit.)

34, RA 28	Puella ait: "Ago pietati tuae maximas gratias." 'The girl replied: "I am extremely grateful for your compassion."'
34, RB 29-30	Puella ait: "Ago, domine, pietati tuae gratias et peto (**b**: rogo et peto **βM**: et rogo et peto **π**), ne cui (**b**: cuiquam **βMπ**) narres, quae a me audisti."

domine (RB): Cf. Introd. III.

maximas gratias (RA) ~ *gratias* (RB): Cf. 34, RA 14 ~ RB 13.

ne cui narres b: Added by *RB* (cf. 34, RA 13-14, comm.), from 35, RA 2-3 *ne alicui* (RA: *cui* RB) *proderent* (comm.). (Schmeling, *Notes*, p.395 [on ed. 68,18] argues for *cuiquam* **βMπ**.)

CHAPTER 35

35, RA/RB 1-2 Et exiens foris (RA: RB iuvenis) invenit Athenagoram ridentem et ait (RB *add.* illi): “Magnus homo es! Non habuisti, cui lacrimas tuas propinares!” ‘When he went outside he found Athenagoras laughing, and said to him: “You are a great man! Only you had no one to whom you could pledge your tears!”’

foris (RA) ~ *iuvenis* (RB): For *RA foris*, see 22, RA 12 (RB /). Classical Latin would have preferred *foras*, see 22, RA 12 (comm.). For *RB*’s ‘correction’ by means of *iuvenis*, see 34, RA 10 (comm.) and, for his approximation of the word shape, cf. Introd. III.5. (Klebs, p.231 n.3 condemns *foris* on the pretext, p.269: ‘nur zweimal in P’.)

magnus (RA/RB): Meant sarcastically: you’re a fine fellow!, cf. OLD, s.v. *magnus* (15) ‘proud’ ‘boastful’: Mart. 11,56,7 *o quam magnus homo es, qui faece rubentis aceti et stipula et nigro pane carere potes*; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *magnus*: ‘(péjor.) orgueilleux’: Ps. 34:26 *magna loqui*; ibid. 130,1 *ambulare in magnis*. Greek is inclined less to use μέγας in a sarcastic sense (it is lacking in LSJ, s.v.; Bauer, s.v.; *Less.*, s.v.) than οὑτοσί/οὗτος ἀνήρ/ἄνθρωπος (cf. Headlam, p.292 on Herond. 6,27) and above all καλός, cf. Charit. 1,9,7 καλός γε λῃστὴς φοβηθεὶς καὶ γυναῖκα ‘A fine brigand you are – scared of a mere woman!’, cf. id. 7,1,5; Achill. Tat. 8,9,11 καλός γε καὶ ὁ νυκτερινὸς δικαστής ‘A fine fellow, a nocturnal juror is a fine thing!’ (Translation by John J. Winkler, Achilles Tatrius in B.P. Reardon, *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*, 1989, p.277.)

Non habuisti, cui lacrimas tuas propinares (RA/RB): The interpretation of these words – though their general drift is clear – has posed many difficulties, witness both the *variae lectiones* (RB *propinares nisi me* π; *propinares nisi mihi Red. Stuttg.*, *Welser* [cf. Riese (1893), *Praef.* XII] and various translations: Peters, p.42: “Bist ein ganzer Mann. Du hattest niemand dem du deine Tränen vorweinen konntest”; Waiblinger, p.81: “Du bist ein mächtiger Mann und hattest doch niemanden dem du deine Tränen vorweinen konntest!”; Archibald, p.153: “You’re a great man! Did you have no one over whom to shed your tears?” (cf. ibid., p.181: “didn’t you weep just as much as I did?”); Sandy, p.760 “You had nobody to cry over!”. In my view, the words are a sarcastic taunt: “You can talk! You did-

n't have a witness to whom you could pledge your tears. So should I simply believe you? Were your tears due to the act of love or to something completely different?" The expression itself refers to the gesture of *propinare*/προπίνειν, cf. OLD, s.v. *propino*: 'to drink to a person, in practice by proposing a toast, tasting the wine in one's cup and then handing it over to be drunk by the person honoured.' This gesture was well-known and in vogue among the Romans (which Klebs naturally points out, p.207) into late Antiquity (as is shown by the charming story of Paul. Diac., *Hist. Lang.* 4,29), but also among the Greeks, witness, to adduce a typical argument, the language of Martial 5,78,3 *non deerunt tibi, si soles* προπίνειν: id. 12,82,11 *fumosae feret ipse* προπῖν (sic) *de faece lagonae*, cf. Heraeus, *Rhein. Mus.* 70,1-41. The term is also read in hagiography: AASS. 20 Jan. (Passio S. Sebastiani martyris) 268,26 *calicem, quem nos tibi propinare possumus*. Both in Latin and Greek the word can be used figuratively, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *propino*; LSJ, s.v. προπίνω: Dem. 19,128 φιλοτησίας προπίνειν 'pledge loving cups'. This metaphorical use is found in the Greek Novel: Achill. Tat. 2,9,3 ἀλλήλοις προεπίνομεν τὰ φιλήματα 'we pledge to each other our love, drinking and kissing', cf. J. Maillon (Budé, t.II, p.56 n.1) on Heliod. 5,16,1. The response was in the same manner, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀντιπροπίνω 'to drink in return': Athen. 4,128[a] ἀντιπροπίνω τὰ ὅμοια 'Just the same'. In my view, the present place also goes back to this gesture and figurative usage (*lacrima*, δάκρυον): you have not been able to pledge tears of satisfaction (cf. 34, RA 16/RB 18 *usque ad lacrimas!*) to a companion; you can put a brave (*magnus*) face on it, but actually you have been rejected, cf. Achill. Tat. 2,35,5 ἀπῆλθεν ὁ ἐραστὴς οὐχ εὑρὼν πιεῖν 'The lover slunk away without having found any one to whom to pledge his love' (= with nothing achieved). They therefore conspire (RA *adiurantes*; RB *adiurati*) to conceal the 'disgrace'.

35, RA 2-3 Et adiurantes se invicem, ne alicui proderent, aliorum coeperunt expectare exitum. (4-5) Quid plura? Illis expectantibus per occultum aspectum omnes, quicumque <in>ibant, dantes singulos aureos plorantes abscedebant. 'They both swore to each other not to tell the affair to any one else, and began to watch the coming out of others. What more is there to tell? They spied from a hidden place: whoever went in, each handed over a single gold piece and came out crying.'

35, RB 2-3 Et adiurati, ne cui proderent, tacentes aliorum coeperunt éxitum expectáre (*v.*). (3-5) Et insidi-

antibus illis per occultum aspectum omnes, qui intrabant, dantes pecuniam flentes recedebant.

adiurantes se invicem (RA) ~ *adiurati* (RB): *Adiuro* is not very common in the *HA*: 34, RB 5 *per deum te adiuro* (RA /); 45, RB 17 *per deum vivum te adiuro* (RA *aliter*), cf. 22, RA 15 *iuraveras* (RB /). For *adiuro*, cf. OLD, s.v. *adiuro* 'to conjure': Stat., *Theb.* 7,130 *hostis* <...> *propinquos adiurat*; Blaise, s.v. *adiuro*. The construction with *ne* is found starting from the Vulg. and the Church Fathers (Hier., Aug.), cf. ThLL I 713,24 ff. Examples with *se invicem* are lacking. It is uncertain why *RB* changes, probably *brevitatis causa*. It may be that he thought the phrase *se invicem*, though completely accepted (Blaise, s.v. *invicem* quotes Cypr., *Bon. Pat.* 15; *Reg. Ben.* 22,12; ibid. 25,4), too flowery (cf. 30, RA 3 *adinvicem* ~ RB /). Perhaps he was bothered by *iurare se*, cf. Norberg, *Synt. Forsch.*, p.164 and Ital. giurarsi. He was probably unconcerned about the difference in tense between *adiurantes* ~ *adiurati*. The substitute *adiuratus* is often used in postclassical and patristic Latin, cf. Blaise, s.v. *adiurantes*: Gen. 5:6 *sicut adiuratus es*; Tert., *Idol.* 21. For the passive/medial use, cf. Linderbauer on *Reg. Ben.* 25,4.

ne alicui proderent (RA) ~ *ne cui proderent* (RB), cf. 34, RB 29-30 *ne cui narres, quae a me audisti*: *alicui* (RA) ~ *cui* (RB). Even for the classical period, the schoolroom rule that *aliquis* and its derivatives are not used in negative sentences is of limited validity; in Late Latin it has no authority at all. The amount of literature on the subject is immense (LHS II, pp.194-5; Goelzer, p.669; Linderbauer, p.111; Schrijnen-Mohrmann I, p.159; Garvin, p.60; Zander, *Phaedr. solutus*, p.LXVIII). *RB*'s 'correction' seems pedantic. The urgent request for secrecy is found in almost identical phraseology in both religious (cf. Mark 9:9; Matt. 17:9) and secular literature, in particular in the Greek Novel: Charit. 2,10,3 αὐτὴν ἐξώρκισε μηδενὶ κατειπεῖν τὴν τέχνην 'she made her swear not to reveal her stratagem to anyone'; Xen. Eph. 3,5,5 ἱκετεύει μηδενὶ κατειπεῖν <...> μηδέν 'she implored him to report (none of the conversation) to anyone'; Heliod. 2,31,2 μηδενί τε φράζειν ἐπαπειλήσας 'warning them (sc. the shepherds) to speak of this to no one, under threat of punishment'; elsewhere too: *Acta Andreae graeca* (ed. MacDonald, p.350) c.21,7 ἐνετείλατο μηδενὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα δῆλον ποιῆσαι 'he commanded them to disclose the matter (namely the conduct of Maximilla, towards her husband) to no one.'

Some critics propose *Tharsia* as the object of *proderent* (Konstan, Archibald). Perhaps it is better to assume something like *rem*, πρᾶγμα as a tacit object, cf. 35, RA 6/RB 5 *huius rei* (comm.).

tacentes (RB) ~ (RA /): A typical addition by *RB*, though completely redundant.

expectare exitum (RA) ~ *éxitum expectáre* (RB): The transposition is probably *rythmi causa*. *Expectare* here has the meaning 'to look out for', in the next line (4) it means to 'to watch' 'to spy on'. This differentiation of meaning is due to the identical pronunciation of *ex(s)pectare* and *spectare* (with prosthetic vowel *e*), cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 83.163; Grandgent, § 230; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *exspecto* (3): 'regarder'; Löfstedt, *Per.*, p.216; Prinz, *Glotta* 26 (1937), p.98; Erikson, A. *Sprachliche Bemerkungen zu Epiphanius' Interpretatio Evangeliorum*, Lund 1939, p.50, n. No correction of *RA* 4 *expectantibus* is therefore necessary. (Riese [1893] suggests: spectantibus *puto*.) Probably in order to avoid this change in meaning, *RB* has resorted to *insidiantibus*, cf. 34, RA 17 *insidiabatur* (RB /). **Va**[c] also reads *insidiantibus*, which Schmeling (1988) has incorporated in *RA*.

Quid plura? (RA) ~ (RB /): A stereotypical elimination, cf. 33, RA 15 *Quid plura?* (RB /).

expectantibus (RA) ~ *insidiantibus* (RB), cf. above.

per occultum aspectum (RA/RB): In connection with the meaning of *expectare* = *spectare* discussed above, *aspectus* here must mean 'through/from a concealed possibility of watching'. This sense of *aspectus* occurs neither in classical Latin nor in Late Latin, cf. Riese (1893), *Index*, s.v. *aspectus*: 'h.l. (= ἅπαξ λεγόμενον), *locus, unde spectatur*'; ThLL II 805,79. It seems necessary to assume a translation from Greek, cf. Introd. IV.1. Various options present themselves: (?) ἄποψις 'outlook' 'view'; σκοπή/σκοπιά 'lookout', possibly ὀπή 'opening' (cf. LSJ, s.v. ὀπή: Luc., *Asin.* 52 [opening in a door]). A less suitable candidate (on account of the preposition) seems ἐξ ἀπόπτου 'from far away', cf. LSJ, s.v. ἄποπτος. Curiously, *RB* follows this calque.

omnes, quicumque (RA) ~ *omnes, qui* (RB): The *RA* reading is completely plausible as such ('whosoever' Konstan), cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *quicumque* (3). But it could also be a direct translation of οἵτινες: Late Greek often uses ὅστις in the function of ὅς (defin. rel. pron.), cf. Kühner-Gerth II, p.399 Anm. 1; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ὅστις (3).

dantes singulos aureos (RA) ~ *dantes pecuniam* (RB): For *aureos* (χρυσοῦς), cf. 33, RA 26 *postea* (sc. *post devirginationem*) *vero singulos aureos*. Obviously the idea is *singuli singulos aureos*, cf. OLD, s.v. *singuli* (1.c), *RB* ignores this detail and generalizes, eliminating the Greek element, cf. 35, RA/RB 6 *pecuniam*.

plorantes abscedebant (RA) ~ *flentes recedebant* (RB): Typical of the two stylistic levels, cf. 34, RA 25 *plus plorabis* (comm.); *recedere* is painfully

precise. For the wording, cf. Ps. Ambr., *Serm.* 48 (Migne 17, p.727): *Omnes namque singillatim ingressi, unus alterum sustinebat ingressum. Quem ingressum, dum non crederet* (sc. qui expectabat) *mundum, se exhibebat immundum: sed ingressus ad libidinem, ad adorandum Dominum meritis virginis tenebatur*. The implicit idea is clear: all are *infecta re*!

35, RA 5-7	Facta autem huius rei fine obtulit puella pecuniam lenoni dicens: "Ecce pretium virginitatis meae." 'When this came to an end Tarsia gave the money to the pimp, and said: "Here is the price of my virginity."'
35, RB 5-6	Facta autem huius rei fine infinitam obtulit pecuniam lenoni dicens: "Ecce virginitatis meae pretium."

Facta autem huius rei fine (RA/**b**): For fem. *finis*, cf. OLD, s.v. *finis*: Gender; the correction *facto* **βMπ** is to be expected, cf. ThLL VI,1 787,54 ff. The phrase *huius rei* should probably be retained: both Latin and Greek use *res*/πρᾶγμα to denote matters relating to *sexus*, cf. OLD, s.v. *res* (8.c) 'sexual intercourse'; LSJ, s.v. πρᾶγμα (6) 'love-affair'; Less, s.v. πρᾶγμα: Achill. Tat. 2,9,1 πρᾶγμα ἐρωτικόν; Pall., *Hist. Laus.* (ed. Bartelink), c.70, l.13 "᾽Εγὼ τὸ ὂν εἶπον, ὅτι οὐκ ἔχω πρᾶγμα" 'I answered the truth: I have nothing with her.' Though the conjecture by E. Baehrens (*Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* 103 [1871], p.855) *diei* (cf. ed. m. [1984], ad loc.) is attractive (cf. *RA* 9 *altera die*), the reading *rei* occurs in both recensions, also in the secondary *RC* (cf. Schmeling [1988], p.114,9). (Schmeling [1988], p.27,25 wrongly incorporates *diei* in *RA*.)

pecuniam (RA) ~ *infinitam pecuniam* (RB): A neutral statement in *RA*, intensified by *RB* for the sake of the story. The addition is suggested by the preceding *fine*, cf. 17, RA 2.

pretium virginitatis meae (RA) ~ *virginitatis meae pretium* (RB): *pretium* is the technical term (always and everywhere) for *pretium stupri*: Catull. 110,2 *accipiunt pretium, quae facere instituunt* (sc. meretrices); Ov., *Am.* 1,10,47 *parcite, formosae, pretium pro nocte pacisci*; id., *Her.* 5,143 *nec pretium stupri gemmas aurumque poposci*; Prop., 4,5,29 (lena): *et simulare virum pretium facit*; CIL 4,1869 *quoi scripsi semel et legit, mea iure | puellast; quae pretium dixit, non mea, sed populi est*. The term is easily translated to Greek: μισθὸς τῆς ἐμῆς παρθενίας, cf. Long. 3,19,2 μισθὸν τὴν παρθενίαν λαβών 'he took my virginity as his reward'; Lucian., *Dial. meretr.* 6,1 μνᾶν δὲ τὸ πρῶτον μίσθωμα κομισαμένη 'affording a mina as first price', cf. Macho

ap. Ath. 13.581[a]. Of course other expressions are also found: Xen. Eph. 5,7,3 ἀργύριον κατατίθεσθαι τῆς ἐπιθυμίας 'to pay the money of desire'. Settlement of accounts with the *leno*/πορνοβοσκός always took place at the end of the 'working day': even Christian authors are not ashamed to mention this detail, cf. 35, RA 18 comm.; RAC 3,1154-1213. For more information, cf. Henrichs (1972), p.23 with n.83; p.108.

35, RA 7-9	Et ait ad eam leno: "Quantum melius est hilarem te esse et non lugentem! Sic ergo age, ut cotidie mihi latiores pecunias adferas." 'The pimp said: "How much better is it when you are cheerful, not sad! Carry on like this, so that you bring me more money every day."'
35, RB 6-8	Et ait leno: "Quantum melius est hilarem te esse et non lugentem! Sic ergo age, ut cotidie ampliores pecunias adferas."

ait ad eam leno (RA) ~ *ait leno*: A standard abridgement.

quantum melius (RA/RB): Classical Latin would have preferred *quanto*, but cf. 34, RA 24 *quantum plus* ~ RB 25 *plus*. The influence of (?) πόσον ἄμεινόν ἐστι?

hilarem (RA/RB): Though completely accepted by Romans, cf. OLD, s.v. *hilarus/hilaris* 'cheerful', the word has always kept something of its Greek origin, cf. Serv., op *Ecl.* 5,69 *sciendum nomen* <...> *'hilarus' vel 'hilaris' a Graeco descendere; nam* ἱλαρός *facit*; Isid., *Orig.* 10,125 *ilaris Graecum nomen est* (this probably helps to explain the 'posh' spelling *ylarem* **P**, *hylarem* **βπ**).

age, ut cotidie (RA, **b**) ~ *age cotidie, ut* **βMπ**: Hair-splitting by later manuscripts.

latiores pecunias (RA) ~ *ampliores pecunias* (RB): The *RA* reading is very rare. Of the dictionaries consulted, only ThLL VII[II 2] 1022,27 provides a parallel, viz. Apul., *flor.* 15, p.57 (ed. Oudendorp = B. Todel Lee, *Apuleius' Florida,* Berlin – New York, II, fr.15, § 17) *medendi remedia* <...> *latis pecuniis* <...> *conquisita*. The meaning of *latiores pecunias* is clear: 'larger (literally, broader) sums' (Konstan). Thielmann's conjecture (p.58) *largiores* is no more than a suggestion. Though a Greek substrate is not evident in the light of Apul., *flor.* 15, we can point to Greek combinations like (?) πλέονα χρήματα 'more money', cf. 28, RA 13 (comm.). Perhaps we can compare Pall., *Hist. Laus.* (ed. Bartelink), c.21, l.20 κατέλιπε ἑαυτῷ

βραχέα νομίσματα 'he left for himself only few coins', cf. LSJ, s.v. βραχύς (4): 'petty'. A less probable suggestion is offered by the Glossaria (cf. CGL VI,630) πλατύτερα χρήματα 'broader streams of money'. *RB*'s change *ampliores* agrees with Latin usage, cf. ThLL I 2007,18-33, esp. in legal writings (cf. ThLL, loc. cit. 'saepius apud ICTOS').

adferas A, RB ~ *exigas* P.: The P reading probably goes back to other literature in this genre, cf. Petron. 7 *iam pro cella meretrix assem exegerat*, cf. ThLL V 1458,56 (with further examples).

35, RA 9-11	Item ait ad eum puella altera die: "Ecce pretium virginitatis meae, quod similiter precibus et lacrimis collegi, et custodio virginitatem meam." 'The next day she said to him again: "Here is the price of my virginity: I collected it as before with tears and prayers, and I preserve my virginity."'
35, RB 8-9	Et cum puella de lupanar reversa diceret: "Ecce, quod potuit virginitas",

Item ait ad eum puella (RA) ~ *Et cum puella de lupanar reversa diceret* (RB): *RA* uses this formula many times, also without correspondence in *RB* (35, RA 9; 40, RA 10; 42, RA 21; 42, RA 34; 43, RA 14). When *RB* follows, he omits *item* or replaces it by *iterum*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. item, sound evidence, within a detail, of *RB*'s consistency. Perhaps *item* goes partly back to ὡσαύτως 'in like manner', used similarly at the beginning of a sentence, cf. LSJ, s.v. ὡσαύτως.

altera die (RA) ~ (RB /): Correct usage, though a third day follows, cf. OLD, s.v. *alter* (3.d). *RB*'s change comes from wider reading and from correction of *pretium virginitatis*. For *de lupanar reversa* (RB), cf. 33, RA 15 and 34 *RA* 1-3, which show that *domus lenonis* and *lupanar* are separate places. For *de lupanar* (**b**: *lupanari* **βMπ**), common since the 4th c., cf. ThLL V,1 43,30 ff.; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *de*; Walstra, p.121. After *puella* (RB), **βMπ** wrongly add *cotidie*, cf. 35, RB 15 *his diebus* **bβMπ**.

pretium virginitatis (RA) ~ (RB /): Probably excluded by *RB* on account of the technical meaning (cf. 33, RA 26): the term *virginitas* was enough. Schmeling, *Notes*, p.151 (on ed. 27,6) points to a possible way of spending the money: *Priapea* 40,1-2 *nota Suburbanas inter Telethusa puellas, quae, puto, de quaestu libera facta suo est*. But this practice is not known from elsewhere, cf. Flemming (1999), p.49 with n.58.

similiter (RA) ~ (RB /): In the same way as yesterday: (?) ὁμοίως.

precibus et lacrimis collegi (RA) ~ (RB /): A neat summary of two days' experience in the *lupanar*; *collegi* is actually the reading **Va**^{c}: *colligit* **A**. The latter reading could be defended with *virginitas* as subj.: *colligit* can be both present and perfect, cf. F. Banta, *Abweichende spät- und vulgärlateinische Perfekt-Bildungen*, Freiburg in der Schweiz, p.79 C3c. (It seems far-fetched to assume a wordplay between *pretium* and *precibus*, as Klebs, p.282 suggests in evidence of Latin originality.)

et (i.q. and yet, adversative καί) **custodio virginitatem** (RA) ~ (RB /): A standing expression in Latin (cf. ThLL IV 1567,35 ff.) as well as Greek (?) φυλάττω τὴν παρθενίαν 'I preserve my virginity', cf. LSJ, s.v. φυλάττω 'to maintain' (B.3); Zimmermann, p.53 (Metiochos-Parthenope novel); S. Stephens, p.77 nn.14,15. A translation from τηρέω and σωφροσύνη seems less likely, cf. Xen. Eph. 5,5,5 τὴν μέχρι νῦν Ἁβροκόμῃ τηρουμένην σωφροσύνην πορνοβοσκὸς ἀναγκάσει με λύειν; 'will a brothel-keeper force me to lose the virtue that I have been preserving till now for Habrocomes?', cf. id. 5,7,2. In sum we can conclude that *RA* 9-11 is probably a direct translation of **R(Gr)**.

Ecce, quod potuit virginitas (**b**) 'see, what virginity was capable of': the other readings offer a broad range of interpretations via *adquirere*: *ecce quod potuit virginitate* (from *-is*) *adquiri* **β**; *e.q. potui virginitati adquirere* **M**; *e.q. potuit virginitas adquirit* **π**; *e.q. potuit virginitas adquirere* **REr f**.

de lupanar (RB): This use, particularly by *RB*, is remarkable, cf. Introd. III.1. For *de* + acc. Blaise, s.v. cites late authors like Bened., *Reg.* 9; Caes. Arel., *Serm.*, p.34,9. See also Erikson (1939), p.40. A typical example of this uncertainty, precisely within translation literature (in this case Athanasius' *Vita Antonii*), is offered by Hoppenbrouwers (1960), c.75, p.172 *de mortuos* <…> *de caecis* <…> *de paraliticos* <…> *de leprosis*.

35, RA 11-13 Hoc audito iratus est leno eo (A: *om.* P), quod virginitatem suam servaret, et vocat ad se villicum puellarum et ait ad eum: 'When he heard this, the pimp was furious that she was still a virgin. He called the overseer in charge of the girls and said to him:'

35, RB 9-10 hoc audito leno vocavit villicum puellarum et ait:

iratus est leno eo quod virginitatem suam servaret (RA) ~ *leno* (RB): Epic, almost biblical language (? ὠργίσθη, ἐθυμώθη) in *RA*, omitted by *RB* becau-

se in effect it repeats *RA* 10-11/RB 11. The phrase *iratus est* (= suscensuit) is mainly found in Vet. Lat. and thence Vulg. and Church Fathers (Tert., Hier., Aug.), cf. ThLL VII,2 375,59 ff. In secular Latin its use is much rarer, cf. ThLL, loc. cit. (Capit., Gallic., Vopisc., Claud.). Another remarkable feature is the resolution of the paratactical *iratus est* <…> *et vocat* (RA) in *vocavit* (RB). This is often the case in Vet. Lat. translation compared with Vulg., e.g.: Num. 22:27 (in August., *Quaest. hept.* 4,50, p.358,22) *iratus est Balaam et percutiebat* (LXX ἐθυμώθη Βαλααμ καὶ ἔτυπτεν τὴν ὄνον): Vulg. *iratus* <…> *caedebat;* ibid. 32,10 (cod. Lugd.) *iratus est* <…> *et iuravit* (LXX ὠργίσθη θυμῷ κύριος καὶ ὤμοσεν): Vulg. *iratus iuravit* (additional information Klaus Stiewe, ThLL München). This observation is relevant to establishing both the stylistic level of **R(Gr)**, inasmuch as *RA* is almost a literal translation, and the RA-RB relationship, cf. Introd. VII.1 and 2. (Klebs, p.267 deletes *[eo], quod* 'erst später eingedrungen': cf. 10, RA 18/RB 16 comm.).

servaret (**A**: *-sset* **P**) (RA) ~ (RB /): The subjunct. depends on *quod*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *quod*: '(le moindre verbe de sentiment entraîne le subj. après *quod*, même s'il s'agit d'un fait purement constaté)'.

35, RA 13-14 "Sic te tam neglegentem esse video, ut nescias Tharsiam virginem esse? Si enim virgo tantum adfert, quantum mulier? "'I see you are so careless that you do not know that Tarsia is a virgin. If she brings in so much as a virgin, what will she bring as a woman?'

35, RB 10 "Amiante, tam neglegentem te esse non vides, ut nescias Tharsiam virginem esse? Si virgo tantum offert, quantum dat mulier?

Sic <…> **tam neglegentem** (RA) ~ *Amiante* <…> *tam neglegentem* (RB): For the pleonasm in *RA*, see Löfstedt, *Late Latin*, p.176: (alongside many other examples of *ita sic*) Vulg., Gal. 1:6 *sic tam cito* (Gr. οὕτως ταχέως), cf. Syntact. II, p.221 n.4. Perhaps we should assume Greek influence, cf. *Od.* 21,195 ποῖοί κ'εἶτ' 'Οδυσῆι ἀμυνέμεν, εἴ ποθεν ἔλθοι ὧδε μάλ' ἐξαπίνης 'and how should you help Odysseus, if from somewhere he should appear suddenly?' While removing the superfluous *sic*, *RB* does not forget the name which he himself has introduced, cf. 33, RB 23 (comm.) (Klebs, p.42 proposes to introduce *Amiante* in *RA*.)

video (RA) ~ *vides* (RB): A difference in shade of meaning which is difficult to formulate: 'Am I forced to conclude that <…>?' (RA) ~ 'Can you fail to see that <…>?' (RB).

adfert P (*adferit* **A**, **Va**) ~ *offert* (RB): The form *(ad)ferit* is easily explained as a normalization of irregular verbs, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *fero*; Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 1433, ThLL I 1192,73 and VI,1 527,64; editors normalize. As here, *RA* and *RB* alternate between *ad-* and *offero* (35, RA/RB 6 *obtulit*; 35, RA 18 *obtulisti* ~ RB 16 *attulisti*).

quantum mulier? (RA) ~ *quantum dat* (**b**: *dabit* **βMπ**) *mulier?* (RB): The remark is most effective without a verb.

mulier (RA/RB), cf. 20, RA 5/RB 4 (comm.).

35, RA 14-15	Duc eam ad te et tu eripe nodum virginitatis eius." 'Take her to your room and deflower her."'
35, RB 12-13	Duc eam in cubiculo tuo et eripe ei nodum virginitatis."

Duc eam ad te (RA) ~ *Duc eam in cubiculo tuo* (**b**: *cubiculum tuum* **βMπ**): The *RA* formulation (*ad te* sc. *in domum tuam*) is very common, in both Latin and Greek. For Latin, cf. ThLL 1 (s.v. *ad*) 482,54-83,7, where the phrase is discussed in relation to various verbs. With *ducere* e.g. Plaut., *Mil.* 121 *in aedes me at se <de>duxit*; Sen., *Controv. exc.* 3,6 *(fortuna) tyrannum <...> ad te detulit* (above: *in domum tuam*). This usage accords with Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. πρὸς (C): LXX Num. 24:25 ἀπῆλθε πρὸς ἑαυτόν 'he returned to his home' (Vulg. *reversus est in locum suum*) (the same options for παρά, ὡς etc.). For translation literature this leads to interesting places like Vet. Lat. Gen. 6:20 (in Aug., *Civ.* 15,27) *intrabunt ad te* (LXX εἰσελεύσονται πρός σε): Vulg. *ingredientur tecum* (sc. *in arcam*); John 20:10 *abierunt ergo iterum discipuli ad semetipsos* (Gr. ἀπῆλθον οὖν πάλιν πρὸς αὑτοὺς οἱ μαθηταί). Examples in the Greek Novel: Xen. Eph. 5,9,9 ὠνησάμενος δὲ αὐτὴν παρὰ τοῦ πορνοβοσκοῦ ἄγει πρὸς ἑαυτὸν 'he bought her from the brothel-keeper and took her home', cf. Zimmermann (no.5), p.52,13. For Heliod. see 1,10,1; 1,15,7; 2,30,6; 2,32,1 etc. It is unclear why *RB* changes: he probably thought the description 'at your home' too grand for a brothel servant and too vague. *RA* himself helps out for the substitute, cf. *RA* 15 *eam <...> duxit in suum cubiculum*. For the motivation underlying this task, cf. 33, RB 3 (comm.).

tu eripe (RA) ~ *eripe* (RB): The pronoun *tu* is certainly functional, cf. 33, RA 3 *leno* (comm.). So it is curious that *RB* leaves it out, cf. 33, RB 3-4 *nec vir nec femina* (= εὐνοῦχος).

nodum virginitatis (RA/RB), cf. 1, RA 15/RB 14: (?) ἅμμα παρθενίας. The change from *eius* (RA) to *ei* (RB) is elegant.

35, RA 15-17	Statim eam villicus duxit in suum cubiculum et ait ad eam: "Verum mihi dic, Tharsia, adhuc virgo es?" 'The overseer took her to his room at once and said to her: "Tell me the truth, Tarsia, are you still a virgin?"
35, RB 13-14	Cumque villicus in cubiculo suo duxisset, ait ad eam: "Verum mihi dic, adhuc virgo es?"

The paratactic sentence relationship in *RA* (cf. 50, RA 3) is construed hypotactically by *RB*; *cumque* (RB) is used both by *RA* and by *RB*, cf. 35, RA 21/RB 18; 40, RA 25/RB /; 45, RA 1/RB /; 49, RA/RB 1.

duxit in <…> **cubiculum** (RA) ~ *in cubiculo* <…> *duxisset* (RB): *RB* does not follow the strict grammatical rule either.

verum mihi dic (RA/RB): A standard expression in both Latin and Greek. For Latin, cf. ThLL V,1 974,53 ff.; Mart. 8,76,1 *Dic verum mihi Marce, dic amabo*; Petron. 128 *Dic Chrysis, sed verum*. For Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀληθής 'true': ἀληθέα μυθήσασθαι, εἰπεῖν, ἀγορεύειν; the Greek Novel: Charit. 2,4,8 εἰπέ μοι τὸ ἀληθές 'tell me the truth'.

adhuc virgo es? (RA/RB): The Greek Novel is rather uncomplicated in this regard: Long. 4,31,3 ἀνέκρινεν, εἰ παρθένος ἐστί 'he asked him (sc. Dionysophanes) if she (sc. Chloe) was a virgin'. In Menander's *Sikyonios* a question is also asked about the virginity of the rescued girl.

35, RA 17-18	Tharsia puella ait: "Quamdiu vult deus, virgo sum." Villicus ait: "Vnde ergo his duobus diebus tantam pecuniam obtulisti?" The girl Tarsia said: "For as long as God wishes, I am a virgin." The overseer said: "Then where did you get so much money in these two days?"
35, RB 14	Tharsia dixit: "Quamdiu deus voluerit, virgo sum." Villicus ait: "Vnde ergo his diebus tantas pecunias attulisti?"

Quamdiu vult (RA) ~ *Quamdiu* <…> *voluerit* (RB): Late and Christian Latin likes to construe *quamdiu* with the subjunctive, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. Klebs,

p.190 proposes to delete the entire phrase *Quamdiu vult deus* (RA/RB). Wrongly so, for this formulation goes back via RA/RB not just to **R(Gr)**, but perhaps even to **HA(Gr)**. Women in the *lupanar* (like martyrs in general) tend to find comfort and resignation in the idea of divine providence: Mombr. I (*De virgine quadam Antiochena* [= Ambr., *De virg.* II], p.108,36 *Ubicumque virgo Dei est, templum est. Nec lupanaria infamant castitatem, sed castitas etiam loci abolet infamiam;* ibid., (Passio S. Blasii, episcopi et martyris) p.152,53 *carnem quidem meam tradam tibi: nam animae meae deus potestatem habet*; ibid., II, p.256,27; p.501,46. In Greek too: AA. SS. April. III (Martyrium SS. Theodorae et Didymi) ὡς θέλει, σῴζει (ὁ Δεσπότης) αὑτοῦ τὸ δῶρον τὸ τῆς παρθενίας μου 'as He wishes, the Lord will preserve his own gift, my virginity'. The step from here to the Greek Novel is not far. Leucippe, the female protagonist of Achill. Tat., is joyful to hear Artemis say to her: (4,1,4) μενεῖς παρθένος, ἔστ' ἂν σε νυμφοστολήσω 'You will remain a virgin until I myself give you away as a bride', cf. J. Maillon on Heliod. 4,8,7 (Budé t.II, p.16 n.2). The God of RA/RB could well be close to the θεός of the **HA(Gr)**, cf. Herod. 4,119 ἐπεκρατέετε Περσέων ὅσον χρόνον ὑμῖν ὁ θεὸς παρεδίδου 'You dominated the Persians as long as the Lord permitted you'.

virgo sum (RA/RB): Classical Latin would have perhaps preferred the future. This may go back directly to Greek, (?) παρθενεύω, cf. *Less.*, s.v. παρθενεύω 'esser vergine, restare vergine'.

unde ergo (RA/RB): Probably directly from (?) ὅθεν οὖν 'from what source then' 'in what manner': for ὅθεν, cf. LSJ, s.v. (6); for οὖν cf. LSJ, s.v. (III): 'usually in questions'.

his duobus (A: *omnibus* P) **diebus** (RA) ~ *his diebus* (RB): for **A**, cf. above, RA 9 *altera die* (comm.). The reading *omnibus* **P** may follow from a misreading *oībus* (i.q. omnibus), instead of *duobus*. The reading may also be due to the intrusion of *et cum puella cotidie* <…> *diceret* **βMπ** from 35, RB 9 (see comm. there). Perhaps the reading *omnibus diebus* arose independently: later *lupanar* scenes lengthen the period of seduction, cf. Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim, *Opera* II,4 *Abraham* (ed. van Wintersfeld), p.153,24 *In domo cuiusdam lenonis habitationem elegit, qui tenello amore illam* (sc. neptem Abraham) *colit. Nec frustra: nam omni die non modica illi* (sc. lenoni) *pecunia ab eius amatoribus adducitur.*

obtulisti (**A**: *abt-* **P**) (RA) ~ *attulisti* **bMπ** (*abst-* **β**): The **P** reading may be due to a misinterpretation of *unde*: perhaps through confusion between *ad-* and *ab-* in an Italian codex, cf. U. Westerbergh, *Chronicon Salernitanum*, Stockholm 1956, p.255. The reading *abstulisti* **β** is preferred by Riese (1893), ad loc.; he is followed by some modern critics.

35, RA 18-20 Puella dixit: "Lacrimis meis, exponens ad omnes universos casos meos; et illi dolentes miserentur virginitati meae." (RB /) 'The girl said: "With my tears: I told all the men the whole story of my misfortunes, and they were upset and took pity on my virginity."'

exponens ad (RA) ~ (RB /): The *RA* formulation sins against classical standards: Klebs condemns both *ad omnes* (Klebs, p.254) and *virginitati mei* (Klebs, p.240: 'in einer offenbaren Interpolation von RA', which must refer to *RA* 17/RB 14). But both constructions accord with the language of the *HA*, cf. Ind. verb., ss.vv. ad, cf. Garbugino, p.105; misereor.

(universos) casos (meos) A, cf. l.22 ~ *casus* **A**(*man. sec.)* **Va^{c}P**, *edd.*: The form *casos* has been retained here both on account of the context, ending in *-os*, and on account of its actual occurrence in the time of *RA*'s genesis, cf. ThLL III, p.573,39. For the stock formula *universos casus suos exponere*, cf. 16, RA/RB 1. For similar phraseology in the Greek Novel, cf. Xen. Eph. 3,4,2 διηγούμενος ἑκάστῳ τὴν συμφοράν 'describing to everyone his misfortune'.

miserentur AVa^{c}Rα ~ *miserti sunt* **P**: The reading *miserentur* renders the progressive aspect: for dat., cf. 12, RA 11 (comm.); ThLL VIII 118,74: (+ dat.) 'frequentatur inde ab Itala'.

The omission in *RB* could be connected with language and form, and perhaps could also be due to coincidence with l.22 RA *universos casos suos*. Perhaps Tarsia deliberately wanted to keep the *leno* in the dark as to the real facts in the *lupanar*. Riese (1893), ad loc. assumes a lacuna in the constitutive codd. Modern *studiosi* disagree about the size and place of such a lacuna.

35, RA 20-21 Et prostravit se ad pedes eius et ait: "Miserere mei, domine, subveni captivae regis filiae!" 'She threw herself at his feet and said: "Have pity on me, master, help the captive daughter of a king."'

35, RB 16-17 Puella prostravit se pedibus eius et dixit: "Miserere, domine. Subveni captivae regis filiae: ne me velis violare."

miserere mei (RA) ~ *miserere* (RB), cf. 12, RA 11/RB 14 (comm.).

ne me velis violare (RB): For the addition, see 34, RA/RB 5. This remark is particuarly pertinent here, given the gravity of the situation.

captivae <…> **filiae** (RA/RB): 'fallen into captivity', cf. ThLL III 374,13: Ennod., *Dict.* 20,7 p.482,13 (on Minerva in a *lupanar*) *interest lupanaribus captivum numen*.

35, RA 21-22 Cumque ei universos casos suos exposuisset, motus misericordia ait ad eam: "Nimis avarus est iste leno. Nescio, si tu possis virgo permanere." 'When she had told him all her misfortunes, he was moved by pity, and said to her: "That pimp is too greedy. I do not know if you will be able to stay a virgin."'

35, RB 18 Et cum ei casus suos omnes exposuisset, motus misericordia dixit: "Nimis avarus est leno; nescio, si possis íta perseveráre (*v.*)."

Cumque (RA) ~ *Et cum* (RB): Cf. supra 35, RA 15/RB 13 (comm.).

motus misericordiam A ~ *misericordia motus* P; the reading *misericordiam* is also found in *Actus Petri cum Simone* (ed. Bonnet-Lipsius), p.53,28; p.67,7: perhaps the beneventan contraction *mĩa* is to blame, cf. Traube, *Nomina sacra*, p.259.

avarus: A standard epithet of a *leno*, cf. ThLL II 186,9-11: Naev., *Com.* 49 *nimis avarus*; Plaut., *Persa* 687 *leno* <…> *impure, avare*; also Ter., *Haut.* 39; Ov., *Am.* 1,10,23; Sen., *Contr.* 9,1,12. In the Glossaria (cf. III 273,67) it corresponds to σκνιφός 'niggardly' 'stingy'.

iste leno (RA) ~ *leno* (RB): By classical standards *RA*'s reading is perfectly correct.

nescio, si <…> **possis** (RA/RB): Classical Latin would have preferred *nescio an* as an indirect question: though the construction with *si* is acceptable to Romans (Klebs, p.243; Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 378) we should follow Thielmann, p.40 in assuming a Greek phrase here against the background of a Greek original οὐκ οἶδα, εἴ, cf. Paul., 1 Cor. 1:16 *ceterum nescio si quem alium baptizaverim* (Gr. λοιπὸν οὐκ οἶδα εἴ τινα ἄλλον ἐβάπτισα); LSJ, s.v. εἴδω (B)6: 'οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ '*I know not whether*', to express disbelief or doubts'.

virgo permanere (RA) ~ *íta perseveráre* (RB) (*v*): As well as being rhythmical, *RB* is also more diplomatic.

CHAPTER 36

Chapters **36-37** must have been of great importance in **HA(Gr)**: as is shown by cc.45-46, where in retaliation Apollonius wants to destroy the entire city of Mytilene with a large army, the injustice done to Tarsia must have been much greater than what is represented here in innocent-sounding terms. The chapters must have talked about the violation of the right of asylum in Tarsus (c.29), Tarsia's sale as a freeborn king's daughter on the slave market in Mytilene (c.33) and her forced detention in the *lupanar*. Theophilus' unlawful assassination atttempt (c.32) was doubtless part of her story as well. **R(Gr)** probably did his best to frame the original story of **Ha(Gr)** in a sense acceptable to Antiquity (and to us), with declamation and music, and, on the part of Athenagoras and the citizens, with loving alms. Tarsia's reference to her schooling and erudition (cf. c.29) is perfectly acceptable to Antiquity, which was familiar with the notion of highly erudite hetaerae. A remarkable feature, especially in this chapter, is the large number of 'Graecisms' or phrases going back to Greek, almost from line to line: it seems justified to assume that *RA* goes back directly to the epitome phase **R(Gr)**.

36, RA 1-2	Puella respondit: "Habeo auxilium studiorum liberalium, perfecte erudita sum; 'Tarsia replied: "I have a resource in the study of the liberal arts; I am fully educated:'
36, RB 1	Puella ait: "Dabo opera studiis liberalibus erudita;

Habeo auxilium studiorum liberalium, perfecte erudita sum (RA) ~ *dabo opera* (**bM**: *-am* **βπ**), *studiis liberalibus erudita* (**βπ**: *-am* **bM**) (RB): The construction in *RA* runs smoothly. For *auxilium*, cf. LSJ, s.v. *auxilium* (3) 'resource': the gen. is probably an epexegetical gen., consisting in the *studia liberalia* (cf. 29, RA 1/RB 1-2, comm.). For the *studia liberalia,* cf. Cic., *Inv.* 1,25,35 *quae Graeci ἐλευθέρια μαθήματα appellant*. Perhaps *auxilium* is (?) ὑποδοχή, cf. LSJ, s.v. ὑποδοχή: 'means for entertaining'. Words like βοήθεια, βοήθημα 'means of assistance, aid, resource' could also be adduced. The further addition may seem overdone to our taste. For Antiquity, especially in this situation, it is perfectly acceptable, cf. Nep., *Epam.* 1,2 *eruditus est* <...> *sic, ut nemo Thebanus magis, nam et citharizare et cantare* <...> *doctus est*; Vulg., Acts 7:22 *eruditus est* (Gr. ἐπαιδεύθη) *Moyses omni sapientia*; Passio S. Pimenii

(ed. Delehaye, *Le Légendier romain*) c.2, p.259 *Hic Pygmenius quendam puerum* <...> *perfecte erudivit*. From Gr. (?) τελείως/εἰς ἄκρον πεπαιδευμένη, cf. LSJ, s.v. παιδεύω (2): πεπαιδευμένος: 'educated, trained'. For this sense of τέλειος, see *Hellenica* XIII, p.51: τέλειος signifie non pas 'illustre, étonnant, admirable' mais 'parfait, accompli, achevé'.

The construction in *RB* is difficult to fathom, though it is clearly based on *RA*. Ultimately I have opted in the text (cf. ed. m. [1984], ad. loc.) for *dabo opera* **bM** 'I shall give performances' 'literary readings', followed by musical entertainments, cf. OLD, s.v. *opus* (9.c). As such *dabo operam* (sc. *studiis liberalibus*) **βπ** would also be possible, but it would leave *erudita* isolated. Hence the suggestion 'erudita sum' Riese (1893), followed by Schmeling (1984) *erudita* <*sum*>. By means of this manoeuvre *RB* has eliminated *perfecte*.

36, RA 2	similiter et <ly>rae pulsu modulanter inlidor. **A** ~ (**P** /) 'Also I can play on the lyre striking rythmically with the plectrum'.
36, RB 1-2	similiter lyrae pulsu modulanter inludo.

similiter et (RA) ~ *similiter* (RB): Latin uses the expansive phrase *similis et/ similiter et* (adv.) everywhere, especially from the time of the Principate onwards, cf. ThLL V,2 (s.v. *et*) 913,81 (Dig., Tert., Porphyr., Peregr., Chiron, etc.). In Greek such usage is not recorded by LSJ for secular authors (Herod. 7,86 ὁμοίως καί), in contrast to the κοινή of the NT, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. καί (II.3): Matt. 26:35 ὁμοίως καὶ πάντες οἱ μαθηταὶ εἶπαν: Vulg. *Similiter et omnes discipuli dixerunt*, cf. Mark 15:31; Luke 5:33; John 6:11. As *varia lectio* we also find: Luke 10:32 ὁμοίως δέ καί (Vulg. *similiter et*). *RB*'s correction is found in the same area: Matt. 22:26 ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ δεύτερος: Vulg. *Similiter secundus*. So it seems a fair assumption that *RA* may go back to Gr. (?) ὁμοίως καί. (Klebs, p.243 rejects *similiter et* as a 'Graecismus' (= ὁμοίως καί): 'nur in A und Rα an einer verderbten und kritisch ganz unsicheren Stelle.')

<**ly**>**rae pulsu** (repulsum **A**) <...> **inlidor**. **A** ~ *lyrae pulsu* <...> *inludo* (**b**; *ludo* **ß**): A precise interpretation of these words will not have been easy for Roman readers, witness the text and app. crit. of each of the recensions (ThLL VII 377,10: '*dub. interpr.*'). The words *lyrae* <...> *inlidor* **A** are probably a direct calque of (?) τῇ λύρᾳ ἐγκρούω/-ομαι 'I play on the lyre', cf. Introd. IV.1. See also there for literature on the medial translation of active verbs. See further Blatt, *Acta Thomae* p.49 (μὴ φοβεῖσθε ~ *ne metuemini*; δυνήσομαι ~ *valear*). (For the problems in general in translating Act. ~ Med. ~ Pass., see Lundström, *Übersetzungstechnische Untersuchungen*,

Index, p.280, s.v. Genus verbi.) *RB* has rightly changed this difficult reading to *inludo*, which is more in line with Roman usage, cf. OLD, s.v. *illudo*: 'to play at' or 'with', though parallels are hard to find: Hor., *Sat.* 1,4,139 *illudo chartis*; Tib. 3,4,35 *ima videbatur talis illudere palla*. The 'correction' is based on the word shape of *RA*, cf. Introd. III.5.

pulsu A ~ (RB): Roman readers will have understood *pulsus* 'beat' 'stroke' mainly in musical terms, cf. OLD, s.v. pulsus (b). Theoretically *pulsu* could also be connected with *lyrae* (gen.) 'to play the lyre', cf. Ov., *Fasti* 5,667 (the poet addreses Mercury) *laete lyrae pulsu, nitida quoque laete palaestra*; Solin. 1,1,8 *doctior hic citharae, pulsibus ille lyrae*; but the construction as indicated above is to be preferred. The separation of *pulsus* is probably based on a translation error. Perhaps a solution can be found in the fact that κρούειν is the standard word for plucking, by means of a πλῆκτρον 'plectrum', cf. Plato, *Lys.* 209[B] κρούειν τῷ πλήκτρῳ. Is this *pulsus* based on a Greek name for a plucked instrument or its effect? Perhaps we might think of κροῦ(σ)μα 'beat' 'stroke'. In that case *pulsus* would be the result of standard translation technique, cf. CGL II 355,48/III 76,38 pulso κρούω.

modulanter (RA/RB, i.q. *modulate*): An extremely rare word: ThLL VIII 1248,67 gives this word as a hapax legomenon with reference to the *Glossaria*, where it is explained: *Glossaria Latina* II, Paris 1926, *Philoxeni Glossarium* (ed. Laistner) p.231,12 *modulanter*: εὐρίθμως (i.q. -ρύθ-). This meaning 'rhythmic' is confirmed by the *HA* elsewhere, cf. 16, RA 26 *vox* <...> *modulata chordis* (*cum chordis* RB); 41, RA/RB 41 *modulata voce* (comm.). This εὐρύθμως, combined with ἐγκρούω, accords with the language of **R(Gr)**, probably also **HA(Gr)**, cf. Arist., *Thesm.* 121 εὔρυθμα κρούματα 'rhythmical beats'; for the Greek Novel, cf. Heliod. 7,27 εὔρυθμον τέ τι <...> ἐποχῶν τὴν φιάλην 'balancing (the bowl) with exquisite grace'. For a late reference to *modulanter* in Spanish liturgy, cf. W. Dürig, *Pietas Liturgica, Studien zum Frömmigkeitsbegriff und zur Gottesvorstellung in der Abendländischen Liturgie*, Regensburg 1958, p.76 n.5: *Domine* <...> *dona, ut sicut modulanter tibi psallimus officio votorum, ita psallimus et cordium*.

In sum: **HA(Gr)** may have read (?) ὁμοίως καὶ τῇ λύρᾳ κρούματι (κρούσει) εὐρύθμως ἐγκρούομαι 'I play on the lyre striking rhythmically with the plectrum'. (Schmeling [1988], p.28,12; p.69,12; p.115,6 *aliter*.) So Tarsia wants to act as a *lyristria*/λυρίστρια, a musician at feasts and performances, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *lyristria*; LSJ, s.v. λυρίστρια.

36, RA 2-4 Iube crastina in frequenti loco poni scamnia (**A**: -mna **P**) et facundia sermonis mei specta-

culum praebeo; 'Have benches put up tomorrow in some crowded place, and I shall offer entertainment with my eloquent talk.'

36, RB 2-4 Iube crastino in frequenti loco scamna disponi et facundia oris mei populum emerebor et casus meos omnes exponam.

iube (RA/RB): Used here for a request to a *villicus*, cf. OLD, s.v. *iubeo* (2): 'to order'.

crastina (**A**: *crastina die* **P**) ~ *crastino* (RB): For the gender of *dies*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. *RB* has a slight preference for masc., cf. 2, RA 5 *ante legitimam* <…> *diem* ~ RB 5 *ante legitimum* <…> *diem*. The ellipsis of *dies* occurs mainly in Late Latin, cf. ThLL IV 1107,3; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *crastino*. For the phenomenon in a broader context, cf. Löfstedt, *Per.* p.301; id., *Synt.* II, p.250; Linderbauer, p.246; Cavallin, p.87. Scribes like to add the word, as here in **P**, **Rα**. In Greek the ellipsis is very frequent since the earliest times: Herod. 4,113 τῇ δὲ χειρὶ ἔφραζε ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην ἐλθεῖν <…> τῇ δὲ δευτεραίῃ ἦλθε 'with her hand she intimated him to return the next day <…> the next day he came.' This ἡμέρα can be filled in after a numeral (ἡ δευτέρα, ἡ τρίτη), a participle (ἡ ἐχομένη, ἡ ἐπιοῦσα) and an adverb (ἡ νῦν; ἡ σήμερον; ἡ αὔριον; ἡ ἑξῆς). The ellipsis (esp. with ὑστεραία, ἐπιοῦσα) is a matter of course in the Greek Novel (Charit. 1,13,7; 1,14,5; 2,8,7; 1,10,1.2; 3,10,2, etc.; Xen. Eph. 2,13,1; 3,1,1; 5,11,12; Achill. Tat. 3,9,3; 3,15,1; 3,20,2; Long. 2,20; 2,23; 4,3; Heliod. 1,7,3; 1,11,5; 1,17,6; 2,32,1; 2,34,4 etc.). So the ellipsis in our place can be safely attributed to **R(Gr)**; the exact reading is uncertain (?) (ἐν) τῇ αὔριον/τῇ ἑξῆς, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ, cf. Hofmann, *Beiträge*, p.99 n.3.

poni (RA) ~ *disponi* (RB): The *RA* reading could go back directly to (?) τίθεσθαι, cf. LSJ, s.v. τίθημι (A): 'in local sense "set, put, place"'. *RB* prefers the technical term, cf. OLD, s.v. *dispono* (2): 'to arrange in position': Ov., *Ars* 2,45 *disponit in ordine pinnas*; Tac., *Ann.* 14,13 *liberorum agmina per sexum et aetatem disposita*.

scamnia (**A**) ~ **scamna** (**P**, **RB**): The meaning is evident, cf. OLD, s.v. *scamnum* (1): 'A stool or bench (serving as a seat)': Mart. 5,41,7 *sedere in equitum scamnis*. The **A** reading requires more comment, since it is probably original and offers an *indicium graecae originis*, cf. Introd. VI. Besides the standard form σκάμνον 'bench, stool', we also find, partly as a v.l., the form σκαμνίον as a Late Greek, Byzantine form, cf. Sophocles, s.v. σκαμνίον (with examples from Joann. Mosch., Steph. Diac., Basilic., *Vita Nil. Iun.*); Lampe, s.v. σκαμνίον (examples also including Chrys., Leont.

N., *Euchologion*). Specialist studies agree in arguing for authenticity: Gelzer (1893), p.188; Vogeser (1907), p.42; Rydén (1974), p.99. In view of this number of references we are probably justified in retaining the spelling σκαμνίον and attributing it to **R(Gr)**, cf. 24,RA 2 (comm.). The date of the evidence seems to disqualify attribution to **HA(Gr)**. The word σκάμνον itself does not occur in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.* The fact that translators/revisers adopt the word shape of their model, in this case *RA* from **R(Gr)**, is a well-known procedure. (Naturally **A** may still be simply explainable as a scribal error after *-mn-*.) For a possible placement of these '*sedilia*', cf. Roueché, *Aphrodisias*, p.241 (lit.).

facundia sermonis mei (RA) ~ *facundia oris mei* (RB), cf. RB 7: It is hard to find parallels in Latin literature for both readings, cf. ThLL VI,1 157,60-160,9. For RA, cf. Amm. Marcell. 17,1,2 *facundia sermonum*; id. 30,9,4 *sermone incitato <…> sed raro facundiae proximo vigens*. Hagiography uses this phrase quite often, cf. Mombr. II, p.296,4: 300,51; 430,32; cf. II 509,45 (Sylvester) *Erat autem* (sc. Euphrosinus) *sermone facundissimus tam latino quam graeco*. The Greek substrate reading is a subjective matter. Can we compare εὐγλωσσία 'fluency of speech'? See CGL II 316,26 *facunditas* εὐγλωττία. For RB, cf. Ov., *Fast.* 1,21 *quae sit <…> culti facundia sensimus* | *oris*.

spectaculum praebeo (RA) ~ *populum* (**b**: -o **βMπ**) *emerebor et casus meos omnes exponam* (RB): *RA* may result directly from Greek. Names for activities like those of Tarsia here can be expressed in various terms: ἀκρόαμα 'recital'; ἐπίδειξις 'declamation'; θαύματα 'puppet show' 'toy theatre'. But the standard word is θέαμα 'spectacle'. The standard verb here is παρέχω (*praebeo*), cf. Xen., *Sympt.* 2,2 θεάματα καὶ ἀκροάματα ἥδιστα παρέχεις. *RA* accords completely with this, including the lively present tense ("I offer", Konstan), cf. 39, RA 33 *descendo* instead of *descendam*.

populum (**b**: -o **βMπ**) **emerebor** (RB): The paraphrase by RB(**b**) *facundia oris mei populum emerebor* is laborious and high-flown: "by my eloquence I shall make the people obliged to me", cf. ThLL V,2 472,72 ff.: 'Quintil., *Decl.* 318, p.251,20 *me <…> emereri debet*; Paneg. 11(3) 19,4 *eum adsiduis obsequiis emerabantur donisque captabant*.' Other codd. within *RB* try to make the construction smoother: (*facundiam oris*) *populo emerebor* **βπ**. It is hard to gauge the intention of this adjustment in relation to *RA*. Perhaps it is based on the Church's aversion to the theatre. The adjustment of the tense of *praebeo* (cf. Klebs, p.263 'nur in RA') to *emerebor* and the padding of the sentence with a stopgap (cf. 30, RB 7-8), hardly necessary to the story, are typical of *RB*'s revision.

36, RA 4-5 Deinde plectro modulabor et hac arte ampliabo pecunia<s> cotidie." 'Then I shall make music with a plectrum, and through this skill I shall make more money every day."'

36, RB 4-5 Quoscumque nodos quaestion<u>m proposuerint, exsolvam et hac arte ampliabo pecuniam." 'Whatever riddles they ask, I shall solve them, and through this skill I shall make more money.'

Deinde (**A**: *et ac deinde* **P**) *plectro modulabor* (RA): Literary declamation is followed by a musical intermezzo. The cumulative form *et ac deinde* **P** is possible in Late Latin but unlikely to be original, cf. Löfstedt, *Late Latin*, p.175; Linderbauer, p.210. The exact meaning of *modulabor* is uncertain: it is probably a combination of playing, plucking and singing, cf. OLD, s.v. *modulor* (3), (1 b). For the formulation, cf. Tibull. 3,4,39 *hanc* (sc. lyram) <…> *plectro modulatus eburno*; Sen., *Med.* 625 (Orpheus), *cuius ad chordas modulante plectro restitit torrens*; Ven. Fort., *Carm.* 10,11,1-2 *cum videam citharae cantare loquacia ligna, dulcibus* | *et chordis admodulare lyram*.

Quoscumque nodos quaestion<u>m (*-onis* **βMπ**, *-onem* **b**) **proposuerint, exsolvam** (**bM**: *exponam* **βπ**): Probably inserted by *RB* to emphasize Tarsia's riddling activities, cf. below (RB 8) *ingenio quaestiones sibi promebat et solvebat*: precisely riddles play an important role in the father-daughter recognition (cc.42-43). Panayotakis, loc. cit. (2001), pp.600,603 wrongly connects the term *nodus linguae*, as it appears here in *RB nodus quaestionis*, with the image *nodus virginitatis*. Though the two images are bound up to a certain extent, I believe the origin here in *RB* is not a matter of Greek provenance, but should rather be attributed to *RB*'s wide reading. The Church Fathers (Tertull., Ambr., Hier., August.) return time and again to this image, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *enodabilis, enodare, enodatio, enodator, enodatus* alongside *nodose, nodositas, nodosus, nodus*. In particular we should cite Aug., *Bapt.* 2,1,1 *quando in aliquem nodum quaestionis inciderit*. The meaning 'difficult matter' seems required, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. nodus (4): 'difficulté, embarras (cl.)'.

ampliabo (**A**, **Rα**: *ampliabor* **P**) *pecunias* (*-a* **AP**) *cotidie* (RA) ~ *ampliabo pecuniam* (**b**: *-ias* **βMπ**) (RB): Though the meaning will have been evident to every Roman, the combination *ampliare pecuniam* (cf. 35, RB 8 *ampliores pecunias*) has only been clarified recently and sparingly in the literature, cf. ThLL I 2002,76; cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 191. (Influence from Greek [?], e.g. ἀναπληρόω, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. (2): 'erfüllen

(Arbeitsleistung)'.) The **P** reading seems a learned emendation referring to a *peculium*, with which a slave could buy his freedom.

36, RA 5 Quod cum fecisset villicus, 'The servant did this,'

36, RB 5-8 Quod cum fecisset villicus, omnis aetas populi ad videndam Tharsiam virginem cucurrerunt. Puella ut vidit ingentem populum, introiit in facundiam oris studiorumque abundantiam; ingenio quaestiones sibi promebat et solvebat. 'The servant did this; people of every age flocked to see Tarsia. When the girl saw the mass of people, she began to speak eloquently and with great learning. She propounded riddles to herself and solved them from pure skill.'

Probably an independent amplification by *RB* from mostly familiar sentences, placed here to illustrate Tarsia's activities and the generosity of the citizens.

Omnis aetas populi <…> **cucurrerunt**: A bold construction for *populus omnis aetatis* <…> *cucurrit*. For *omnis aetas* (viz. men, women, children, young and old), cf. ThLL I 1135,7-37: e.g. Dares 44 *omnis aetas hominum secuta est*; for the *constructio ad sensum*, cf. e.g. Gellius 18,5,8 (= ThLL I 1137,36) *veterum aetas* <…> *dixerunt*.

introiit: Probably a technical term for 'performing', cf. ThLL VII,2 75,38: *de scaenicis*, absolute: Donat., *Ter. Adelph.*, *praef.* 3,7 *quattuor scaenas introeuntium et exeuntium personarum*; Cassiod., *Var.* 1,32,3 *Helladius* <…> *voluptatem populi praestaturus introeat*. In our place it probably has the connotation 'to scale the heights', cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *introeo* (3): 's'y livrer'.

in facundiam oris, cf. above RB (3) *facundia oris studiorumque abundantiam*, cf. 20, RB 8 *habundantia studiorum perita*: For the combination, cf. [?] Luke 21:15 *ego enim dabo vobis os, et sapientiam, cui non poterunt resistere*. For this form of riddle – setting and solving the riddle oneself – see *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 1949 (repr. 1957), s.v. 'riddle'. This form differs from the method followed in cc.41-42.

36, RA 5-7 tanta populi adclamatio tantusque amor civitatis circa eam excrebuit, ut et viri et feminae

cotidie ei múlta confẽrrent (*pl.*). 'So great was the people's applause, so great was the citizens' love for her, that both men and women gave her a lot of money every day.'

36, RB 8-10 Et fit ingens clamor, et tantus circa eam civium amor excrevit, ut et viri et feminae cotidie infinitam confẽrrent pecúniam (*t.*).

tanta populi adclamatio (RA) ~ *Et fit ingens clamor* (RB): It is hard to give a reason for this change; perhaps *adclamatio* was felt to be too much a technical term, cf. 10, RA 10/RB 9 (comm.). For *fit clamor*, cf. 7, RA 2 *Fit tremor*.

tantusque amor civitatis circa eam excrebuit (RA) ~ *et tantus circa eam civium amor excrevit* (RB): For a similar hyperbaton carried through consistently, cf. 7, RA 3 *Tantus* <...> *amor civium suorum erga eum erat* ~ RB 3 *Tantus* <...> *amor circa eum civium erat*. For *circa* = *erga*, cf. Ind. gr., s.v.

excrebuit AP ~ *excrevit* (RB): The form offered by *AP* is a vulgar variant, not occurring in literary sources, of *excrevi*, perfect of *excrescere*, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 89; E. et J. Bourciez, *Élements de la linguistique romaine*, Paris 1946[4], § 91. These refer in particular to a verb like *ferveo*, where, alongside *fervi*, a perf. *ferbui/fervui* is normal. Thus in Christian Latin *ferbui*: Aug., *Civ.* 18,52 *in christianos ferbuit persecutio*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *ferveo*. This *excrescere* is esp. used in Late Latin for abstract concepts, like *amor* here, cf. ThLL V,2 1285,30 ff. (A conjecture like *excrebruit*, from *excrebrescere* 'to increase' [cf. *crebro*], proposed by Tsitzikli [1981], p.116 and incorporated in the text by Schmeling [1988], p.28,16 (cf. Garbugino, p.105, with n.69), is unnecessary.) The form *excrevit* offered by *RB* is thus merely an expected normalization, cf. Introd. III.1. The question of a Greek substrate form is hard to answer, as *excresco* does not appear in the Glossaria. (From [?] ἐξέστη/ἐξίστατο; ἐξεγένετο; ἐξηύξετο, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐξαύξω 'to increase'.)

ei multa conferrent (RA) ~ *infinitam conferrent pecuniam* (RB): *RB* is concrete. The collocation *infinitae pecuniae* is as frequent in classical Latin as later, cf. Cic., *Q. Rosc.* 24 *tantas et tam infinitas pecunias*; Mombr. II (Thomas Apostolus) 608,20 *Relinquens autem ei pecunias infinitas abiit*.

36, RA 7-9 Athenagoras autem princeps memoratam Tharsiam integrae virginitatis et generositatis ita eam custodiebat, ac si unicam suam filiam, ita ut villico multa donaret et commendaret eam. 'Tarsia became famous for her pure virginity and her noble birth, and Prince Athenagoras watched over her as if she were his own only daughter, to the extent that he gave a lot of money to the overseer and entrusted her to him.'

36, RB 10-12 Athenagoras princeps civitatis memoratam integerrimae virginitatis et generositatis diligebat eam ac si filiam suam, ita ut villico illi multa donaret et commendaret eam.

princeps (RA), cf. 34, RA 2 *princeps* ~ (RB) *princeps civitatis*, cf. 33, RA 5/RB 4-5 *princeps civitatis*.

memoratam Tharsiam integrae (**A**: *ingenuae* **P**) **virginitatis** (RA/RB): For *memoratus* 'famous' + gen. ThLL VIII 695,15 offers the parallel: Apul., *Flor.* 18 *ex septem illis sapientiae memoratis viris*. For Greek we can perhaps adduce the parallel μεμνημένος, -μένη, cf. LSJ, s.v. μιμνῄσκω (II): 'to make mention of' c. gen.; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. μιμνῄσκομαι (2): Pass. 'erwähnt werden'. Perhaps it is more natural to assume a translation from βεβωμένη, κλυτή + gen. of cause 'renowned'.

Tharsiam (RA) ~ (RB /): *RB*'s omission is a striking syntactic pseudo-correction (followed by Schmeling [1988], p.28,18): Late Latin, like Late and Byzantine Greek, likes to place additional pronouns etc., sometimes in different cases, cf. 40, RA 11 *navem* <…> *12 eius* (comm.).

integrae A ~ *integerrimae* (RB): The exact meaning of *integer* is uncertain, probably 'unspoilt' 'pure' (Gr. ἀθιγής 'untouched', cf. LSJ, s.v.). The meaning 'perfect' would also serve well (Glossaria suggest τέλειος 'perfect', cf. CGL VI,590). For **A** *integrae* **P** reads īgñe, resolved by Riese (1893) ad loc. as *ingenuae*, probably in the sense of 'tender', 'delicate', cf. LSJ, s.v. *ingenuus* (3.c). The cause is probably a misreading (metathesis). (Schmeling [1988], p.28,17 reads īgñe, to be resolved as: *in genere*.) The **A** reading is established by *RB*'s reading. The change to the superlative *integerrimae* is in keeping with *RB*'s objectives, cf. Introd. III.1.

generositatis A ~ (RB): The translation is uncertain here too, probably 'noble descent', cf. 15, RA 12/RB 11 (comm.). The Glossaria suggest

εὐγένεια *nobilitas*, cf. CGL VII,529. Since the meaning 'magnanimous' is also connoted, **P** probably omitted the words *et generositatis* on purpose.

ita eam custodiebat, ac si (RA) ~ *diligebat eam, ac si* (RB): For *ac si*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. The combination *ita* <...> *ac si* has become completely established in Late and Christian Latin, cf. Löfstedt, *Per.* p.71; Linderbauer, p.202; ThLL II 1083,76-1084,36. Against the background of **R(Gr)/-HA(Gr)** we cannot rule out the possibility that the *HA* goes directly back here to (ὥς <...>), ὡσεί, cf. Riese (1893), *Index*, s.v. *ac si*. For the substitute reading *ut* **π**, see 24, RA 10/RB 9 **π**. The elimination of *ita* (RA), like the substitute reading *diligebat*, is perfectly understandable: the expansiveness of *ita* (l.8) and (l.9) is intrusive. The term *custodiebat* (cf. 35, RA 11 *custodio virginitatem meam*; from [?] φυλάττω) within a loving relationship between Athenagoras and Tharsia seems strange.

ac si unicam (**A**: *om.* **P**) **suam filiam** (RA) ~ *ac si fíliam súam* (*t.*) (RB): The omission of *unicam* in both **P** and RB is perfectly understandable, since Athenagoras already had a daughter, cf. 34, RA 10 *filiam virginem* ~ RB 10 *filiam bimulam*. The observation and formulation are obviously encountered in popular literature, cf. Mombr. II (Thecla) 562,28 *Amabat enim et diligebat eam ac si propriam filiam Phalconillam*. In particular the Greek Novel: Xen. Eph. 2,10,4 ἐπράθησαν πρεσβύτῃ τινί, ὃς αὐτοὺς εἶχε μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας, παῖδας αὐτοῦ νομίζων· καὶ γὰρ ἄτεκνος ἦν· '(Leucon and Rhode) were sold to an old man, who gave them every attention and treated them as his own children (for he himself had none)'; id. 3,12,4 Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἄραξος ἠγάπα (cf. *HA diligebat*) τὸν Ἁβροκόμην καὶ παῖδα ἐποιεῖτο 'Now Araxus for his part was kind to Habrocomes and treated him like a son', cf. id. 5,5,1; Heliod. 5,20,2 ἐπόμνυμι <...> ἦ μὴν αὐτόν τε σὲ ὡς ἀδελφὸν παῖδάς τε τοὺς σοὺς ἴσα καὶ παῖσιν ὁρᾶν τοῖς ἐμοῖς 'I swear to you (sc. Kalasiris) <...> that I love you as a brother, and your children as much as my own children'.

ita ut (RA/RB): Though to our taste this is a possibly redundant reptition of *ita* in the previous sentence, the text should be retained (Schmeling [1988], ad loc.; id. Notes, p.151 [on ed. 28,19] [ita]).

villico (RA) ~ *villico illi* (RB): Probably added by *RB* to emphasize the class difference. In the end the question of course is why nobody redeems her, cf. Klebs, p.308. In particular Heinrich von Neustadt, *Apollonius von Tyrland*, 14th c. (Archibald, pp.194-5) endeavoured to make the situation as plausible as possible from a medieval, chivalric point of view. Athenagoras, prince of Mitylene, gives her a harp. She plays and sings so beautifully that the birds sing along and the citizens are besides them-

selves. Then she tells the audience about her fortunes and descent. They give her 50 Marks. Athenagoras adds 50 Marks and for the remaining 50 Marks the city magistrate stands surety to the pimp: the citizens of Mitylene then take her under their wing, cf. A. Bockhoff and S. Singer, *Heinrich von Neustadt und seine Quellen, ein Beitrag zur mittelhochdeutschen und byzantinischen Literaturgeschichte*, Tübingen 1911, p.24. The real reason for the incomprehensible situation lies in the smoke screen laid by **R(Gr)**, cf. Introd. V.

CHAPTER 37

A striking feature of cc.37-8 is the lack of real, essential information. Apollonius returns after a κατοχή 'detention' of 14 years. He thus withdraws from the direct protection of the deity, firmly believing that now, at this stage, he can and must put his affairs in order. Only by expediting the marriage of his daughter (cf. 37, RA 1-3) can he avoid his *fatum* (incest with his daughter). Hence he first visits the house of the foster parents (37, RA 1-3), to make himself known (37, RA 11-12) and ask about his daughter (apparently there has been no correspondence, cf. 32, RA 19-20). Hence, too, his strange reaction when he finds that his daughter is alive (38, RA 15 *O me miserum*! *Puto filia mea vivit*). Apollonius' behaviour was probably less remarkable and illogical to readers in Antiquity than it may seem to us. Correspondence relating to the Sarapeum (See bibliography at the end of ch. 28) offers several examples of a κατοχός breaking off his voluntary detention, e.g. to attend a wedding (cf. S. Witkowski, *Epistulae privatae graecae,* Lipsiae 1911, p.59), or going absent, cf. G. Milligan, *Selections from the Greek Papyri,* Cambridge 1927, p.9 (on P. Brit. Mus. 42): 'the letter makes clear that, whatever the nature of the vows they took upon them, these were not binding for all time, but lasted only until the κάτοχοι had attained the end they had in view.' The papyri mention a *reclusio* 'detention' during ten years, cf. Witkowski, loc. cit. p.57. Naturally correspondence was sporadic (cf. 32, RA 18-20), which is something the extant papyri constantly complain about. It is clear that the epitomator **R(Gr)** has made drastic cuts here.

37, RA 1	Et cum haec Mytilena (mutylena **A**: in mutilena **P**) aguntur, 'While this was happening at Mytilene'
37, RB 1-2	Et cum cotidie virgo misericordia populi tantas congerit pecunias in sinu lenonis,

Cum + indic. (RA/RB): For temporal *cum*, cf. 1, RA/RB 9 *Qui cum luctatur*.

haec (RA) ~ *cotidie* <…> *lenonis* (RB): *RA*'s simple statement (*haec* = c.36) is amplified in a grammatically and syntatically impeccable period, without adding new content. The practice of *congerere in sinum* goes back to the ancient custom, both for Greeks (κόλπος 'bosom' 'lap', προκόλπιον 'part of a robe which falls over the breast') and for Romans, of wearing

money in the fold of their toga, cf. OLD, s.v. *sinus* (4): Ov., *Am.* 1,10,18 *quo pretium condat, non habet ille sinum*; Mart. 4,51,3 *sinum <...> ruperunt nummi*; Sat., *Silv.* 1,6,79 *sinus <...> pleni gaudent dum nova lucra comparantur*. Though literary references for this custom can be found into late Antiquity (for Greek, cf. Gow, Theocr. XVI, 16 [comm.]), the custom must have soon fallen into disuse with the increase in heavier money, Hor., *Sat.* 1,1,70 *congestis undique saccis*; Ov., *Epist.* 16,224 *congesto auri pondere*. At the time of *RB* it has been reduced to a flower of speech, cf. Lampr., *Comm.* 14 (*fin.*) *praedam omnem in sinum contulit*. It serves to depict the greed of the *leno*, cf. Iuven. 1,88 *quando maior avaritiae patuit sinus* (cf. 44, RA 3-4 ~ RB /, comm.).

Mytilena: The form *mutylena* **A** is very likely to be original, cf. Weyman, *Wo. kl. Ph.* 10 (1893), Sp. 577: 'hätte die überlieferte Orthographie "Mutilena" geschont werden sollen.' The gen. of place introduced by some edd. (Riese [1893], Konstan, p.32 ad loc.) died out in the *HA*. It was replaced either by the abl. of place, with or without *in* (cf. *in mutilena* **P**) or by a fossilized acc., cf. 15, RB 14 *Tarsum* (comm.). For the phenomenon, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 258 (*aliter* Schmeling [1988], ad loc.: *Mytilene*, a purely classical form).

37, RA 1-3	venit Apollonius post quattuordecim annos ad civitatem Tharsiam ad domum Stranguillionis et Dionysiae. 'Apollonius arrived at the Tarsian city after fourteen years and came to the house of Stranguillio and Dionysias.'
37, RB 2-4	Apollonius venit Tharso quarto decimo anno transacto, et operto capite, ne a quoquam civium deformis aspiceretur, ad domum pergebat Stranguilionis.

venit (RA/RB): Probably with just one ship, cf. 38, RA 7.17/RB 6.15.

post quattuordecim annos (RA) ~ *quarto decimo anno transacto* (RB): For the duration of Apollonius' absence, more than 14 years (the marriageable age of his daughter Tarsia), cf. 31, RA 14/RB 6; 32, RA 19. *RB*'s formulation is identical in meaning, but more solemn, cf. OLD, s.v. *transigo* (5.b).

ad civitatem Tharsiam (**A**: *Tharsum* **P**) ~ *Tharso* (RB): For the **A** reading, cf. (titulus) *Historia Apollonii regis Tyriae* (sc. civitatis) (comm.). The *RB* reading is probably based on the fossilized form *Tharso* = *Tharsum* in classical L

et operto capite, ne a quoquam civium deformis aspiceretur <...> **pergebat** (RB): A clever addition for the sake of the situation, cf. 37, RB 13 *revelat caput* (RA /). For *deformis* 'ugly', cf. OLD, s.v. (1). *RB* does not mention why Apollonius has allowed things to get this far.

Stranguillionis et Dionysiae: *stranquilionis* P, cf. 28, RA 2 (comm.); it is unclear why *RB* omits *Dionysiae* here, cf. 28, RA *petivit* (RB petit) *domum Stranguillionis et Dionysiae* (*Dionysiadis* RB).

37, RA 3-4	Quem videns Stranguillio de longe, perrexit curso rapidissimo ad uxorem suam dicens ei: 'When Stranguillio saw him a long way off, he ran very fast to his wife, saying to her:'
37, RB 4-5	Quem ut vidit Stranguilio a longe, perrexit prior rapidissimo cursu et dixit Dionysiadi uxori suae:

videns (RA) ~ *ut vidit* (RB): Perhaps *RB* has seen something of a premature event in *RA* (pres. part. with the value of perf./aor.).

de longe (RA) ~ *a longe* (RB): For classical: *ex longinquo*. Hardly any difference in use can be discerned, though there is a slight preference for *a longe*, cf. Luke 18:13 *Et publicanus a longe stans* (Gr. ὁ δὲ τελώνης μακρόθεν ἑστὼς); ibid. 22,54 *Petrus vero sequebatur a longe* (Gr. ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἠκολούθει μακρόθεν). In Vulg. Tob. 11:6 (probably the model of this passage) *a longe* also prevails: *vidit* (sc. Anna) *a longe et illico agnovit venientem filium suum et currens nuntiavit viro suo dicens*: *Ecce venit filius tuus* (Gr. Tob. 11:6 *aliter*); cf. Mark 5:6 *Videns autem Iesum a longe, cucurrit* (Gr. καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἔδραμεν); ibid., 11:13; Luke 16:23. As these examples show, the combination *a longe* (RB) is esp. predominant with *videre*, cf. ThLL I 40,43-50. The reading of **R(Gr)** is uncertain (?) (ἀπὸ) μακρόθεν/(ἀπὸ) μηκόθεν. (Klebs, p.255, *aliter*.)

curso (**A**; -u **P**) **rapidissimo** (RA) ~ *prior rapidissimo cursu* (RB): The reading *curso* **A** has been retained, cf. ThLL IV 1529,18 ff. The combination *cursu rapido* is relatively frequent, cf. ThLL, ibid., 73 ff., especially in hagiography: *Vit. Patr. Em.* 4,9,2; 5,13,4; Mombr. I 30,27; 278,3; 541,16; II 75,40; 75,52; 87,47; 263,33; 330,50; 493,17; 530,12; 535,23. The addition *prior* (RB) is sly: both Apollonius and Stranguillio start to run – towards each other! Stranguillio as first!

ad uxorem suam dicens ei (RA) ~ *et dixit Dionysiadi* (*Dionisiadi* **β**: *Dionisiade* **Mπ**) *uxori* (**βM**: *coniugi* **π**) *suae* (RB): A standard abridgement by *RB*. For the form *Dionysiada*, cf. 31, RB 1.4 (comm.).

37, RA 4-5	"Certe dixeras Apollonium perisse naufragi<o>; et ecce, venit ad repetendam filiam. '"You said with certainty that Apollonius had died in a shipwreck. Now look, he is coming to fetch his daughter.'
37, RB 5	"Certe dixeras Apollonium naufragio perisse." Illa respondit: "Dixi certe." Stranguilio ait: "Crudelis exempli, pessima mulier, ecce venit ad filiam recipiendam.

Certe dixeras (RA) ~ *Certe dixeras* <…> *Dixi certe* (RB): This probably involves a pun. *RA* means: "You said in no uncertain terms that Apollonius had died in a shipwreck"; for the combination of *certe* with *dicere*, cf. Hor., *Sat.* 1,9,67 *certe nescio quid secreto velle loqui te aiebas mecum*; Ps. Matth. evang. 31,3 *certe dico vobis et non mentior, quod*. For a possible translation of *certe* from σαφῶς 'clearly' 'plainly', cf. 32, RA 21 (comm.). In *RB* there is a response: "I said it certainly", in which *certe* can refer both to the preceding *dicere* and to the following *perire*. Now Stranguillio can speak his mind.

Crudelis exempli (RB): These words should probably be taken together as a gen. of quality 'of cruel character', cf. 8, RA 21/RB 26 (comm.). It is defended as an *asyndeton bimembre* by C. Zander, *Phaedrus solutus*, p.LXXXII. (Thielmann, p.58 regards the section *Illa respondit* <…> *pessima mulier* as an interpolation vis-à-vis 37, RA 7-8/RB 9-10; Riese [1893] only *crudelis* <…> *mulier*).

et ecce (RA) ~ *ecce* (RB), cf. 46, RA 4 *et ecce* ~ RB 5 *et*: This phrase is often used at the beginning of a sentence, both by secular authors (Verg., Ov., Sen., Plin., Petr., Apul.) and in religious writings (Vet. Lat., Vulg.), esp. in Late Latin (Per., Ruf., Greg. Tur., Mart. Cap.), cf. ThLL V,2 28,24-44; 31,36-46). Here it is probably influenced by (?) καὶ ἰδού 'and see'.

ad repetendam filiam (RA) ~ *ad filiam recipiendam* (RB): In *RA repetere* doubtless has the meaning 'to retrieve' 'to reclaim', i.e. from the unlawful possessors, cf. OLD, (8): 'to demand or claim back': Cic., *Verr.* 4,82 *repeto abs te, Verres, monumentum P. Africani*; Caes., *Bell. Gall.* 1,31,7 *sese neque obsides repetituros neque auxilium* <…> *imploratores*. It corresponds to Gr. (?) ἀπαιτέω 'to demand back' (cf. CGL VII, 200). LSJ, s.v. annotate: 'esp. of

things rightfully belonging to one' and refer to Hdt 1,2 ἀπαιτέειν τὴν θυγατέρα 'claim back his daughter'. In a purely legal sense 'to demand (a person) for retrial', cf. OLD s.v. (11): Asc. *Mil.* 49 *lege Pompeia <…> est accusatus M. Saufeius, repetitus deinde post paucos dies*; Paul., *Dig.* 48,2,3,1 *ex integro repetendi reum potestas fiet*. The term *repetitor* was pre-eminently used for somebody who lodges a complaint at a court of law against people who have taken in a foundling, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *repetitor*. Probably for this reason *RB* opts for neutral *recipere*, cf. OLD, s.v. *recipio* (6): 'to gain possession of' '(esp. as a due return)', cf. Introd. VII.2.2.

37, RA 5-6	Quid dicturi sumus patri de filia, cuius nos fuimus parentes?" 'What must we say to the father about his daughter, to whom we were parents?"'
37, RB 8	Quid dicemus patri de ea filia, cuius nos fuimus parentes?"

dicturi sumus (RA) ~ *dicemus* (RB): The periphrastic future in *RA* almost has the value of a dubitative subjunctive.

parentes (RA/RB): According to Apollonius' request, cf. 28, RA 8/RB 9 *commendo vobis filiam meam*. As a result, they were effectively foster parents, which Latin can render by the same word *parens*, cf. OLD, s.v. *parens* (1): (of an adoptive parent) Vitr. 1 pr.2 *cum <…> concilium caelestium <…> imperium parentis in tuam potestatem transtulisset*; Aug., *Monum. Anc.* 1,10 QVI PARENTEM MEVM <TRUCIDAVER>VN<T, EO>S IN EXILIVM EXPVLI; naturally the function can also be paraphrased: Liv., 4,42,8 *imperator, qui sibi parentis loco esset*; Tac., *Ann.* 12,2 (Lolliam) *privignis parentis loco futuram*; Curt. 5,3,11 *parentis eam* (sc. Darii matrem) *loco diligi colique*. Greek has special words for foster parents: οἱ παιδοτρόφοι, οἱ τρέφοντες, οἱ τρόφοι, cf. 29, RA 23/RB 25 (comm.).

37, RA 6-7	Scelera<ta> mulier hoc audito toto corpore contremuit et ait: 'The wicked woman trembled all over when she heard this, and said:'
37, RB 9	Scelerata ait:

Scelera<ta> (RA): Both main manuscripts of *RA* have passed down *scelerata mulier* (**Rα**) with prothesis *in scelera. Mulier* **AP** (transl. 'We were parents to crime), cf. *Excelerata* **Rα(φ)**: for the phenomenon, see Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 83.

toto corpore contremuit et (RA): For the expression itself, cf. 33, RA 19/RB 18; ThLL IV 775,41: Caec., *apud Cic., Epist.* 6,7,4 *toto corpore contremisco*; Chiron 286,331 (said of a beast of burden). It is uncertain why *RB* eliminates here, cf. 50, RA 19 *Mulier mala, ut vidit eam, imo corpore contremuit* ~ RB 18 *Mulier scelerata ut vidit, toto corpore contremuit*; see also 37, RA 19 ~ RB 20 (comm.). Probably for the sake of brevity.

37, RA 7-8	"Miserere! Vt dixi, coniunx, tibi confiteor: dum nostram diligo, alienam perdidi filiam. '"For pity's sake! As I already said, I confess to you again, husband: because I love our own daughter, I killed the daughter who was not ours.
37, RB 9-10	"Miserere, coniunx! Confiteor: dum nostram dilexi filiam, pérdidi aliénam (*v.*).

Miserere! Vt dixi, coniunx, tibi confiteor (RA) ~ *Miserere, coniunx: Confiteor* (RB): For *miserere* (**RA**, **βπ**) used absolutely, cf. OLD, s.v. *misereo* (1.c): '(imp., in earnest entreaties) "for pity's sake"': Quint., *Decl.* 19,6 *miserere, ne quid amplius quaeras!*

Vt dixi (RA) ~ (RB /): The reference is to 32, RA 16-23, esp. the end: *Tollam Tharsiam de medio <...> Quod et factum esse scias*. This authentic statement is lacking there in *RB* (omitted on purpose, cf. comm.), so that *RB*, logically, eliminates *Vt dixi* here too. Because, conversely, editors and critics regarded c.32 in the *RA* version as interpolated and unreliable, they have, almost by tradition, either changed the words *ut dixi* (Ring, Riese [1893] *et dixit*) or eliminated them (Klebs, pp.533-5; Schmeling [1988] {ut dixi}; Garbugino [p.43, n.66: "la significativa aggiunta delle parole *ut dixi*"], cf. ed. m. [1984], ad loc.).

dum nostram dilexi filiam, perdidi alienam (RB): A skilful, rhythmic arrangement with hyperbaton (often applied with terms like *diligo*, *amor*, cf. 36, RB 9 [comm.]) and chiasmus.

37, RA 8-11	Nunc ergo ad praesens indue vestes lugubres et finctas fundamus lacrimas et dicamus eam subito dolore stomachi interisse. Qui cum nos tali habitu viderit, credet." 'Now put on mourning clothes for the time being, and let us weep false tears, and say that she died sudden-

ly from a stomach pain. When he sees us in these clothes, he will believe it."'

37, RB 10-12 Accipe itaque consilium: ad praesens indue lugubres vestes, fictas finge lacrimas: dicamus eam stomachi dolore nuper defecisse. Et cum tali habitu viderit, credet."

Nunc ergo <...> (RA) ~ *Accipe itaque consilium:* (RB): The plan is formulated more effectively in *RB*. The change in **π** is interesting: *Cui Straguilio* (sic)*: "Accipe itaque*: probably a deliberate attempt to involve Stranguillio more in the conspiracy.

ad praesens (RA/RB): Probably in the sense of: directly, straightaway, cf. OLD, s.v. *praesens* (16.a); Georges, *Wörterb.*, s.v. *praesens*: 'Tac. u. Suet., für jetzt'; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *praesens* (2).

finctas fundamus lacrimas (RA), cf. 32, RA 25 *falsis lacrimis* ~ *fictas finge lacrimas* (RB): The form *finctas* (classical: *fictas*) is found very often, so that we should assume it to be authentic, cf. ThLL VI,1 770,47-53; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *fingo*. Scribes and editors alike often change to the classical form: thus here *fictas* **Rα (F G)**, Schmeling (1988), ad loc. For *lacrimas fundere*, cf. ThLL VI, 42-52 (Catull., Verg., Tib., Prop., Ov., Sen., Plin., etc.). The expression *lacrimas fingere* is most singular: Sen., *Dial.* 99,20 (*lacrimae*) *nec cessant nec fluunt unquam tam turpiter quam finguntur*. Perhaps the expression was triggered here by *fictas*, cf. Acts 7:34 *videns vidi* (Gr. ἰδὼν εἶδον), cf. Page, p.124.

subito (RA), cf. 32, RA 25 *subito* (RB /) ~ *nuper* (RB): An attentive 'correction' by *RB*: the time difference (*nuper*) is more relevant than the manner of dying (*subito*), cf. RA/RB 21 *ante paucos dies*.

interisse (RA) ~ *defecisse* (RB): *RB* makes his changes with a certain consistency, cf. 37, RA 18 *fuisse defunctam* ~ RB 20 *defecit*.

nos (RA) ~ (RB /): Perhaps *nos* should be added in *RB*, cf. Riese [1893], ad loc., Schmeling (1988). The reading *talem abitum* **π** calls for caution.

credet: Perhaps the reading *credit* **A** is authentic, cf. 39, RA 10 *crura ei frangi iubeo*. This conversation must have been more detailed in **HA(Gr)**: the couple must have talked about Tarsia's possessions as well, cf. 38, RA 1 *secundum pactum ferens atque reddens omnia*.

37, RA 11-12 Et dum haec aguntur, intrat Apollonius domum Stranguillionis, a fronte comam aperit, hispidam ab ore remov<e>t barbam. ‘Meanwhile, Apollonius came into Stranguillio’s house; he pushed away the hair from his forehead, and removed the shaggy beard from his face.’

37, RB 12-14 Et cum haec dicerent, intravit Apollonius domum, revelat caput, hispidam ab ore removet barbam et aperit comam fronte,

aguntur (RA), cf. 37, RA 1 *aguntur* ~ *dicerent* (RB): *RB*’s ‘correction’ goes without saying; a number of smaller differences (tenses) are subjective.

revelat caput (RB) (*relevat* **β** with a frequently occurring metathesis): Cf. above 37, RB 3 *operto capite, ne a quoquam civium deformis aspiceretur* (comm.).

a fronte comam aperit (RA) ~ *aperit comam fronte* (RB): A highly curious, expressive phrase ‘he clears his hair from his brow’ (Konstan); ‘pushed back the hair from his brow’ (Sandy). Classical Latin might have said: *frontem aperit* ‘he bares his brow’. ThLL II 212,32 also claims unicity for this expression. Naturally we should adduce Greek here, specifically, as the Glossaria also show, ἀνοίγω/ἀνοίγνυμι. A probable parallel is *Il.* 16,221 χηλοῦ δ’ἀπὸ πῶμ’ ἀνέωγε ‘he took off the cover and opened the store-chest’ (literally: he opened the cover, away from the store-chest). This parallel also reveals that *a* (in *a fronte*) was probably incorporated in the translation, from (?) ἀπό (*RB* has the abl. of separation). (A fine conjecture based on similarity of sound is perhaps ἀποφράττω ‘to open’ ‘to remove (the obstruction)’, cf. L. Rydén, ‘The Andreas Salos Apocalypse’, in: Dumbarton Oaks Papers XXVIII, 1974 (pp.197-261; text pp.201-214; quotation p.211) 868 C τὸ γὰρ ἔτος ἐκεῖνο ἀποφράξει Κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐν † Ἰνδαλίᾳ † ,ἅς ἔκλεισεν ’Αλέξανδρος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων, καὶ ἐξελεύσονται βασιλεῖς ἑβδομήκοντα δύο ἅμα τῷ λαῷ αὐτῶν <…> ‘For this year the Lord God will open the gates in Indalia [?], which Alexander, the king of the Macedonians, had closed and seventy-two kings will come out with their people <…>.’ As regards meaning, Rydén (loc. cit., p.256) notes: ‘ἀποφράξει here must mean “to open”, a meaning which occurs in later Greek’; see D. Démetrakos, Mega Lexicon, t.I (Athene 1958) s.v. ἀποφράττω.

hispidam ab ore removet (-*it* **AP**) **barbam** (RA/RB): The textual tradition in *RA* is highly instructive (*male diducta verba* in **A**; probably with glosses

and dittography in **P**), cf. app. crit. The adjective *hispidus* is often said of a dirty, shaggy beard, cf. ThLL VI,2 2832,48 ff. The underlying Greek text is completely uncertain, cf. CGL II 68,57: *hispidus* δασύς ('shaggy'), πυκνός ('thick'), αὐχμηρός ('squalid'), μεγαλόθριξ ('with strong, thick hair').

For the picture of the situation as such, cf. Lucian., *Toxaris* 30: ὡς δὲ τὴν φωνὴν αἰσθόμενος ἀνεβόησεν καὶ προσιόντος διαστείλας τὴν κόμην καὶ ἀπάγων τοῦ προσώπου αὐχμηρὰν καὶ συμπεπιλημένην (sc. κόμην) ἔδειξεν αὐτὸν ὅστις ἦν, ἄμφω μὲν αὐτίκα πίπτουσιν ἰλιγγιάσαντες ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπροσδοκήτῳ θέᾳ 'But Antiphilus, hearing his voice, cried out; and, as Demetrius approached, he parted his long hair, all unkempt and matted, drew it away from his face, and so disclosed his identity. At once both fell in a faint at the unexpected sight.' The Greek Novel is of course familiar with the gesture of pushing back a lock of hair, cf. Heliod. 2,35,1 (Θεαγένης) ἀπὸ τοῦ μετώπου τὴν κόμην πρὸς τὸ ὄρθιον ἀναχαιτίζων 'Theagenes had a mane of hair swept back from his forehead', cf. Philostr., *Heroic.* 19,5; *Imag.* B II. But it is clear that Apollonius as κομοτροφῶν belongs to a different category, that of the κάτοχοι, cf. Introd. VI.1.

37, RA 12-14 Vt vidit eos in lugubri veste, ait: "Hospites fidelissimi -si tamen in vobis hoc nomen permanet-, ut quid in adventu meo largas effunditis lacrimas? 'When he saw them in mourning dress, he asked: "My most faithful hosts – if that name still applies to you –, why do you weep profusely at my arrival?'

37, RB 14-16 et vidit eos lugubres et maerentes. Dixit: "Hospites fidelissimi – si tamen hoc adhuc in vobis permanet nomen – quid in adventu meo funditis lacrimas?

in lugubri veste (RA), cf. *RA* 9 ~ *lugubres et maerentes* (RB): A shift from clothing to, vitally, person. For *in* <…> *veste*, cf. 16, RA 28; 48, RA 19 *in veste purpurea* ~ RB 12 *in vestitu purpureo*.

ait A: *et ait* P: **P** *et* would be perfectly possible as such, cf. Horn (1918), p.75 'besonders in Texten, wo griechische Beeinflussung unverkennbar ist'; H. Hedfors, *Ad tingenda musiva*, Stockholm 1932, p.134. Given the late date of **P** and its secondary nature compared with **A**, I have not incorporated the **P** reading in the text.

Hospites (*osp-* **A**) **fidelissimi** (RA/RB): The spelling *osp-* **A** is frequent and should be regarded as authentic, cf. ThLL VI,3 3020,4 ff. The combination *hospites fidelissimi* is very rare in Latin, cf. ThLL, loc. cit. 3023,31. It belongs in Greek, in the unwritten host-guest contract, and characterizes the duties and rights of both parties, cf. 28, RA 5/RB 6 *sanctissimi hospites*. The corresponding substrate term is probably πιστότατοι (which Stranguillio and Dionysias certainly were not), cf. LSJ, s.v. πιστός: 'faithful, trusty'.

hoc nomen (RA) ~ *hoc adhuc nomen* (RB): A fine example of emendation: *hoc* (RA) evokes *adhuc* (RB), in sound too. For *si tamen* as a limiting particle, cf. 50, RB 14 (discussed in detail by Klebs, pp.267-8 in the context of Latin diction). The parenthesis works best in Greek, where πιστός also means 'deserving trust', cf. LSJ, s.v. πιστός (II.2): 'deserving credit'.

ut quid (RA) ~ *quid* (RB): The combination *ut quid*, for classical *quid, quare* probably goes back to the earliest stages of the Roman vernacular (cf. Cic., *Ad Att.* 7,7,7; Mart. 3,77,10), as Klebs, p.242 gratefully underlines. At such a stage, too, the influence or analogy of ἵνα τί cannot be excluded. It is very common in Christian authors, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *ut* (1), 3 *interr.* The corresponding Greek term may fluctuate, cf. Matt. 26:8 *ut quid perditio haec?* Gr. εἰς τί ἡ ἀπώλεια αὕτη·; Matt. 27,46 *ut quid dereliquisti me?* Gr. ἱνατί με ἐγκατέλιπες· The Church Fathers follow in this increasing use. It is very frequent in Late Latin, particularly in hagiography. So its occurrence in *RA* need not surprise us, given both the late language and the Greek background. (The 'correction' [i.e. elimination] proposed by Schmeling [1988], ad loc. and repeated, Notes, p.151 [on ed. 29,17]: {ut} is completely misplaced.) Of course we do not know the exact text of **R(Gr)** (εἰς τί; ἵνα τί; ἱνατί; ὡς τί). *RB*'s correction (cf. 44, RB 2 *quid*) is appropriate in the framework of a classical Latinity, cf. Introd. II.2; III.1. (Garbugino's arguments (p.111) for preferring *quid* [RB] are worth reading through.)

37, RA 15	Ne forte istae lacrimae non sint vestrae, sed meae propriae?" 'Can it be that these tears are not yours, but only on my account?"'
37, RB 16-17	Aut istae lacrimae non sunt vestrae, sed meae?"

Ne forte <…> **sint** (RA) ~ *Aut* <…> *sunt* (RB): The combination *ne forte* = *num* ('unless perhaps' Konstan) mainly occurs in Christian authors in translated literature, cf. Roensch, *Itala und Vulg.*, p.400: Tob. 2:21 *unde est haedus hic, qui belat? Ne forte furtivus sit?* (cod. Regina Suec. 10,1 *Ne forte*

detentus est?) (Gr. μήποτε κατέσχηται·); 1 Kgs. 18:27 *Ne forte dormiat?* (Gr. μήποτε καθεύδῃ·): *clamate vehementer*. The indic. may also follow, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. (II.1): Aug., *Civ.* 1,28; Ambr., *Psal.* 37,6. Given the general Greek background of the *HA*, we can assume a translation from (?) μή πως (Riese, 1893, Index, s.v. *ne forte*), cf. Blatt, *Acta Andreae*, Index, p.162, s.v. Gräzismen: 45,23 *ne forte* ~ μήποτε. (Klebs, p.229 n.3 can be ignored.) The substitute *aut* (RB) agrees with the classical norm, cf. OLD, s.v. (6): 'introducing a modification of a statement or expression' (b) 'as an afterthought' (with exx. there). *RB* probably regarded the phrase *ne forte* as not 'comme il faut'.

vestrae ~ meae propriae (propriae *om.* RB) (RA/RB): Given the large number of curious translations and explanations, it is doubtful whether readers of the *HA*, too, understood this at first. For divergent or dubious translations, cf. Peters, p.145: 'Was vergießt ihr bei meiner Ankunft reichliche Tränen? Vielleicht gar, daß diese Tränen nicht die euern sind, sondern meine eigenen'; Waiblinger, p.85: 'Vielleicht fließen gar diese Tränen nicht für euch, sondern einzig und allein für mich?'; Q. Cataudella, *Il romanzo classico*, Firenze 1958, p.1349: 'Come mai accogliete il mio arrivo in lacrime e in singhiozzi? Non vorrei, che codesto pianto avesse proprio a riguardare me'; G. Sandy, p.761: 'I hope the tears don't concern me rather than you'; Konstan, p.94 translates '*meae propriae*: "my own"', and notes: '*propriae* emphasizes the possessive adjective' (my underlining). Very likely we are dealing here with a wordplay between a subj. gen. (*vestrae*: 'your tears') and an obj. gen. (*meae propriae* 'tears for me personally'). (Perhaps *vestrae* could also be an obj. gen.: 'tears for yourselves'.) This possibility inheres in both Greek and Latin: for *meus* as objective genitive, cf. Tibull. 1,9,77 *blanditias meas* ('die mir gehören, mir zukommen' Friedrich, p.433) *aliis tu vendere es ausus?*; OLD, s.v. *meus* (4): 'towards me' 'affecting me'; ThLL VIII 921,20-48. For ἐμός, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐμός (2): 'relating to me', 'against me'; in prose too: Thyc. 6,90 αἱ ἐμαὶ διαβολαί 'slanders against me'; Xen., *Cyr.* 3,1,28 εὐνοίᾳ <...> τῇ ἐμῇ 'goodwill to me'; ibid. 8,3,32 δωρεὰ ἐμή 'a gift to me'. Such a use of possessive pronouns is also found in the Greek Novel: Xen. Eph. 5,10,10 "ἐμὰ", φησὶν "ἐμὰ τὰ ἀναθήματα Λεύκωνος καὶ 'Ρόδης <...>" 'I am the very person the offerings of Leucon and Rhode are for'; esp. in Heliod. (e.g. 5,29,4; 7,20,5; 9,21,3; 10,3,3; 10,37,1). For the train of thought, cf. Achill. Tat. 2,34,7 "Τἀμὰ δακρύεις", ἔφη, "ἢ καὶ σέ τι τοιοῦτον ἐξήγαγε;" '"You weep at my woes," said Menelaus, "Has some similar adventure exiled you too?"' The combination of δάκρυ/δάκρυον with obj. gen. typifies Greek from the earliest times: *Od.* 2,24 τοῦ ὅ γε δάκρυ χέων 'shedding tears, remembering him'. The addition *propriae* marks the use of the obj. gen., implied in *meae* (*lacrimae*). The best translation is offered by

Heraeus in his author's copy ('Ihre Tränen) gelten nicht Ihnen, sondern mir (persönlich)'. Perhaps the Greek read: Μὴ ἄρα ταῦτα τὰ δάκρυα ᾖ (εἴη/εἶεν) ὑμέτερα, ἀλλ' ἐμά (obj. gen.; i.q. ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ). *RB* probably saw through the difficult construction: the omission of *propriae* is classical.

37, RA 16	Scelerata mulier ait cum lacrimis: 'The wicked woman replied tearfully:'
37, RB 17-18	Scelerata cum in tormento esset, ait expressis lacrimis:

in tormento esset (RB): *RB* thinks it necessary to lend further emphasis to *RA*'s simple statement. We would say: 'being on pins and needles'. *RB* freely quotes Luke 16:23 *cum esset in tormentis*. But the original Greek text reads ὑπάρχων ἐν βασάνοις 'in hell, where he was in torments' (said of the dead rich man, tortured in hell, in contrast to Lazarus, comforted in Abraham's bosom). This shows that *RB* probably adds and adapts the words from his own wide reading, like *expressis lacrimis* 'with tears squeezed out', cf. Terent. *Eun.* 68 *falsa lacrimula, quam oculos terendo* <...> *vix vi expresserit*; ThLL V,2 1785,8 ff. (Klebs, p.273 proposes to delete *cum in tormento esset*; Schmeling changes the text against the reading *cum* **βMπ**: *ac si in tormento esset*; id., Notes, pp.395-6 [on ed. 70,11]: 'As if'.)

37, RA 16-17	"Vtinam quidem istud nuntium alius ad aures véstras reférret (*pl.*), et non ego aut coniunx meus. '"If only someone else could bring this news to your ears, not myself or my husband.'
37, RB 18-19	"Vtinam tale nuntium ad aures tuas álius pertulísset (*v.*), non ego nec coniunx meus.

Vtinam <...> **referret** (RA) ~ *Vtinam* <...> *pertulisset* (RB): A classical emendation by *RB* (*irrealis* of the past = pluperf. subjunct.): the actual message has already been brought home by the clothing and attitude of the foster parents. For the change from *referre* to *perferre*, see the next note.

istud (**A**: *istum* **P**) **nuntium** (RA) ~ *tale nuntium* (RB): *Nuntium* as neut. (alongside *nuntius*) also occurs in classical Latin, cf. OLD, s.v. *nuntium*: *Catull.* 63,75 *deorum ad auris nova nuntia referens*; Apul., *Met.* 7,1; 8,6. In Christian Latin too, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *nuntium*: Esth. 8:14 *Egressi sunt veredarii celeres nuntia perferentes* (Gr. *aliter*). It is very common in medieval Latin. Perhaps *nuntium* overlies ἀγγελία 'message, tidings', cf. CGL II 504,40. The change from *istud* to *tale* is classical.

ad aures vestras (**A**: *tuas* **Rα**, *om.* **P**) (RA) ~ *ad aures tuas* (RB): The form *vestras* **A** has been tinkered with in both *RA* and *RB*. Yet the **A** reading is undoubtedly correct: a majestic plural, cf. 19, RA 6 (comm.). If here too (as in 19, RA 6) *RA* goes back to ὑμέτερος in the sense of σός (cf. LSJ, s.v. ὑμέτερος [II]), *RA* indirectly bears witness to Apollonius' high position, cf. Introd. VI.1.

et non <…> aut (RA) ~ *non <…> nec* (RB): The minor omission *et* (RA), i.q. *sed* ~ (RB /) is typical of the difference in stylistic level. For *RA*, cf. Trenkner, *Le style καί*, p.32 (b): 'Le καί adversatif'. For *aut* after negation, cf. LHS II, p.499[4]. The *RB* change is cleverly devised.

37, RA 17-19 Nam scito Tharsiam filiam tuam a nobis subitaneo dolore stomachi fuisse defunctam. "'For you must know that your daughter Tarsia was taken from us, and died of a sudden stomach pain."'

37, RB 19-20 Nam Tharsia filia tua subitanea stomachi dolore defecit."

scito <…> fuisse defunctam (RA) ~ *defecit* (RB): A top-heavy construction in RA; for *scito*, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. imperativus II. *RB* has skilfully reduced the phrase *fuisse defunctam* (= classical: esse defunctam) to one verb: *defecit*, cf. 37, RB 12 *defecisse*. For *deficere* as a euphemistic term for *mori, perire*, cf. ThLL V,1 329,32-84.

a nobis (*fuisse defunctam*) (RA) ~ (RB /): *RA* must mean: 'passed away from us' (abl. of separation), cf. OLD, s.v. *defungor* (sc. *vita*) (3). The 'correction' by Schmeling, p.29,11 *a nobis <nutritam>* is superfluous.

subitaneo dolore stomachi (RA) ~ *subitanea* (**β**: *-o* **π**) *stomachi dolore* (RB): The combination *subitaneus dolor* is common: Seren. Sammon. 882 (tit.) *subitaneo dolori*; Greg. Tur., *Vita Mart.* 3,10 *erat enim subitaneus dolor* (classical Latin: *subitus*). The change in gender (cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, §§ 226-7) soon sees *dolor* turning into fem., cf. ThLL V,1 1837,10-14; Fr. la douleur, Prov. la dolor. Can we compare (?) αἰφνίδιον στομαχικὸν πάθος, cf. LSJ s.v. στομαχικός.

37, RA 19-20	Apollonius ut audivit, tremebundus toto corpore expalluit diuque maestus constitit. 'When Apollonius heard this, he trembled all over and went pale, and stood grief-stricken for a long time.'
37, RB 20-21	Apollonius autem hoc audito toto corpore tremebundus palluit diu.

ut audivit (RA) ~ *hoc audito* (RB): *RA* is stereotypical in formulation, cf. 33, RA 19 *Puella vero, ut haec audivit, toto corpore contremuit*; 37, RA 4-5 *Scelerata mulier hoc audito toto corpore contremuit*. But this does not allow us to emend the present place to *ut haec audivit* (Hunt [1980], p.31). The translation may follow directly from Greek: ὡς ἤκουσε. *RB*'s text is difficult to establish with certainty: I have opted for a combination of the transmitted readings.

expalluit (*hac palluit* **A**; *ac p.* **P**) *diuque maestus constitit* (**A**: *-sistit* **P**) (RA) ~ *palluit diu* (RB): The reading *expalluit* is based on **γ (π)** and is endorsed by almost all editors (Ring, Riese, Tsitslika, Schmeling): rightly so, cf. Ov., *Met.* 4,106 *totoque expalluit ore | Pyramus*; 6,602 (*Philomela*) *horruit infelix totoque expalluit ore*. The origin of the **AP** reading can no longer be traced (*tremebundus* [sc. erat] *ac palluit* is hardly possible). Another manuscript reading *obpalluit* **Rα**, **Va** (**M**, cf. ed. m. [1984], ad loc. 37, RB 26), with the same meaning, is very rare in Late Latin, cf. ThLL IX^{II} 746,65-8 (2 references): Prud. *Perist.* 1,92 *carnifex* <...> *stupore oppaluit*: Coripp., *Ioh.* 7,156 *stupefacta relinquit corda calor subitoque tremens oppalluit ore* (sc. coniunx) (a striking parallel).

diuque maestus constitit (RA): The *HA* has *diu* in both *RA* and *RB*, cf. 1, RA/RB 14 *diu*; 19, RA 10 *diutius* (RB 10 *saepe*); Late Latin likes to use *longo tempore, multo tempore*. For the collocation *maestus consistere*, cf. Petron. 49,6 *despoliatur cocus atque inter duos tortores maestus consistit*; the parallel is probably just a coincidence. The **P** reading may also represent a perf., cf. Banta, loc. cit. p.121. *RB* has preserved one element from both sentences; naturally he changes *expallescere* to *palleo*. (Riese [1893] assumed a lacuna after *diu* (RB): this is hardly correct in the light of the above remarks.)

37, RA 20-21	Sed postquam recepit (-cipit **A**) spiritum, intuens mulierem sic ait: 'When he got his breath back, he looked at the woman and said:'
37, RB 21	"O," inquit,

recipit A, i.q. *recepit*, cf. Banta, loc. cit. p.106 (C 3c): Examples of *-cipi*, esp. from later literature: *accipi, concipi, decipi, excipi, incipi, percipi, praecipi, recipi, suscipi*; Linderbauer, p.179 (on Regula Benedicti 2,69). The expression *recipere spiritum* is a normal Latin idiom, cf. OLD, s.v. *recipio* (13.b): 'to recover, get back one's breath'. The image itself is also found in Greek, with phrases like πνεῦμα ἀφεῖναι, ἀνεῖναι, μεθεῖναι, cf. LSJ, s.v. πνεῦμα: 'to give up the ghost'. The opposite 'to breathe again' is rendered by ἀναφέρω and συλλέγομαι, in the Greek Novel often with modifications like μόλις 'hardly' and ὀψέ 'finally', followed by a verb of speaking, sighing: Charit. 2,7,4 μόλις δὲ ἀνενεγκὼν "Ἡκέτω" φησί 'He managed to recover. "Tell her to come in" he said'; Xen. Eph. 1,9,2 ὀψέ δὲ ὁ Ἁβροκόμης ἀνενεγκὼν 'And at last Habrocomes recovered', cf. 2,3,8; 5,10,11; Heliod. 6,7,3 ὀψέ ποτε τὸ πνεῦμα συλλεξάμενος καὶ ἐπιστενάξας <...> ἔφη 'eventually he gathered his breath and with a deep sigh he said', cf. 1,2,4. In terms of sentence structure too, *RA* probably goes back to a Greek text **R(Gr)**. *RB* likely thought the scene too expansive and confined himself to a nondescript *inquit*.

37, RA 21-22 "Tharsia, filia mea, ante paucos dies discessit (**A**: de- **P**). Numquid pecunia aut ornamenta aut vestes perierunt?" '"My daughter Tarsia died a few days ago. Surely her money and jewels and clothes have not gone too?"'

37, RB 21-23 "O," inquit, "Dionysia, filia mea, ut fingitis, ante paucos discessit dies. Numquid pecunia, vestes et ornamenta perierunt?"

"Tharsia, filia mea, (RA) ~ *"O," inquit, "Dionysia, filia mea* (RB): Even in this painful situation *RB*'s *dramatis personae* do not forget their manners, cf. 6, RB 2 comm.

ante paucos dies discessit (RB *discessit dies*) (RA/RB): For *discedere* as a euphemism for *mori*, cf. OLD, s.v. *discedo* (3.d) 'to depart from life, die': Quint., *Decl.* 247 (p.10,12) *statim discessit post vocem*; Front., *Ant.* 2, p.228 (235 N.) *caelum consalutabo discedens* (more material ThLL V.1 1283,32-71). Very common in Christian Latin, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *discedere* (2): 's'en aller, mourir'; ThLL V,1 1283,50-61. Classical Latin prefers *decedere*, thus **P** and (in RB) Riese (1893), Schmeling (1988), p.70,15. A similar euphemism is found in Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀπέρχομαι (II): 'to depart from life'; ἀπαλλάττομαι, cf. LSJ, s.v. (B.II.2): 'to depart from life'. For other periphrases for 'dying', esp. in Late Greek authors, cf. Thurmayer (1910), pp.17-21.

ut fingitis (RB): *RB* feels compelled to add this remark: “as you pretend”, cf. OLD, s.v. *fingo* (7): ‘to devise, contrive’; ThLL VI.1 776,50 ff. Understandably, both scribes and critics have taken exception to this remark and either omitted (δ) or changed it (*ut dicis* Va, cf. Schmeling [1988], p.116,20 [app. crit.!]). For the critics, cf. Riese (1893) [ut fingitis], Schmeling (1988), p.70,15; Klebs, p.45,4 ‘Eine besonders thörichte Interpolation’. Perhaps *RB* added it with a view to the sarcastic *numquid* which follows.

Numquid (RA/RB): Cf. OLD, s.v. *numquid: ‘Is it really possible that <…>? surely <…> not (implying <…> incredulity, etc.)*’; for *numquid* in the *HA*, cf. also 33, RA 17/RB 16; 50, RA 6/RB 7. In Greek possibly (?) μήποτε οὖν, cf. CGL II 371,9 *Numquid ergo* μήποτε οὖν; or οὔκουν, cf. LSJ, s.v. (II): ‘in impassioned questions’. This first reaction of Apollonius on hearing of his daughter’s death may seem curious, even greedy to us. Yet his reaction is understandable to Antiquity, since the ἐντάφια ‘offerings to the dead’ were sometimes very precious, and desirable objects of plunder, cf. Xen. Eph. 3.8.3 λῃσταί τινες μαθόντες ὅτι κόρη τέθαπται πλουσίως καὶ πολὺς μὲν αὐτῇ κόσμος συγκατάκειται γυναικείος, πολὺς δὲ ἄργυρος καὶ χρυσός, ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον ‘Some pirates had found out that a girl had been given a sumptious burial and that a great store of women’s finery was burried with her, and a great hoard of gold and silver went into the grave <…>.’ See also e.g. Charit. 1,6,1; 1.6.5; 1.6.9; 3,3,4.

CHAPTER 38

38, RA 1-2 Scelesta mulier haec eo dicente secundum pactum ferens atque (adque **A**) reddens omnia sic ait: 'When he said this, the wicked woman fetched everything and handed it over, according to the agreement. She said:'

38, RB 1 Ex parte proferuntur omnia; et dicunt:

Though at first sight these two readings seem to have little in common, one (RB) follows from the other (RA).

Scelesta mulier (RA): In *RA* Dionysias has a distinctly dominant role. A prime example of this is the attempt to murder Tarsia. She is in control in c.37 too. For the form *scelesta,* cf. Ind. verb., s.v.

haec eo dicente (RA): An almost superfluous statement; it refers to 37, RA 13-15 and 21-22.

secundum pactum (RA): The present epitome form no longer talks about an agreement with her husband on the restitution of Tarsia's possessions, cf. 37, RA 10-11 (comm.). The Greek substrate is uncertain, perhaps (?) κατὰ συνθήκην, ἐκ συνθήκης, συνθήκῃ, cf. CGL VII 651 συνθήκη *pactum*. The word συνθήκη is used often in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v.

ferens atque reddens omnia (RA): It is strange that Dionysias would do this by herself. On the other hand the phrase *ferre atque reddere* suggests perhaps not so much Greek φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν (cf. LSJ, s.v. ἄγω 1.3) as the combination of φέρων with another verb, cf. LSJ, s.v. φέρω (X.2): Hom., *Od.* 17,345 δὸς τῷ ξείνῳ ταῦτα φέρων 'take this and give it to the stranger', cf. ibid., 22,146; Plato, *Hipp. Mai.* 282^{e} τοῦτο <…> φέρων τῷ πατρὶ ἔδωκε, cf. Rep. 345^{b}; in the Greek Novel: Achill. Tat. 1,7,1 εὐθὺς ἐχαρίσατο φέρων αὐτῷ τὸν ἵππον 'He gave the horse to his boyfriend outright.'

adque A: This spelling is very frequent and probably authentic, cf. ThLL II 1048,44-52. Major authors avoid *atque/ac*, cf. Löfstedt, *Per.* 86; Baehrens, *GGA* (1915), p.479. In view of these critical remarks, *RB*'s changes are not surprising.

Ex parte βMπ (also in subsidiary redactions RT, RE): 'from aside', cf. Löfstedt, *Coniectanea*, Uppsala 1950 (repr. 1968), p.118. A clever emendation (preserving the basic word shape) by *RB*, for an unspecified *pactum* (RA). Did Dionysias and Stranguillio strike a bargain? RC changes to *placitum*, cf. Schmeling (1988), p.116,22 (app. crit.!).

proferuntur omnia (RB): The passive cleverly overcomes the above-mentioned objection to Dionysias' unassisted activity. In the later textual development this *omnia proferre*, combined with *ex parte*, produces a derived variant reading. *Ex parte* normally means 'partly', cf. OLD, s.v. *pars* (3.c). On the other hand it was hard to believe that the wicked foster parents gave everything back. Hence the splendid variant: (ornamenta, vestes, etc.) *ex parte perierunt et ex parte sunt. Aliqua proferuntur* RC 1.

dicunt (RB): In *RB* the couple present a united front, which adds emphasis to the other verbs in c.38.

38, RA 2-3	"Crede nobis, quia si genesis permisisset, sicut haec omnia damus, ita et filiam tibi reddidissemus. '"Do believe us, if the stars at her birth had permitted it, we would have returned your daughter to you, just as we are returning all this.'
38, RB 1-2	"Crede nobis, quia filiam tuam cupivimus incolumem resignare.

crede nobis, quia (RA/RB): Classical Latin would have followed with *acc. c. inf.*: *crede nobis nos non reddituros fuisse*. Later times prefer the analytical construction with *quia, quod, quoniam*, cf. ThLL IV 1145,5-43; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *credo* and see e.g. 6, RA/RB 3 *scias, quia*. No doubt Greek influence also plays a role in the *HA*, e.g. (?) πίστευε ἡμῖν, ὅτι. This is often the case in translation literature: Mark 11:24 *credite, quia accipietis* (Gr. πιστεύετε, ὅτι ἐλάβετε); Rom. 6:8 *credimus, quia simul etiam vivemus cum Christo* (Gr. πιστεύομεν, ὅτι καὶ συζήσομεν αὐτῷ); Herm. *Pal. vis.* 4,2,4 *credens, quia* <…> *poteras* (Gr. πιστεύσας, ὅτι <…> δύνῃ). This is in line with the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. πιστεύω, (δ): con ὅτι, ὡς: Xen. Eph. 1,11,5 πιστεύω, ὅτι.

si genesis permisisset (RA) ~ (RB /): A remarkable, deliberate omission by *RB* (even Klebs, p.32 says of *RA*: 'echt antike Elemente', but without drawing profit from it). The term *genesis* 'stellar constellation' 'natal star'

originally represents a pagan concept. It is often found in inscriptions as a complaint against premature death, cf. ThLL VI,2 1803,24: CORP. X 4022 *me tibi tullit genesis iniqua*; INSCR. *Röm. Lim. in Öst.* 12,1914, p.337 (s. III): *quem* (filium) *mihi crudelis genesis abstulit*; CE 555,4 *invida fatorum genesis mihi sustulit illam*. Christians adopted this use of the word (cf. the inscription *D.M.*): e.g. CE 1968.4 (a. 336) *o prava genesis, primum qui tulisti maritum*. Christian Rome (catacomb Sant' Agnese) also shows traces of this usage, cf. *I(nscriptiones) C(hristianae) V(rbis) R(omae)* VIII 21136 *concessit genesi* (more information in Kortekaas, 'Enigmas', *Mnem.* LI [1998], pp.183-4 with n.22). Yet apparently the term was still so loaded that *RB* took exception to it. Clearly his elimination removed an antique element of great importance in the **HA(Gr)**, cf. Introd. III.3; VI. We do not know how the collocation *genesis permittit* exactly read in **R(Gr)** or, beyond that, **HA(Gr)**. The lexicons do not offer conclusive evidence under γένεσις (LSJ; *Less.*, s.v. γένεσις; Lampe, s.v. γένεσις and εἱμαρμένη). Perhaps: εἰ ἡ γένεσις ἐπέτρεψεν ἄν.

geneusis P: This spelling probably points to South Italy, cf. U. Westerberg, *Chronicon Salernitanum*, Stockholm 1956, p.224.

sicut haec omnia damus, ita et (RA) ~ (RB /): Expressive language at the handover, left out by *RB*, probably in connection with the change in verb.

tibi reddidissemus (RA) ~ *cupivimus incolumem resignare* (RB): For the structure of *RA* we could perhaps compare Charit. 8,5,12 Ὁ δὲ Ἀρταξέρξης "Εἰ μὲν ἐδυνάμην," ἔφη, "καὶ Καλλιρόην ἂν ἀπέδωκά σοι, Διονύσιε" '"If I could," said Artaxerxes, "I would have restored Callirhoe to you, Dionysius."' Instead of the passionate *irrealis* of the past, *RB* prefers an almost solemn '*cupere*' followed by the technical term '*resignare*' = *reddere*, cf. Hor., *Carm.* 3,29,54 *laudo manentem* (sc. Fortunam): *si celeres quatit / pennas, resigno quae dedit*; id., *Epist.* 1,7,34 *cuncta resigno*, cf. OLD, s.v. *resigno* (2.b) 'to hand over, resign'; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v.: Ben., *Reg.* 55 *vasa* <...> *sana cellarario reconsignet*.

38, RA 3-6 Et ut scias nos non mentiri: habemus huius rei testimonium civium, qui memores beneficiorum tuorum ex aere collato filiae tuae monumentum fecerunt, quod potest tua pietas videre." 'So that you know that we are not lying, we have the testimony of the citizens on this matter. Remembering your benefactions, they have put up a monument to your daughter by subscription, which Your Mercy can see."

38, RB 2-5 Et ut scias nos non mentiri, habemus rei huius testimonium: cives memores beneficiorum tuorum ex aere conlato in proximo litore filiae tuae monumentum fecerunt, quod potes videre."

non mentiri (RA/RB): Apollonius ignores the perjury, unless it is dealt with at the final reckoning in c.50. For perjury, cf. Cumont, p.137.

huius rei testimonium civium, qui (RA) ~ *huius rei testimonium: cives* (RB): *RB* elegantly realigns *RA*, where an obj. gen. (*huius rei*) is linked directly to a subj. gen. (*civium*). For this combination, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. μαρτύριον (b). The phrase itself (*testimonium* = μαρτύριον) occurs often in rhetorical sophistry (Van Groningen, on Herod. 4,118).

memores beneficiorum tuorum (RA/RB): cf. 32, RA 52 *pro meritis ac beneficiis Apollonii* ~ RB 24-25 *ob meritum Apollonii*.

in proximo litore (RB): *RB* returns consistently to this detail, cf. 30, RB 6; 32, RB 25.

potest tua pietas videre (RA) ~ *potes videre* (RB): *RA*'s elegant paraphrase contrasts with *RB*'s sober formulation. In the *HA pietas* sometimes has the value of an honorary term of address, often used to salute emperor and pope in Late Latin from the 4th c. onwards, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. (3). It can be translated with 'Your Mercy', 'Your Honour', cf. Riese (1893), Index, s.v. *pietas*. He refers to (perhaps too early an author) Plin., *Epist.* 10,1,1 (accepted by Klebs, p.235: 'In der Kaiserzeit werden solche Abstrakta zur feststehenden Titulatur'). In later literature the usage is very frequent, like *nobilitas tua*, *felicitas tua*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. nobilitas, felicitas; Bridget O'Brien (Sister Mary), *Titles of Address in Christian Latin Epistolography*, Washington, 1930, *passim*. In particular hagiography provides many examples for *pietas* in relation to Roman emperors (Mombr. I, 534,30; 549,27; 598,4; 604,21; II 171,57; 242,12; 515,12; 529,9; 596,9). Just as *nobilitas* can probably be traced back to ἡ εὐγένειά σου, so *pietas* as

a title of address is likely to go back to εὐσέβεια (said especially of the emperor), less likely to εὐλάβεια (esp. of bishops) or θεοσέβεια (said of bishop and emperor), cf. H. Zilliacus, *Untersuchungen zu den Abstrakten Anredeformen und Höflichkeitstiteln im Griechischen*, Soc. Scient. Fenn. Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum XV,3 Helsingfors 1949; Lampe, s.v. εὐσέβεια (G): 'freq. of emperor'; LSJ (+ Suppl.), s.v. So perhaps:: ἡ σὴ εὐσέβεια. If the above is true, our place also supplies indirect evidence of Apollonius' high position in *RA* and also in **R(Gr)** and **HA(Gr)**, cf. Introd. VI. It is unclear why *RB* simplifies: perhaps he thought the term too unctuous in the mouth of the foster parents.

Dionysias' brazen performance and Apollonius' unexplained gullibility have posed many problems to later versions. A remarkable attempt at rationalization is found in the Old French version *Le romant de Apollin roy de Thir* (c. 1482). In the words of Archibald (V. 24, p.201): 'There is a lengthy account of Dionysias' ruse to deceive the citizens over Tarsia's death, including a grotesque motif probably borrowed from folklore to emphasize the enormity of her villainy: she uses saliva to make false tears for herself and her husband, and puts a dead sheep in the tomb to create an appropriate stench!'

38, RA 6-7	Apollonius credens eam vere esse defunctam ait ad famulos suos: 'Then Apollonius, believing that she was really dead, said to his servants:'
38, RB 5	Credens eam defunctam ad famulos ait:

credens <…> **esse defunctam** (RA) ~ *credens* <…> *defunctam* (RB): For *credo + acc. c. inf.* ThLL 1140,6 notes: 'saepe omittitur *esse'* with series of examples, from 'high' literature too: Verg., *Aen.* 2,43 *creditis avectos hostes; Liv. 1, praef. 2 certius aliquid allaturos se aut scribendi arte rudem vetustatem superaturos credunt* (sc. *novi scriptores*).

38, RA 7-8	"Tollite haec omnia et ferte ad navem: ego enim vado ad filiae meae monumentum." At ubi pervenit, titulum legit: ""'"Take all these things and carry them to the ship. I am going to see my daughter's tomb." When he came to it, he read the inscription:'
38, RB 5-7	"Tollite haec et ferte ad navem; ego vadam ad filiae meae monumentum." At ubi pervenit, legit titulum:

Tollite (RA/RB): Cf. 12, RA 20/RB 23 (comm.)

enim (RA) ~ (RB /): For *enim* as a simple connective (= δέ), cf. ThLL V,2 589,65-591,71; Löfstedt, *Per.* p.34 ff.; Salonius, p.342 ff.

vado (RA) ~ *vadam* (RB): An ordinary correction of tense, cf. Klebs, p.263.

At ubi (RA/RB): Cod. **A** reads *adubi*, which may be original, cf. ThLL I 825,7; II 992,55: 'in codd. et vetustissimis et recentioribus *ad* pro *at* passim legitur', cf. *HA* 45, RA 6; Löfstedt, *Per.*, p.287; Lindenbauer, p.299 (on *Reg. Ben.* 37,15).

38, RA 9-12/RB 8-10	See 32, RA 54-57 ~ RB 27-29 (comm.).
38, RA 13-14	Perlecto titulo stupenti mente constitit. Et dum miratur se lacrimas non posse fundere, maledixit oculos suos dicens: 'When Apollonius read the inscription, he stood stunned. He was amazed that he was unable to cry, and cursed his own eyes, saying:'
38, RB 11-13	Perlecto titulo stupente mente constitit. Et dum se non flere miratur, maledicens oculos suos ait:

titulo (RA/RB): Probably carved into the monument. For the late use of this term, cf. J. Kubińska, *Les monuments funeraires dans les inscriptions grecques de l'Asie mineure,* Warszawa, 1968 p.54: 'Le terme de τίτλος (le latin *titulus*) ne se trouve pas dans cette série d'inscriptions, il semble être plus tardif et n'apparait que dans les inscriptions chrétiennes.' Evidence supporting **R(Gr)**?

stupenti mente (RA) ~ *stupente mente* (RB): Strict grammar requires for adjectival use abl. *-i,* for abl. abs. an abl. ending in *-e*. Scribes often alternate. Adverbs construed with *mente* are very common in Christian and Late Latin, also in the *HA* (cf. 3, RA/RB 1 *simulata mente*), cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 201. The influence of the original form was probably still felt, cf. Hor., *Epod.* 7,16 *mentes perculsae stupent*; Petron. 89, v.41 *stupuere mentes*.

lacrimas posse fundere (RA) ~ *flere* (RB): Probably changed for the sake of brevity and variation, cf. 38, RA 15/RB 13 *lacrimas fundere*; 16, RA 2 *lacrimas effundere* ~ RB 2 *fundere lacrimas*. For *lacrimas fundere*, cf. ThLL VI,1 1564, 42-49.

maledixit (RA: *maledicens* RB) **oculos suos** (RA/RB): In classical Latin *maledicere* (trans.) occurs only in Petron. (in sections with the *sermo vulgaris*); cf. ThLL VIII 164,61-64; OLD, s.v. *maledico* (b): Petron. 58,13 *cave maiorem maledicas*; id. 96,13 *maledic illam versibus*. Its use increases in Christian Latin, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *maledico* (II). From a classical viewpoint, therefore, the combination *maledicere oculos* is very conspicuous (Klebs, p.240 assumes textual corruption: 'spätere Gewohnheiten'). The gesture itself has a striking parallel in the Greek Novel, the so-called Calligone fragment (PSI 981) 18-20 (ed. Zimmermann, p.48,14) ἐλοιδορεῖτο δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ τοῖς αὐτῆς ὀφθαλμοῖς 'she cursed her own eyes too'. There the eyes are also addressed directly, see the next note.

38, RA 14-15 "O crudeles oculi, titulum natae meae cernitis, et lacrimas fundere non potestis (**P**: potetis **A**)! ""O cruel eyes, you see the inscription for my daughter, and you cannot produce tears!'

38, RB 12-13 "O crudelissimi oculi, potuistis titulum natae meae cernere, non potuistis lácrimas fúndere (*t.*)?

crudeles (RA) ~ *crudelissimi* (RB); *cernitis, <…> non potestis* (RA) ~ *potuistis <…> cernere, non potuistis <…> fundere* (RB): A literary elaboration of a simple complaint in *RA* with anadiplosis, parallellism, rhythm and end-rhyme (*cernere, fundere*). The combination *crudeles oculi* does not occur often in Latin: ThLL IV 1226,13-17 mentions only: Ov., *Met.* 14,728 *crudelia lumina*; Stat., *Theb.* 5,510. For the direct apostrophe to eyes, cf. Charit. 6,1,9 ὀφθαλμοὶ δυστυχεῖς, μίαν ὥραν ἔχετε λοιπὸν ἀπολαῦσαι τοῦ καλλίστου θεάματος 'Unhappy eyes! You have one hour left to enjoy that fairest of sights!'; id. 5,9,4 ἁψαμένη τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν "Εἴδετέ," φησι, "Χαιρέαν ὑμεῖς ἀληθῶς;" 'She touched her eyes. "Have you really seen Chaereas?" she said'; Xen. Eph. 1,9,7 φιλοῦσα δὲ αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς "ὦ" φησὶ "πολλάκις με λυπήσαντες ὑμεῖς <…>" 'Anthia kissed Habrocomes' eyes and said to them: "It is you who have often brought me grief <…>."' Cf. also Calligone- fragment (ed. Stephens-Winkler, p.272), ll.18-20 ἐλοιδορεῖτο δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ τοῖς αὐτῆς ὀφθαλμοῖς 'she cursed her own eyes as well'. For the observation as such, cf. Achill. Tat. 3,11,1 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐθρήνουν ἡσυχῇ, κλαίειν δὲ οὐκ ἠδυνάμην. Τοῦτο γὰρ ἴδιον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις κακοῖς, ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς μετρίαις συμφοραῖς ἀφθόνως τὰ δάκρυα καταρρεῖ <…>, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὑπερβάλλουσι δεινοῖς φεύγει καὶ τὰ δάκρυα καὶ προδίδωσι καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς 'Such was my silent soliloquy; I could not weep. Eyes are known to have this property in the larger disasters of life. During moderate disasters, tears flow freely <…> But on occasions of over-

whelming unhappiness, tears simply fail, deserting the battle and leaving the eyes alone', cf. id., 7,4,1. This passage in Achilles Tatius 3,11,1 even found its way into anthologies, cf. J.F. Kindstrand, 'A gnomological collection related to the Corpus Parisinum', in: J.O. Rosenquist, ΛΕΙΜΩΝ, *Studies Presented to Lennart Rydén on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, Uppsala 1996, (pp.143-66) p.160, no.59 ἴδιον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐν μὲν τοῖς μεγάλοις κακοῖς τὸ μὴ ἐκχέειν δάκρυα, ἐν δὲ ταῖς μετρίαις συμφοραῖς ἀφθόνως τὰ δάκρυα καταρρεῖν. 'This is the specific property of the eyes: in great disasters they fail to produce tears, in minor diseases tears flow freely.'

et <…> **potestis** (RA) ~ *potuistis* (RB): For the omission of *et* (i.q. et tamen), cf. above 37, RA 17 ~ (RB /).

potetis A: The regularization of *possum* to a verb of the second conjugation **potere* started early, esp. in popular writings, and greatly influenced the Romance languages, cf. It. *potere*, Fr. *pouvoir*, Sp. *poder*. It becomes general in the 6th c. The reading *potetis* **A** may therefore be authentic, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, §§ 31,315,320.

38, RA 15-16	O me miserum! Puto, filia mea vivit." 'Alas! I think my daughter is alive."'
38, RB 13-14	Heu, me miserum! Puto, filia mea vivit."

O (RA) ~ *Heu* (RB): The *RA* reading is of course frequent, cf. ThLL IX,2 4,82: Cic., *Mil.* 102 *o me miserum, o me infelicem*; id., *Att.* 7,23,1; Sen., *Contr.* 2,3,6. *RB*'s variation is hard to explain: perhaps *heu* is more classical, cf. OLD, s.v. *heu*: Plaut., *Aul.* 721 *Heu me miserum, misere perii*; Turp., *Com.* 117 *heu me infelicem*; Sen., *Phaed.* 997 *Hippolytus, heu me, flebili leto occubat*; ThLL VI,3 2672,49-56. Apollonius' statement is in fact highly curious: the suspicion that someone is still alive does not call for a lament! Hence Welser leaves out the entire utterance, Peters the second part (p.147: 'Ich unglücklicher Mann! [Noch lebt, glaube ich, meine Tochter]'; on p.178 he notes: 'offenbar altes Einschiebsel'). The observation itself can only be explained by looking at the underlying pattern of **HA(Gr)**. Apollonius has a fearful premonition that he is standing in front of a κενοτάφιον 'empty tomb'. Perhaps his daughter is still alive and therefore the power of fate over him may yet lead to incest, despite a 14-year sojourn in Egypt. Hence his reaction in l.19 *proiciens se in subsannio navis*, cf. c.37 (introd.); Introd. VI.1. A Greek substrate text is of course subjective. The Greek Novel likes to use οἴμοι, cf. *Less.*, s.v. 'ahimé, povero me' (Charit. 2x; Achill. Tat. 10x; Heliod. 6x); *puto*, like νομίζω, is often used interjectionally: *Martyrium Petri et Pauli*, c.28 (ed. Bonnet-Lipsius, p.142,16) τότε ὁ Νέρων πρὸς τὸν Σίμωνα

εἶπεν· τί ἦν, Σίμων; νομίζω, ἡττήθημεν ~ (p.143,15) *Tunc Nero ad Simonem dixit: Quid est, Simon? puto, victi sumus*. Finally *vivit* = (?) ζῇ, 'he/she is living', esp. used thus in funerary inscriptions in Asia Minor, cf. McLean (2005[4]), § 11.02 The Preparation of Epitaphs, *etc.* p.267.

38, RA 16-17 Et haec dicens rediit ad navem atque ita suos adlocutus est dicens: 'With these words he returned to the ship and addressed his men as follows:'

38, RB 14 Et veniens ad navem ait ad suos:

A skilful reduction by *RB*, the more so because *haec dicens* basically repeats (14) *dicens*.

38, RA 17 "Proicite me in subsannio navis; cupio enim in undis efflare spiritum, quem in terris non licuit lumen videre." '"Throw me in the hold of the ship, for I want to breathe my last at sea, since I have not been allowed to see the light on land."'

38, RB 14-16 "Proicite me in sentinam navis; cupio enim in undis effluere spiritum, quem in terris non licuit."

in subsannio navis (RA) ~ *in sentinam navis* (RB): This hybrid, Latin-Greek form is authentic to *RA*, cf. Introd. II.2. It derives from the combination of *sub* (= ὑπό) and σανίς/σανίδωμα ('planking'), as established by Riese (1871, p.XII; 1893, Index, p.129 s.v.). The term *subsannium* is found in just a few places in the *HA*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. As here, *RB* does his best to avoid it, though without being entirely consistent. Apart from these places in the *HA*, the word *subsannium* 'the hold' is recorded only in a hagiographical source, the *Passio Felicis* (Papae Romae 268-274) (Bibl. Hagiogr. Lat. 2894-5; ed. H. Delehaye, *Anal. Boll.* 39 [1921], pp.241-274, p.257, *versio* **N**) *Felix vero episcopus* (bishop of Thibiuca in N. Africa) *navem conscendit catenarum duris nexibus conligatus et fuit in subsannio navis* (*in capsa navis*, versio **V**, Delehaye loc. cit., p.250) *quattuor diebus et noctibus iacens sub pedibus equorum, panem non comedens nec aquae quippiam bibens*. (Felix was apparently aboard a so-called ναῦς ἱππαγωγός 'a ship, carrying horses', cf. LSJ, s.v.) This text is dated by the *Cl(avis) P(atrum) L(atinorum)* 'before 325'. Prisoners inside the space of the *subsannium* were often exposed to ridicule. Hence the popular etymology *subsannium*, instead of *subsanium* (cf. 38, RA 19 *Proiciens se in subsanationem eius*), together with *subsannare*,

'to mock', cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *subsanno* 'se moquer de' (recorded esp. in Christian authors, with many derivatives like *subsannatio*, *subsannator*). *RB* probably recognized this very vulgar term from the mediterranean Greco-Latin language area (in contrast to 11, RA/RB 10 *clypeum*) and replaced it with the properly classical word *sentina*, in line with his objectives, cf. Introd. III. (A word like *capsus* was probably far beyond the ken of *RB*, cf. ThLL III 362,39 and Blatt, *Acta Andreae*, p.45,21.) In conclusion: there is probably no place in the *HA* more suitable for clarifying the Late Christian character of *RA* and also the *RA-RB* relationship (Klebs, p.274 ignores the issue; Schmeling [1988], *Indices*, p.142 s.v. subsannium confines himself to listing the chapters: 38,39,40; ed. m. [1984], p.60, 100). It is impossible to determine the original form in **R(Gr)** and ultimately **HA(Gr)**. A form like κατάστρωμα 'deck' or σανίδωμα 'planking', is less likely, since the space under the deck is meant. The Greek Novel likes to talk about ἡ κοίλη τοῦ πλοίου / τῆς νεώς, cf. LSJ, s.v. κοῖλος: ἡ κοίλη 'hold': Charit. 3,3,14 Χαιρέας μὲν γὰρ ἐν κοίλῃ νηῒ συγκεκαλυμμένος ἔκλαιεν 'Chaereas was in the body of the ship weeping, his head covered up'; id. 8,3,4 Ἐτύχανε δὲ ἐκείνη <...> ἐν κοίλῃ νηΐ, ὅλως οὐδὲν ἐπισταμένη τῶν γεγενημένων 'Statira was in the hold of a ship <...> She knew nothing at all of what had happened'; Long. 2,29,1 αἱ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων αἰπόλων αἶγες καὶ τὰ πρόβατα καὶ τὰ βουκόλια κατὰ χώραν ἔμενεν ἐν κοίλῃ νηΐ 'But the goats of the other goatherds, and the sheep and the cows, stayed in the hold'; cf. Heliod. 5,24,2; an interesting reference is *Acta Andreae* (ed. Blatt) p.45,21 (Jesus to one of the angels on board): *surge et descende in capsum navis et affer inde tres panes*; Gr. (p.44,17) Ἀναστὰς κάτελθε εἰς τὴν κοίλην τοῦ πλοίου καὶ ἀνένεγκε τρεῖς ἄρτους. Perhaps we can conclude from this material that the term *subsannium* was an innovation in relation to **R(Gr)** and **HA(Gr)**. (Garbugino, p.45 with n.71 doubts the originality of the reading *subsannium*: 'soltanto in RA'. But compare 39, RA 25/RB 23.)

efflare spiritum (RA) ~ *effluere* (**β**: *efflare* **Mπ**) *spiritum* (RB): *RA*'s reading 'breathe out my spirit', i.e. 'breathe my last' as a euphemism for *mori, exspirare,* has general currency in Latin, cf. OLD, s.v. *efflo* (1.b): '"to breathe one's last, expire" (also without *animam*)'; ThLL V,2 190,34-62. From Late Latin, e.g. Greg. Magn., *Dial.* 2,37 p.132,16 *ultimum spiritum inter verba orationis efflavit*. The image itself occurs in many variations in Greek: e.g. ἀποψύχειν, ἐκψύχειν, τὴν ψυχὴν/πνοὴν ἀφιέναι, ἐκπνεῖν βίον, also in the Greek Novel: e.g. Achill. Tat. 2,30,2 εἰ δέ με ἀπελθόντες καταλίποιτε, βρόχον πλεξαμένη τὴν ψυχήν μου οὕτως ἀφήσω 'If you go and leave me behind, I will hang myself.' So the picture of Apollonius here, grieving in the hold and wanting to end his life, without food or drink, is entirely in keeping with the ancient Novel. Klebs, p.289 proposes to trace the motif exclusively back to Apul., *Met.* 4,35 (parents of Psyche); id. 8,7 (Charite).

Rather it is a τόπος. Apollonius regards himself as an outcast, a victim of fate: Charit. 6,2,8 Χαιρέας δὲ οὐχ ἥπτετο τροφῆς οὐδὲ ὅλως ἤθελε ζῆν 'But Chaireas would not touch food; he had lost all desire to live'; Achill. Tat. 4,9,5 τί γάρ με καὶ ζῆν ἔτι δεῖ· 'Why should I continue to live?'. For the intended manner of death '*in undis*', i.e. to be carried away by the waves, see 6, RA 20 *tradidit se alto pelago* (comm.).

The motive for this self-destruction is supplied by Apollonius' next words: 'who was not allowed to see the light on land'. This is probably a direct translation from Greek: (?) ᾧ οὐ θέμις ἦν (ἐστὶ) τοῦτον/αὐτὸν ἐν γῇ ὁρᾶν φάος. For in the relative clause *quem non licuit lumen videre* we should take *ego* as antecedent (implicit subject of *cupio*); this *quem* functions as subject accusative with *videre*. For the construction we can find parallels in *peto, permitto*, cf. 24, RA 17/RB 14; 33, RA 12/RB 11; 41, RA 32/RB 30. In the corresponding Greek form the phrase *lumen videre* occurs within the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. ὁράω (β): ἥλιον ὁρᾶν 'vivere': Charit. 2,11,2; Xen. Eph. 1,11,5; 2,1,6; 3,8,2. Perhaps we can see it even more directly as a reminiscence of Homer, e.g. *Il.* 24,558 ζώειν καὶ ὁρᾶν φάος ἠελίοιο. A formulation in this vein, but with negative meaning, is often found in funerary inscriptions from Asia Minor, cf. Strubbe, *Lampas* (1983), p.254 αὐγῆς φάος λίποιτο κὲ ἡλίου τὸ φῶς 'might he leave the light of the sun and its brilliance'. In my view, however, the words in the *HA* are not only used in the ordinary sense of 'daylight', but also in the specific sense of 'my daughter'. Both φάος and *lumen* can be taken figuratively in this way, cf. Hom., *Od.* 16,23 ἦλθες, Τηλέμαχε, γλυκερὸν φάος; 'You really are returned, Telemache, sweet light of my eyes', cf. ibid. 17,41; for *HA*, cf. 45, RA 3 *Tharsia,* <...> *tu es lumen oculorum meorum*. *RB* has eliminated most of this expressive formulation.

It is uncertain why *RB* has changed to *effluere* tr. Perhaps to introduce a more literary form, over against sober *efflare*, cf. ThLL V,2 194,63, s.v. *effluere* (tr.) ff. (with exx. from Lucr., Petron., Flor. *anth.*, Claudian., Carm. epigr.). Perhaps on account of the unpleasant association *efflare* = *exsufflo*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *efflo*: 'rejeter': Ps. Aug., *Adv. Fulg. Don.* 14 *Qui Spiritum Sanctum exflatis*. The beautiful phrase *lumen videre* (RA) has been cut out too. *RB* evidently wants to read: *quem* (sc. spiritum) *in terris non licuit* (sc. effundere).

38, RA 19-20 Proiciens se in subsannio navis sublatis ancoris altum pelagus petiit, iam ad Tyrum reversurus. 'He threw himself in the hold, they weighed anchor and he made for the open sea in order to return to Tyre' ~ (RB /).

For the chapter division compared with Riese (1893), cf. ed. m. [1984], ad loc.

in subsanationem eius P: For the meaning ‘to his ridicule’, cf. above (l.17) *subsannio* (comm.).

sublatis ancoris (RA): A standing expression in Latin, cf. ThLL II 30,64 ff. The act itself is often mentioned in the Greek Novel: Charit. 8,2,7 ἀγκύρας ἀνῄρουν ‘They weighed anchor’; Achill. Tat. 2,32,1 τὰς ἀγκύρας ἀνέσπων ‘rigging being hauled up’; Long. 2,29 πρὶν ἀνασπάσαι τὰς ἀγκύρας ἔπλεον αἱ νῆες ‘Before (the Methymneans) had pulled up the anchors, the ships started to sail.’

altum pelagus (**P**: *pelagum* **A**) **petiit**: The phrase is stereotypical, cf. 28, RA 17 (RB *aliter*); 32, RA 6 (RB 5-6 *alto pelago*); 38, RA 19-20 (RB /). For the reading *pelagum* **A**, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *pelagus* (with references: Prob.; Tert., *Iud.* 3; Hier., *In Psalm.* p.43,21; Cass., *Varr.* 8,10); Arnaldi, *Lexicon Italicum*, s.v. *pelagus* (with references: Anon. Plac. 198,1; *Pass. Terentii Pisaurentis* 23,13); E. Tidner, *Sprachlicher Kommentar zur lateinischen Didascalia Apostolorum*, Stockholm 1938, p.247; Vit. Patr. 7,12,1 (Migne 73, p.184) *Quomodo ergo et navigare tantum pelagum praesumpsisti?* Perhaps we can conclude from these mainly Italian sources that *pelagum* **A** is authentic.

iam ad Tyrum reversurus (RA): This statement is actually at odds with Apollonius’ intended self-destruction. It is probably a mistake by **R(Gr)**, influenced by other novels, e.g. Xen. Eph. 5,6,2 (in a virtually identical situation) Διέγνω οὖν ἀποπλεύσας ἐκ Σικελίας εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀνελθεῖν κἀκεῖθεν <...> εἰς Ἔφεσον πλεῦσαι πλοῦν δυστυχῆ ‘So he decided to sail from Sicily to Italy, and from there, <...> to make the unhappy voyage back to Ephesus.’ **HA(Gr)** must have read differently here, with a detailed explanation, cf. 39, RA/RB 3 (comm.). *RA*’s final sentence (19-20) was merely an enumeration of evident matters for *RB*. Only the one important element of Apollonius’ plans, *iam ad Tyrum reversurus*, was considered worthy of inclusion (cf. 39, RB 1 *Tyro reversurus*, cf. app. crit.), with omission of the significant *iam* and also ‘correction’ of *ad* + city name (RA), grammatically accepted for Vulgar and Late Latin (cf. Väänänen, *Introduction* § 248), to the elegant final dative.

CHAPTER 39

The main subject of chapters **39-47** is the mutual recognition of Apollonius and Tarsia. The introduction of Tarsia's song (c.41) and her riddles shows that *RA*'s contribution compared with **R(Gr)** is a large one. (According to Klebs, p.223 'in erheblicher Weise in **R** abgeändert', but no further evidence is provided.) As regards the story, *RA* follows his model **R(Gr)** quite accurately (for the nature of the adaptation, see below 39, RA 3/5 *Neptunalia*).

39, RA 1	Qui dum prosperis ventis navigat, subito mutata est pelagi fides. 'He was sailing with favourable winds, when the sea suddenly changed its trustworthy mood,'
39, RB 1-2	Et dum navigat prosperis ventis Tyro revers<ur>us, subito mutata est pelagi fides.

Qui dum prosperis ventis navigat (RA /; *navigat pr. ventis* RB), **subito mutata est pelagi fides** (RA/RB), cf. 11, RB 5-6 *Qui dum ventis prosperis navigat, subito mutata est pelagi fides*.
navigat (RA) ~ *navigat <…> Tyro reversurus* (RB): For *RB*'s addition, see 38, RA 20 *iam ad Tyrum reversurus*, cf. Introd. VII.2.
pelagi fides (RA/RB), cf. 11, RA/RB 6 (app. font.).

39, RA 2-3	Per diversa discrimina maris iactantur: omnibus dominum rogantibus ad Mytilenam civitatem advenerunt. 'They were tossed about in various dangerous situations. All prayed to the Lord, upon which they arrived at the city of Mitylene.'
39, RB 2-3	Per diversa maris discrimina iactatur; omnibus deum rogantibus ad My<tile>nam civitatem devenerunt.

discrimina maris (RA/RB): This must mean: 'dangers', cf. ThLL V,1 1359,61 *sqq*.ff.: 'i.q. *periculum, res dubiae*: Rufin., *Basil. hom.* 1,3 *discrimen marinum*,' cf. CGL II 526,9; 535,31 *discrimen* κίνδυνος ('danger, hazard, venture'). This κίνδυνος is often used in combination with τῆς θαλάσσης

'peril on the sea', cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. κίνδυνος (Plato, *Euthyd.* p.279^{E}; Plut., *Mor.* 603^{E}; 2 Cor. 11,:26 κινδύνοις ἐν θαλάσσῃ). The combination is also found in the Greek Novel: Heliod. 2,4,1 κινδύνοις θαλασσῶν <…> ὑποβαλοῦσα 'exposing us to perils on the sea'. The last verb plausibly suggests a reading (?) βάλλονται/ῥίπτονται in **R(Gr)** too.

iactantur (RA) ~ *iactatur* (**βM**): An appropriate verb, cf. ThLL VII 53,45-83. Combinations with *per* are particularly favoured: Ov., *Epist.* 7,88 *per mare, per terras*; Sen., *Dial.* 6,10,6 *per* <…> *maria*; Iustin. 3,4,11 *per varios casus*. The subject in *RA* is 'Apollonius and his crew', in *RB* 'Apollonius' ship', cf. *navis iactatur* π. The reading *iactatur* **βM** agrees with 11, RB 10 *corripitur* **b**, both places without *navis* (cf. app. crit.).

omnibus dominum (**A**: *deum* **βMπ**) **rogantibus** (RA/RB): Both the omission by **P** in *RA* and the change from *dominum* (dm̃n) to *deum* (dm̃) in *RB* are completely understandable: *dominus* may also be the *dominus navis*, cf. 39, RA 23-24/RB 23. The reference is obviously to *Dominus/Deus* (*Christianorum*). The phrase itself can be regarded as a general human reaction. It is not out of place in a Christian text like *RA* and *RB*. But it may also derive directly from **R(Gr)**, where such gestures are virtually standard, cf. *Vita Porphyrii* c.56: πλεύσαντες δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ῥόδου καὶ εὐπλοήσαντες ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δύο <…> ἄφνω κινεῖται χειμών, ἄνεμοί τε καὶ ἀστραπαὶ καὶ βρονταὶ καὶ τρικυμίαι <…> καὶ ὑψοῦτο τὸ πλοῖον, ὡς ἡμᾶς νομίζειν φθάνειν τὰ νέφη. Ἦσαν δὲ κραυγαὶ καὶ δάκρυα καὶ δεήσεις πρὸς τὸν θεόν. 'After having sailed from Rhodes with beautiful weather for two days, suddenly a tempest arose, hurricanes, flashes of lightning, thunder, mighty waves <…>. Our ship was lifted up so high that we believed we would reach the sky. Shouting, tears, prayers to the Lord.'; Synes., *Epist.* 3, p.641^{c} (shipwreck threatens) πρὸς τοῦτο αἴρεται θόρυβος <…> ἀνδρῶν οἰμωγή, γυναικῶν ὀλολυγή, ἅπαντες ἐθεοκλύτουν 'in view of this, panic arose, shouts of men, cries of women, all invoked the Deity'. The gesture would even be wholly appropriate in a pagan context, cf. Herpyllis novel (ed. Kussl, p.109; Stephans, p.168) προσεκύνου[ν δὲ καὶ] προσεύχοντο πάντες 'Everyone was worshipping them and praying to them' (probably referring to the Dioscuri in connection with St Elmo's Fire). For such a *votum in tempestate* Kussl, p.126 n.85 refers to D. Wachsmuth, Πόμπιμος ὁ δαίμων. *Untersuchungen zu den antiken Sakralhandlungen bei Seereisen*, Diss. Berlin, 1967, p.435 ff. This material shows that the transition from the pagan θεὸς/θεοὶ σωτῆρες 'tutelary Gods', invoked when danger threatens (**HA[Gr]**), to *Dominus/Deus Christianorum* (RA/RB) was easy to make in practice.

advenerunt (**A**) ~ *devenerunt* (**P**, RB): For **P**, *RB*, cf. 8, RA 3 *devenit*. The adversative asyndeton (cf. *omnibus tamen* **π**) is particularly effective. It is

clear that we are dealing with an epitome text here: a storm so severe that a ship on its way to Tyre is blown off course and arrives, in the opposite direction, precisely in Mytilene cannot be disposed of in a single, stereotypical line: **HA(Gr)** must have said more about the decisive role of the waves, in combination with fate. A happy outcome after a storm occurs frequently in the Greek Novel: Achill. Tat. 3,5,5; Heliod. 1,22,4; 5,22,7; 5,27,7. For the coincidence of the subject of the abl. abs. with the subject of the main clause, cf. Horn (1918), p.29.

ad Mytilenam civitatem (RA/RB): Cf. 33, RA/RB 1 (comm.).

39, RA 3-4	Ibique Neptunalia festa celebrabantur. Quod cum cognovisset Apollonius, ingemuit et ait: 'The feast of Neptune was being celebrated there. When Apollonius learned this, he groaned and said:'
39, RB 3-6	Gubernator cum omnibus plausum dedit. Apollonius ait: "Quis sonus hilaritatis aures meas percussit?" Gubernator ait: "Gaude, domine, hodie Neptunalia esse." Apollonius ingemuit et ait: 'The helmsman and all the rest clapped their hands. Apollonius asked: "What are these sounds of mirth which have reached my ears?" The helmsman said: "Rejoice, lord, today is the feast of Neptune." Apollonius groaned and said:'

Ibique (**AP**), in *RC* too (Schmeling p.117,17: *ibique* **Va**): In some places *que* is redundant ('*que*' *abundat*) and sometimes even intrusive in the context. *RB* often corrects, cf. 39, RA 13 *Quique* **P** (*RB aliter*); 43, RA 4 *Meque manibus mittunt* **AP** (RB *meque manus*); ibid. RA/RB 8 *manibus missa manibusque remittitur*; 50, RA 21 *Quique* **P** (*RB aliter*). For this 'erstarrtes *que*', cf. Löfstedt, *Verm. Stud.* 42; Linderbauer, p.257; Hoppenbrouwers (1960), p.112 n.12; Adams (1976), pp.26,77.

Neptunalia festa (RA) ~ *Neptunalia* (RB): A slight adaptation of *RA* by *RB*, who uses the more common name. The term alludes to the Greek/Latin Ποσειδώνια/*Neptunalia*, cf. LSJ, *s.v.* Ποσειδώνιος III; OLD, s.v. *Neptunalia*; *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, s.v. *Neptunus*. Little is known about the actual celebration of this festival, held in the Greek/Roman Empire (obviously in coastal areas), traditionally on July 23rd. It is clear that, at the moment of Apollonius' arrival, the people were celebrating precisely this festival in

honour of Ποσειδῶν. There is little we can say about the exact details of the festival, cf. M. Vandoni, *Feste pubbliche e private nei documenti greci*, Milano 1964, p.167; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, München 1912 (repr. 1971), p.229 with nn.3, 4; J. Toutain, *Les cultes païens dans l'empire romain* I, Paris 1905-1917 (repr. Rome 1967), pp.372-80. In any case it probably had the form of a naval review, with a festive banquet. Evidently it was a real 'party' (cf. 39, RA 23 *licenter*), with ladies of pleasure (cf. 40, RA 22 ff.), here in the person of Tarsia. In **HA(Gr)** it bore a distinctly heathen stamp on account of its licentiousness. Nevertheless this festival survived Christianity for quite some time and could therefore figure in both *RA* and *RB*. Such Ποσειδώνια do not occur in the Greek Novel; in terms of word type they would fit perfectly there. An extremely fortunate find in Mytilene(!) reports that an unspecified sum of money has been spent on the festival of Poseidon (τὰ Ποσειδαῖα), cf. Introd. IV.2.1 and LSJ, s.v. Ποσιδήϊος [III], there under the variant form τὰ Ποσίδεα. The staging in the *HA* in particular is highly skilful: meetings, recognition scenes (as here between father and daughter) traditionally take place in the Greek Novel during this kind of public event, cf. Rohde[3], p.135; P. Boulhol, 'ΑΝΑΓΝΩΡΙΣΜΟΣ, Publications de l'Université de Provence, 1996, *passim*. In Xen. Eph. 5,10-11 the main hero Hippothoos is reunited with his beloved Anthia in Rhodes during the Ἁλίεια τὰ μέγαλα, a four-yearly festival in honour of Zeus Helios, in the same way that Apollonius finds his daughter again, cf. Ruiz-Montero, (1983-84) p.312. The *Nachleben* had problems dealing with the *Neptunalia*: corruptions occurred at an early stage, e.g. in RC *natalicia* (*natalia* **ε**), cf. Schmeling [1988], p.117,17. From *RC* the neologism entered the *Gesta Romanorum* (Klebs, pp.365, 368, n.1), the *Libro de Apollonio* (Klebs, p.390; Archibald, pp.189-90), Timoneda (Klebs, p.402; Archibald, pp.210-1). It became 'the birthday' of Apollonius, or of Athenagoras, or even of Christ (= Christmas!), cf. Singer, p.81; Nillson, p.86. Unfortunately this festival is not mentioned in M. Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien* (Vestigia 35), München 1988. (Purely on the basis of a two-line report in Ausonius [c. 310-395, born in Burdigala (Bordeaux)], viz. Ecl. 23,19 *cultum, quem Neptunalia dicunt*, 21 <...> *festa haec navigiis*, Garbugino, p.92, in my view wrongly, proposes to assume, within his conception of the textual genesis of the *HA*, that the Christianization of *RA* and *RB* took place in South France. As the above shows, he puts too much emphasis on the Latin sphere.)

cognovisset (RA) ~ *Gubernator cum omnibus plausum dedit. Apollonius ait: "Quis sonus hilaritatis aures meas percussit?" Gubernator ait: "Gaude, domine, hodie Neptunalia esse"* (RB). Here begins a coherent series of minor adjustments made by *RB* in relation to *RA*, with a view, I believe, to increasing the logical flow of the story: in terms of substance they offer little that is new and necessery. See also *RA* 5-7; RB 12-13 (role of the *dispensator*); *RA* 15 ~

RB 15-17; *RA* 16 *Invitamus* ~ RB 18 *Invitemus*; *RA* 26 *ad gubernum* ~ RB 25 *ad unum de servis*. The changes are often very stylistic, cf. RB 24-25. Thus the sentence *Gubernator* <…> *Neptunalia esse* merely serves to explain how Apollonius' attention could be so strongly drawn, despite his hiding-place.

plausum dedit (RB): A general sign of joy, among Greek and Romans alike, cf. Sittl, *Gebärden*, p.10. For Latin, cf. ThLL VIII 345,20: Liv. 5,7,9 *voce manibusque significare* <…> *laetitiam*; Sen., *Suas.* 2,17 p.543,3 *sublatis manibus* <…> *exclamat "gaudeo"*; Petron. 18,7 *complosis manibus in risum effusa est*; Iul. Val. 1,1 *plausum dans manibus magno risu dissiliebat*. The gesture is particularly frequent in hagiography: Pass. Caecil. c.18 (ed. Delehaye, p.210): *dabant plausum manibus*; Mombr. I 378,34; II 604,33. In the Greek Novel we can refer to e.g. Achill. Tat. 1,7,3 ἀνακροτήσας οὖν τὰς χεῖρας ἐξεγέλασε 'with a clap of his hands and a laugh he stood up'; id. 7,15,3 ὁ μὲν δὴ Κλεινίας ἀνεκρότησε παιανίσας 'Kleinias started clapping his hands and singing the paean.' For the situation, cf. Charit. 3,3,15 Θορύβου δὲ γενομένου Χαιρέας ἤρετο τίς ἡ αἰτία 'This caused a commotion, and Chaireas asked what the matter was.'

sonus hilaritatis (RB): A poetic circumlocution for: *hilaris sonus*. This kind of gen. of quality is often found in Late Latin and esp. in Christian authors, cf. Blaise, *Man.* § 85. The place itself is lacking in ThLL VI 2785, 27-87 under the heading *speciatim convivantium*.

aures meas percussit (RB): A literary formulation, cf. ThLL II 1512,16-21 (examples Sen., *Ag.* 6,35; Lucan. 6,163; Petron. 68; Sil. 6,568; Iuv. 4,11,197). It seems fair to conclude that *RB*'s further statement is based on a certain familiarity with this kind of text and wide literary reading.

ingemuit et ait (RA/RB), cf. 29, RA 10/RB 9 (comm.); 41, RA/RB 14.

39, RA 4-6 "Ergo omnes diem festum celebrant praeter me! Sed ne lugens ét avarus videar! '"So everyone is celebrating this holiday except me! But apart from being mournful, I must not also seem avaricious!'

39, RB 6-7 "Ergo hodie praeter me omnes dies festos celebrent!" Et vocavit dispensatorem suum et ait: "Ne non lugens, sed amarus esse videar!

omnes <…> **praeter me!** (RA) ~ *hodie praeter me omnes* (RB): *RB*'s transposition probably follows from the placement of the verb at the end; *hodie* is an almost evident addition.

diem festum (RA) ~ *dies festos* (RB): Feast-days in neut. pl., but *dies* in sing.: Plaut., *Poen.* 497 *die bono, Aphrodisiis*; ibid. 758 *die festo celebri nobilique Aphrodisiis*: Varro (in Diom. 43,487 K) *Liberalibus, die festo*; Catull. 14,14 *Continuo ut die periret Saturnalibus, optimo dierum!*; Macr. 1,10,18 *ex his ergo omnibus colligi potest et uno die Saturnalia fuisse*. This grammatical practice holds good in Greek too, cf. Lucian., *Dialogi meretr.* 7,4 (a mother to her hetaera daughter): σήμερον ʽΑλῷά ἐστι. τί σοι δέδωκεν ἐς τὴν ἑορτήν· 'today it is "harvest home"; your lover, what has he given you for the feast?' *RB* probably adopts the plural on the view that the festival lasts several days.

celebrant (RA) ~ *celebrent* (RB): *RA*'s sad but realistic indicative is modulated in *RB* to subjunctive for the sake of the story; *celebrare* is the technical term, cf. ThLL III 742,35 f.

Sed ne lugens ét (= etiam) **avarus videar** (RA) ~ *Et vocavit dispensatorem suum et ait: "Ne non lugens, sed amarus* (**βMπ**) *videar!* (RB): In my view, *RB* reverses the order – first the calling of the *dispensator*, then Apollonius' complaint – because he wants to introduce a character charged with the practical side of things. The formulation of the complaint has not become any clearer. We need to combine *non lugens, sed amarus* (bitter) **βMπ**. In this sense the *RB* reading can be retained against *avarus*, which at first sight may seem more attractive and is preferred by RErfurt and some editors. The two adjectives are often interchanged in manuscripts.

39, RA 6-7	Sufficit enim servis meis poena, quod me tam infelicem sortiti sunt dominum." Et vocans dispensatorem suum ait ad eum : 'It is punishment enough for my servants that fate has sent them such an unhappy master." He called his steward and said to him:'
39, RB 8-9	Sufficiat servis meis ad poenam, quod me tam infelicem dominum sortiti sunt.

Sufficit enim (RA) ~ *Sufficiat* (RB): A characteristic difference: *RA* refers to the fate-determined situation of Apollonius and his crew. *RB* uses the same term to justify a day of fun. *Sufficio* (cf. OLD, s.v. *sufficio* (7): 'to be adequate'; ibid. (7.b): 'it suffices') agrees in construction with ἀρκέω (cf. *Less.*, s.v. (2): 'bastare' 'esser sufficiente')/ἀρκεῖ, ὅτι: Charit. 4,3,10 οὐκ ἤρκεσεν ὅτι γυνὴ γέγονας ἄλλου Χαιρέου ζῶντος, γέγονας δὲ καὶ μήτηρ 'it was not enough to become another man's wife while Chaereas was still alive – you became a mother too.'

sortiti sunt dominum (RA) ~ *dominum sortiti sunt* (RB): *Sortior* often retained its etymological connection with *sors*, cf. OLD, s.v. *sortior* (4): 'to receive as one's portion', 'acquire' (sts. pregnant = 'to be cursed or blessed with'). For the combination *dominum sortiri*, cf. Plin., *Epist.* 1,3,4 *reliqua rerum tuarum post te alium atque alium dominum sortientur*; Mart. 8,78,12 *sortitur dominos*; Iuven., *Sat.* 3,8,179 *quid facias talem sortitus, Pontioe, servum*; Prud., *Apoth.* 551 *subditur* (sc. terra) *imperio* (sc. Christi) *dominos sortita fideles*. This connection with *sors* was probably sensed by *RA*, not by *RB*, cf. 23, RB 5 (comm.): in that case he would have eliminated the verb, cf. Introd. III.3. It is natural to assume a link with λαγχάνω (cf. Riese [1872], Praef. XII).

ait ad eum (RA) ~ *ait* (RB, l.7): In abridging as usual, *RB* has also eliminated a typical Christian phrase: *dicere ad aliquem*, very rare in pagan authors, cf. C. Mohrmann, *Cypr.* I, p.18-19 'Beruht wenigstens teilweise auf Griech. Hebr. Einfluß'; Suss, *Studien zur lat. Bibel*, I p.116.

39, RA 7-8 "Dona X aureos pueris, et eant et emant quod volunt, et celebrent diem. 'Give ten gold pieces to the boys; let them go and buy whatever they want, and celebrate the feast-day.'

39, RB 9-10 Dona ‹X› aureos pueris, et emant sibi, quae volunt, et diem festum celebrent.

X aureos (RA) ~ *X* (**M**: ·C· **βπ**) *aureos* (RB): For the value of *aurei* (= χρυσοῖ) in the *HA*, cf. 10, RA 9-11 (comm.). In Achill. Tat. 6,2,5 the same sum of 10 χρυσοῖ is awarded as a δῶρον 'gift', perhaps as ἐφόδιον 'travelling money', cf. Achill. Tat., loc. cit. χρυσοῖ δέ σοι οὗτοι δῶρον δέκα, δῶρον μέν, ἂν ἐνταῦθα μένῃς, παρὰ Κλειτοφῶντος· ἐὰν δὲ νομίσῃς φυγεῖν βέλτιον, ἐφόδιον 'These ten pieces of gold are a gift for you – a gift, that is, from Kleitophon if you stay here; otherwise it will help you on your way if you decide it is better to run away.' (For the translation 'travelling money', cf. 25, RA 4/RB 3 *data profectoria*.)

pueris (RA/RB): Translated directly from Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. παῖς (III): 'plur., of the crew of a ship (Demosth. 33,8)'. For alternation with *RA* 6/RB 8 *servis*, cf. Luke 7:2 *servus male habens* (Gr. δοῦλος κακῶς ἔχων) and 7,7 *sanabitur puer meus* (Gr. ἰαθήτω ὁ παῖς μου).

eant et emant, quod (RA) ~ *emant sibi, quae* (RB): Popular Latin sometimes combines *ire* with other verbs which clarify the action, cf. ThLL V,2 631, 32-45: Plaut., *Cas.* 422 *eamus ‹...› hortemur*; id., *Merc.* 373 *eas ac*

decumbas; Sen., *Dial.* 12,1,2 *eat aliquis et <…> conqueratur*; Curt. 3,10,10 *irent et <…> eriperent*; Vet. Lat., Ex. 5:7 (Lugd.) *eant <…> et colligant*; John 15:16 *ut eatis et fructum afferatis* (Gr. ὑπάγητε καὶ <…> φέρητε). The reflexive pronoun *sibi* (RB) is probably intermediate between *dat. commodi* and pleonastic *sibi* (*se*), cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 282. The rel. pron. *quod* (RA) may derive directly from Greek (?) ὅτι 'whatsoever' 'everything'.

diem (RA) ~ *diem festum* (RB): *RA* may come directly from Greek, where ἡμέρα often has the meaning 'feast-day', cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ἡμέρα (col.685, below); Lampe, *Lexicon*, s.v. ἡμέρα (1.f). *RB* specifies.

39, RA 8-10	Me autem veto a quoquam vestrum appellari; quod si aliquis vestrum fecerit, crura ei frangi iubeo." 'But I forbid any of you to address me. If anyone of you does, I command his legs to be broken."'
39, RB 10-11	Me autem veto a quoquam appellari. Quod si quis fecerit, crura illius frangere iubeo."

crura <…> **frangi** (RA) ~ *crura frangere* (RB): Apollonius threatens the punishment – feared by both Romans and Greeks – of *crurifragium* 'fracture of a leg' (Greek paraphrases: καταγνύναι τὰ σκέλη 'to break one's legs'). By virtue of the right to life and death (*ius vitae necisque*), this punishment was meted out by the *dominus*/κύριος (sometimes a court is involved) to slaves, esp. when they had betrayed their master, a situation which threatens here, cf. Plaut., *Poen.* 4,2,64 *si herus meus me esse locutum cuiquam mortali sciat, continuo is me <…> crurifragium* (adj.) *fecerit*; Cic., *S. Rosc.* 57 (de calumniatoribus) *crura quidem vobis nemo suffringet*, cf. Suet., *Aug.* 67. For more examples, see ThLL IV 1249,61-1250,12 and below 39, RA 29 (comm.). This terrible punishment was also imposed in the Greek/oriental world (Riese [1893], Praef. XVIII, n.1 'inseruit interpres latinus' requires correction). The most famous example is of course the crucifixion and death of Christ, cf. John. 19,31 *Iudaei rogaverunt, ut frangerentur eorum* (i.e. of those crucified with him) *crura* (Gr. σκέλη), cf. ibid., 32-33. This *crurifragium* is also found in hagiography, cf. Mombr. II 424,41; 594,43 ff.; 600,9. The most notorious case occurs in the *Acta S. Apollonii*, AA SS Aprilis, t. II (published in *AB* 14, 1895, [pp.284-94], p.293) καὶ ἔδωκεν σίγνον κατ' αὐτοῦ κατεαγῆναι τοῦ μάρτυρος τὰ σκέλη 'and he (sc. the proconsul Perennius) gave as his verdict against him (cf. Lampe, *Dict.*, s.v. σίγνον [1]) that the bones of the martyr should be broken.' (Much has been written about this μαρτύριον, e.g. T. Mommsen, 'Der Prozess des Christen Apollonius unter Commodus', *SZB* Berlin, 2

[1894], pp.497-503 from the perspective of Roman law). For further literature: G.A. Barton, '"A Bone of Him Shall Not Be Broken," John 19:36', *Journal of Biblical Language* 49 (1930), pp.13-9; K. Kohler, 'Das Verbot des Knochenverbrechens', *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 13 (1910), p.153. This general discussion allows us to form a better judgement of the situation in the *HA* and **HA(Gr)**.

a quoquam vestrum (RA) ~ *a quoquam* (RB): Over the head of the *dispensator*, Apollonius addresses his slaves: it is on them that his threat of the slave punishment '*crurifragium*' will have an effect. By omitting precisely this specific *vestrum*, *RB* generalizes unjustifiably: to how many citizens/outsiders could Apollonius have applied this penalty? It is relevant to the dossier of the *HA* in general that *RC* and various subsidiary redactions follow on from *a quoquam* (RB): see for *RC* (Schmeling, p.118,5 in app. crit.) *si liber fuerit, macula* (read: maculam) *libertatis accipiet*. For RStuttg., cf. Klebs, p.92; for RBern, cf. Klebs, p.193; for penetration into the *Gesta Romanorum*, cf. Klebs, p.426. For the amplification ('a blot on his character'), see *Dig.* 48,10,1,13 (kindly pointed out by Dr R. Meijering).

appellari (RA/RB): From (?) προσαγορεύειν, cf. CGL II 420,21.

aliquis (RA) ~ *quis* (RB): *RB* can do 'good' work in this area, cf. 35, RA 3 *ne alicui* ~ RB 3 *ne cui* (comm.).

crura ei frangi (RA) ~ *crura illius frangere* (RB): Both dat. (*incommodi*) and gen. occur in practice, cf. ThLL IV 1249,61-1250,12; for gen., cf. e.g. Apul., *Met.* 9,23 *tunc uxor egregia <...> crurum eius fragium abominata*. *RB* is consistent in changing, cf. 39, RA 31 (*crura*) *ei frangantur* ~ RB 30 *illius*. For the change from *is, eius* to *ille, illius*, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 274: '*is* et *hic* <...> souvent supplantés par *ille*'. *RA frangi* leaves scope for the involvement of a court, judge, executioner: in *RB* the personal element seems to prevail. (Klebs, p.262 n.3 addresses neither situation nor provenance; the remarks on language can be ignored.)

39, RA 10-11 Cum igitur omnes naut<ae> Apollonii convivi<um> melius ceteris navibus celebrarent, 'While all Apollonius' sailors were celebrating a better banquet than the other ships,'

39, RB 12-13 Dispensator emit, quae necessaria erant <et rediit ad navem. Exornat navigium et toti discubuerunt>. 'The steward bought what was necessary and returned to the ship. He decorated the ship and they all reclined.'

nautae Apollonii <...> **melius ceteris navibus** (RA): **P** reads: *Cum igitur omnes naves Apollonii e convivio melius ceteris navibus celebrarent*. The least drastic emendation is to read *nautae* with Welser and with Riese (1893), ad loc. *convivium* (cf. ed. m. [1984]). The suggestion by Klebs, pp.112-113 (followed by Schmeling [1988], p.30,15) *cum igitur inter omnes navis Apollonii esset ornatior et magnum convivium melius ceteris celebrarent nautae Apollonii* is too radical. We are dealing with a *comparatio compendiaria*, cf. LHS II, p.826[1]. The meaning is: *melius nautis ceterarum navium*. This figure of speech may derive directly from the Greek model, cf. Hom., *Il.* 16,51 κόμαι Χαρίτεσσιν (= Χαρίτων κόμῃσιν) ὁμοῖαι. Some Greek authors offer a wealth of examples, e.g. Xen., *Cyr.* 2,1,15; 2,3,19; 3,3,41; 4,3,7; 5,1,4; 6,1,50. (The possibility suggested by Konstan: '"ships" for "sailors" by metonomy' seems less plausible. Neither *navis* nor ναῦς/πλοῖον is used in this way.)

convivium (RA): (?) τὸ σύνδειπνον 'common meal' 'banquet'; (?) συνεστίασις 'banqueting together', cf. CGL II 445,35.

Dispensator emit <...> **dum epulantur** (RB): In my view, this addition is intended to provide more logical coherence. The addition seems to have started only with *Dispensator emit, quę necessaria erant* **βπ**, and was adopted and enlarged in **M** <*et rediit* <...> *discubuerunt*>. The subsidiary redactions (Tegerns., Stuttg., Erf.) have taken it up in various forms. The reason for suppletion is easy to guess: *necessaria* (cf. OLD [1.b] 'what is needed, necessities') to specify (RA, 8) *emant, quod volunt*; *rediit* necessary after *emit*; *exornat navigium* (the diminutive is not used elsewhere in the *HA*) to follow on from (RA 14) *ornatiorem*; *toti* (nowhere else for *omnes* in *HA*, cf. tous, tutti: only 42, RA 44/RB 29 *Viscera tota* in a riddle, derived from Symph.); *discubuerunt* as the first phase of (RA 18) *unanimes discumbere*. This, clearly later, addition has been incorporated in the text (italicized) to illustrate the notion of 'texte vivant', cf. Introd. IX. For this *totus* = *omnis*, cf. Löfstedt, *Per.*, p.69; Heraeus, *GGA* (1915), p.478.

39, RA 11-13	contingit, <ut> Athenagoras, princeps civitatis, qui Tharsiam filiam eius diligebat, deambulans in litore consideraret celebritatem navium. 'It happened that Athenagoras, the prince of the city, who loved Apollonius' daughter Tarsia, was walking on the beach and looking at the festivities on the ships.'
39, RB 13-14	Et dum epulantur, Athenagoras, qui Tharsiam ut filiam diligebat, deambulans et navium celebritatem considerans,

contingit, <ut> (RA) ~ *Et dum epulantur* (RB): *contingit* as perf. is generally accepted in Late Latin, cf. ThLL IV 712,60-63; no example is recorded there (p.720,4-30) of *ut* dropping out (very plausible here due to influence from the previous word): from (?) συνέβη (+ inf., sometimes + ὥστε), cf. LSJ, s.v. συμβαίνω (III.b). In replacing this highflown stopgap 'it happened that', *RB* chooses the technical term *par excellence* for the consumption of ritual meals, cf. OLD, s.v. *epulor* (1.a): 'to dine sumptuously, feast, banquet'; Acc., *Poet.* 3,6 *ut cum dominis famuli epulentur ibidem*; Nep., *Paus.* 3,2 *epulabatur <...> luxuriosius, quam qui aderant perpeti possent*; Tac., *Ann.* 6,5 *cum die natali Augustae inter sacerdotes epularetur*.

princeps civitatis <...> **in litore** (RA) ~ (RB /): Superfluous details for *RB*.

filiam eius diligebat (RA) ~ *ut filiam diligebat* (RB): a striking emendation!, cf. Catull. 72,3 *dilexi tum te non tantum ut vulgus amicam, sed pater ut gnatos diligit et generos*. For Athenagoras' real feelings, cf. 36, RA 7 (comm.).

deambulans in littore (RA) ~ *deambulans* (RB): For the naval review the ships of Mitylene and Apollonius' ship had been had drawn ashore and anchored with the prows facing the sea, after the ancient Homeric custom. This could be done both with an anchor (cf. 42, RA 39-40) and with stones, cf. LSJ, s.v. εὐνή (II): 'stones thrown out from the prow and used as anchors'. For the custom as such, cf. Hom., *Il.* 1,436; id., *Od.* 9,137; Verg., *Aen.* 6,3-5 *obvertunt pelago proras; tum dente tenaci / ancora fundabat navis et litora curvae / praetexunt puppes*. This method is still used today. For getting on board, cf. below 39, RA 16-17/RB 18 (comm.). It is unclear why *RB* omits the most significant element *in littore*.

celebritatem navium (RA/RB): The translation is somewhat uncertain. Some opt for 'crowd' 'great number', 'Menge'. *Celebritas* is often said of a

conspicuously large crowd at *ludi* and festivals, cf. ThLL III 741,16 ff. The equation in Gloss. II 305,1 of *celebritas* and ἑορτή 'the festivities' (cf. id. VI, 519 ἑορτή *celebritas*) points to a possible Graecism. This would tie in well with the *Neptunalia*.

39, RA 13-15	Quique dum singulas notat naves, vidit hanc navem e ceteris navibus meliorem et ornatiorem esse. 'As he observed each ship in turn, he noticed that this ship was finer and more decorated than the others.'
39, RB 15-16	vidit navem Apollonii ceteris navibus pulchriorem et ornatiorem et ait:

Quique dum singulas notat naves (RA) ~ (RB /): For *Quique*, cf. 50, RA 21 *Quique* **P** and 39, RA 3 (comm.). *quique* is also argued by Schmeling, *Notes*, p.151 (on ed. 30,18: *qui*). The sentence itself has already been incororporated by *RB* (l.14).

e ceteris navibus (RA) ~ *ceteris navibus* (RB): The preposition *e*, connected with the comparative 'out of all the other ships', is not uncommon, cf. ThLL V,2 1125,70 ff.: (e.g.) Ps. Tert., *Haer.* 3 p.219,9 *eo quod* <...> *robustior ex ceteris fuerit*; even Cassiod., *Var.* 8,17,3 *ut* <...> *sit incertum, qui magis praedicetur ex altero*. (Schmeling, *Notes*, p.151 [on ed. 30,19], following the example of Ring, deletes *e* as arising from 39, RA 11 *e convivio* **P**.) The same usage is found in Greek, cf. LSJ (+ Suppl.), s.v. ἐκ (4): 'to express separation or distinction from a number': Hom., *Il.* 18,431 ἐμοὶ ἐκ πασέων <...> Ζεὺς ἄλγε' ἔδωκεν 'to me out of (i.e. above) all'; ibid. 4,96 ἐκ πάντων δὲ μάλιστα; Hdt. 5,87 μοῦνος ἐξ ἁπάντων σωθῆναι 'the only one to be saved'. For more examples, see there. *RB*'s correction is classical, but *RB* may have eliminated a Graecism.

meliorem et ornatiorem (RA) ~ *pulchriorem et ornatiorem* (RB): For a sharper formulation over against *meliorem*, cf. 34, RA 23 *me esse meliorem* ~ RB 23-24 *me animo esse meliorem*. For *ornatiorem*: sc. *velis et coronis*, cf. Charit. 8,6,2 ἐκέλευσε κοσμῆσαι τὰς τριήρεις 'he gave order to the captains to decorate their ships'; id., 8,6,10 τριήρεις <...> ἐστεφανωμέναι 'ships <...> decorated with garlands'. For a description, see Plut., *Mor.* 2,981[e].

39, RA 15-16	Accedens ad navem Apollonii coepit stare et mirari. Nautae vero et servi Apollonii salutaverunt eum dicentes: 'He went up to it and

stood admiring it. Apollonius' crew and the servants greeted him and said:'

39, RB 16-17

et ait: "Amici, ecce illa mihi maxime placet, quam video esse separatam." Nautae ut audierunt navem suam laudari, dicunt: 'He said: "Friends, this is the ship which I like best, the one which is set apart." When the sailors heard their ship being praised, they said:'

Accedens ad navem Apollonii coepit stare et mirari (RA) ~ *et ait: "Amici, <…> separatam"* (RB). *RA* is very natural. For the paraphrase *coepit stare* (= *substitit*, Riese [1893], Index, s.v. *coepi*) *et mirari*, cf. 1, RA 17 *coepit celare* (comm.) ~ RB 16 *cupit celare*. Perhaps this phrase corresponds to (?) ἤρξατο στῆναι καὶ θαυμάζειν (both Latin and Greek sometimes develop this phrase with pleonastic ἄρχομαι independently of each other, cf. Löfstedt, *Late Latin*, p.116; Blatt, *Acta Andreae*, p.34,9; p.69,16 *cepit introire* [Gr. εἰσελθών]). The greeting is spontaneous, from crew as well as slaves (= δοῦλοι, cf. above *RA* 6). *RB* tries to make the course of events more logical: in his version Apollonius makes a loud compliment, after which the crew invites him on board.

Amici (RB): Somewhat strange coming from Athenagoras, who is walking on the shore in the company of five slaves (RA 17 ~ RB /).

ecce, illa βM (*illa navis* **π**) (RB): A standard combination in Latin, cf. Cic., *Prov.* 43 *ecce illa tempestas, caligo bonorum*: contraction with *eum, eam* produces *eccum, eccam, eccos, eccas*, cf. ThLL V 24,59 ff.; contraction with *illum, illam* levert *eccillum, eccillam, eccillud*, cf. ThLL, loc. cit. 25,13. Esp. in Late Latin (Peregr., Greg. Tur.) this combination is much favoured and leads to the formation in the Romance languages of *ce, celui, celle*; *questo, quello*, cf. Thielmann, p.28; Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 278 (Klebs, p.255 is unnecessarily disparaging).

separatam (RB): Probably to be taken literally: 'positioned, anchored separately'. This detail was probably added by *RB* to make the father-daughter recognition a relatively private affair. (Heraeus argues for a translation: 'etwas ganz besonders'.)

39, RA 16-17 "Invitamus te, si dignaris, o princeps magnifice." '"We invite you aboard, noble prince, if you would do us the honour."'

39, RB 18 "Invitemus principem." "Magnifice, si digneris, descende ad nos."

"Invitamus <…> dignaris, o princeps magnifice" (RA) ~ *"Invitemus principem." "Magnifice,* (RB): *RA* has the form of a direct invitation. The various elements are easily accommodated in Late Latin. For *si dignaris*, cf. ThLL V,1 1142,4 (Paul. Nol., *Carm.* 15,8 *dignante deo*; Aug., *Epist.* 17,1 *quia dignaris*); for *magnificus* as an honorary title, cf. ThLL VIII 109,77-110,45 (also in combination with *princeps*). But the translation to Greek is simple too: *invitamus*: (?) εἰσκαλοῦμεν, cf. LSJ, s.v. εἰσκαλέω 'to invite'; *si dignaris*: (?) καταξίωσον, cf. H. Ljungvik, *Zur Syntax der spätgr. Volkssprache*, p.96. A suitable equivalent for *o princeps magnifice* is harder to determine. The most likely substrate is ὦ μεγαλοπρεπές. This word is suggested as a translation by CGL (II 126,16; 366,6 magnificus μεγαλοπρεπής 'magnificent'). It occurs in the Greek Novel (cf. *Less.*, s.v.), is widespread (cf. LSJ [+ Suppl.]) and is attested for Christian Greek (cf. Lampe, s.v.). A second option is ὦ σεβαστέ, proposed by Riese (1871), Praef. XII. Compare Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. σεβαστός 'verehrt'. A third possibility is ὦ τετιμημένε (cf. LSJ, s.v. τιμάω 'honour': οἱ τετιμημένοι '*men of rank*'; Bauer, s.v.). This, too, would be appropriate in connection with Athenagoras' position.

"Invitemus principem." "Magnifice (RB): *RB* inserts an intermediate episode of consultation (with hortatory subjunctive). This is followed by the invitation (*si* + subjunct.) in a simplified, refined form with the addition: 'come aboard'. As regards *descende* (RB): ships drawn on land (or riding to anchor) could be boarded via a ladder (*scala*, κλίμαξ), sometimes a gangplank, cf. Verg., *Aen.* 10,654 *ratis <…> expositis stabat scalis*. (In a broader context, cf. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, p.252 n.104.) Naturally it was then necessary to descend (*descende ad nos*) from the board of the ship to the crew sitting lower on deck. *RA* neglects this (evident) detail in the request, but expresses it in the next line 39, RA 17 *ascendit*, cf. 40, RA 13 *Adscendi* ~ (RB-/). On the other hand we find 39, RA 33 *ad eum descendo*, where **bβM** seem to emphasize the primary - activity *ascendam* (i.q. adscendam), cf. comm. ad loc.

magnifice (RA/RB): Partly in connection with *RB*, where *magnificĕ* should be linked to a tacit *princeps*, it is preferable in *RA*, too, to take *magnificĕ* as a vocative going with *princeps*. (Riese [1893] punctuates after *princeps*, and explains *magnificē* = *valde*, cf. Riese, Index, p.124, s.v. *magnificē*: such an interpretation is arguable.)

39, RA 17-18 At ille petitus cum V servis suis navem ascendit, ‘At this invitation he went aboard with his five servants.’

39, RB 19 Athenagoras descendit,

petitus cum V servis suis (RA) ~ (RB /): Since these slaves (and their number) do not play any further role, *RB* drops this detail. In the **HA(Gr)** the number of slaves probably played an important part in underlining Athenagoras’ status.

ascendit (RA) ~ *descendit* (RB): For this detail, see above, RB 18 (comm.).

39, RA 18-20 Et cum videret eos u<ni>animes discumbere, accubuit inter epulantes et donavit eis X aureos et ponens eos supra mensam dixit: “Ecce, ne me gratis invitaveritis.” ‘When he saw them reclining in harmony, he took his place among the feasters and gave them ten gold pieces. Putting the money on the table, he said: “Here, so that you haven’t invited me for nothing.”’

39, RB 19-20 libenti animo discubuit, et posuit X aureos in mensa dicens: “Ecce, ne me gratis invitaveritis.”

Et cum <…>, accubuit <…> **donavit** <…> **dixit** (RA) ~ *discubuit* <…> *posuit* <…> *dicens* (RB): *RA* tells the story simply, in a paratactically constructed sentence: *RB* simplifies with emphasis on the essential verb: *posuit*.

u<ni>animes: The **P** reading is *ut inanimes*, i.e. they really did get along well. To stay as close to this as possible, I have corrected to *u<ni>animes*. Alongside *unanimus* we find the alternative form *unian-*, cf. OLD, s.v. *unanimus*; likewise the doublet form *unanimis/unian-*, cf. Georges, *Handwörterb.*, s.v. *unianimis*. (Of course a correction *unanimes* **Rα(FG)** would also have been possible.) We cannot rule out a translation from (?) ὁμοθυμαδόν ‘with one accord’, cf. LSJ, s.v. ὁμοθυμαδόν. *RB*’s abridgement seems rather drastic, but is logical (*unianimes discumbere* seems to contrasts with *RA* 22 *li<ci>enter discumbere*), stylistically more refined (the paratactic sentence structure is cancelled) and probably more elegant as regards grammar (*ponens* <…> *supra mensam* (RA) ~ *posuit in mensa* (RB)). For the addition *libenti animo* (RB), cf. 40, RA 13/RB 10 *libenti animo*.

decem aureos (RA/RB): uit (?) δέκα χρυσοῦς. For the value scale in the *HA* (and **HA(Gr)**), cf. 10, RA 9 (comm.). Intended here as a 'princely' contribution to the σύνδειπνον (perhaps in the form of a ἔρανος 'picnic', where every guest brought his own share). No doubt the readership of the *HA* in all its stages did not stop to think about the real value of this contribution.

gratis (RA/RB), cf. OLD, s.v. *gratia* (8): 'For no reward, but thanks' 'without receiving payment'; from (?) δωρεάν 'freely', cf. LSJ, s.v. δωρεά (II).

39, RA 20-21	Cui omnes dixerunt: "Agimus nobilitati tuae maximas gratias." 'They all replied: "We thank your Lordship very much."'
39, RB 20-21	Omnes dixerunt: "Bene nos accipis, domine."

nobilitati <…> **gratias** (RA) ~ *bene accipis, domine* (RB): The two expressions are comparable: *RA* is a little solemn coming from the celebrating sailors; *RB* is spontaneous. For *nobilitas* as a term of address 'Your worship' 'Your honour' (Gr. ἡ ευγένειά σου), cf. 9, RA/RB 9; *gratias agere* (?) εὐχαριστεῖν. For *bene accipere* (RB), cf. OLD, s.v. *accipio* (15): 'to deal with, handle (in a specified manner)': Cic., *Verr.* 1,140 *iste <…> male accipit verbis Habonium*; id., *Att.* 10,7,3 *Quintum puerum accepi vehementer*; Petron. 42,6 *quid si non illam optime accepisset*; Aur., *Front.* 1, p.216 (75 N.); in hagiography: Mombr. II 475 (*Sebastianus*), 27 (sarc.) *damna, percute, incende: bene nos* (sc. Christianos) *accipis, si exilium minaris*.

39, RA 21-23	Athenagoras autem cum vidisset omnes tam li<c>enter discumbere nec inter eos maiorem esse, <qui> pr<o>videret, ait ad eos: 'When Athenagoras saw them all reclining so freely without anyone senior to oversee them, he said to them:'
39, RB 21-22	Athenagoras videns eos unanimes discumbere, ait:

autem (RA) ~ (RB /): As so often, there is a sudden change in the mood of the well-intended party, cf. Heliod. 5,31,1 Ἐδειπνοῦμεν ὀλίγον ὕστερον καὶ ὅτε διαβεβρεγμένους ἤδη καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὑβριστικώτερον παραφερομένους ᾐσθόμην, 'A little while later we were at table. When I saw that they (namely: the pirates) were very much the worse for drink and that their behaviour was passing the bounds of moderation', cf. Lucian., *Dial. deor.* 23,2 ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ ὑποβεβρεγμένοι 'a little tipsy'.

li<c>enter: The reading *licenter* **Rα(F)** for *diligenter* **P** must be right, cf. above 39, RA 3 (comm.); cf. OLD, s.v. *licenter* 'without restraint': Cic., *Cael.* 57 *licentius, liberius familiariusque cum domina vivere*; *diligenter* could easily arise before *discumbere*.

nec <...> **provideret** (RA) ~ (RB /): The text is not entirely certain: *qui* **(δ)** has been added, but in the last phase of Latin the relative pronoun can be simply left out, cf. Blatt, p.84 (op c.28,10); Svennung, *Glotta* 22 (1934), p.169. For *maiorem*, cf. 10, RA 1-3 (comm.); 48, RA 16 *illi maiori omnium sacerdotum* (comm.). The change *praevideret* **P** for *provideret* occurs often as a reverse spelling/locution, cf. Svennung, *Wortstudien*, p.110; Linderbauer, p.286. On account of the incidental occurrence in the *HA* and for the sake of readability, I have normalized in the case of both *qui* (rel.) and *praevideret* (Klebs, p.272 n.1 regards the entire sentence *nec inter eos maiorem esse qui provideret* as interpolated). For the train of thought, cf. Charit, 4,5,3 καταλειφθέντες οἱ δοῦλοι τοῦ προεστηκότος ἔρημοι πρὸς ἀσωτίαν ὥρμων, ἔχοντες χρυσίον ἄφθονον '(When Hyginus left for Miletus) the slaves were left without any supervisor; with abundant money at their disposal, they launched on a bout of dissolute living' (for προεστηκότος masc., cf. Charit. 4,6,5). *RB*'s retrenchment is a simplistic rendering which avoids all the problems.

39, RA 23-24 Quod omnes li<b>enter discumbitis, navis huius dominus quis est?" '"Who is the master of this ship, that you all recline and enjoy yourselves?"'

39, RB 22-23 "Quod omnes tam libentiose discumb<i>tis, navis dominus quis est? "

libenter (RA) ~ *libentiose* (RB): Though many argue for *licenter*, in this place too (Riese [1893]; Merkelbach [1981] in Tsitsikli, p.127 [ll.23-4]; Schmeling [1988]), I have, for a number of reasons, followed Ring in preferring the manuscript reading 'gladly' (cf. ed. m. [1984]): (1) the sailors are reclining *libenter* (i.q. ut lubet): as a result, Apollonius cannot discover the captain: he therefore asks who the captain is, not where; (2) the sailors can hardly be blamed for reclining 'impertinently'; (3) *libentiose* (RB) is also based on *libenter*. This adverb, formed on the basis of an adjective with the suffix *-osus*, seems to be a hapax legomenon, cf. Riese (1893), Index, s.v.; Georges, *Handwörterb.*, s.v.; Garbugino, p.105 'voluptiose'. For the frequent formation via *-osus*, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 186; 4). Apollonius, too, joins the company (40, RA 13/RB 10) *libenti animo*. A possible Greek substrate term is ἡδέως 'pleasantly, with pleasure', cf. CGL VI 640.

39, RA 24-26 Gubernator dixit: "Navis huius dominus in luctu moratur et iacet intus in subsannio navis in tenebris: flet uxorem et filiam." 'The helmsman said: "The master of this ship is in mourning, and lies below in the hold in the dark. He is weeping for his wife and daughter."'

39, RB 23-25 Gubernator ait: "Navis dominus in luctu moratur; iacet <in subsan>nio navis; in tenebris mori destinat: in mari coniugem perdidit, in terris filiam amisit."

RB has removed the superfluous elements: *huius* (RA), *intus* (RA), retaining *subsannium* (RA/RB), cf. 38, RA 17,19 (comm.); *in luctu moratur* (RA/RB), cf. *in luctu moratur* 7, RA/RB 8. But he has added what is necessary: *in tenebris*: (RA) ~ *in tenebris mori destinat* (RB): after all, someone may withdraw in order to sleep. For the Greek Novel, cf. Charit. 3,3,14; 8,3,4. From an entirely different world (quoted by L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, p.181 n.67): Reg. Pachomii 119 (Migne, PL 23, p.80) *in loco sentinae et interiore parte navis, caeteris fratribus super transtra et tabulata quiescentibus, nullus dormiat*. RB's addition follows the requirements of the Novel: Apul., *Met.* 4,35 (102,21) *clausae domus abstrusi tenebris perpetuae nocti sese dedere*, displaying, as the rules of rhetoric dictate, full parallelism and isosyllabism. For *in mari*, cf. c.25; for *in terris*, cf. 38, RA 18/RB 15-16.

39, RA 26-27 Quo audito dolens Athenagoras dixit ad gubernum: "Dabo tibi duos aureos; et descende ad eum et dic illi: 'On hearing this Athenagoras was distressed. He said to the helmsman: "I will give you two gold pieces. Go down to him and say to him:'

39, RB 25-27 Ait Athenagoras ad unum de servis, nomine Ardalionem: "Dabo tibi duos aureos; descende et dic ei:

Quo audito dolens (RA) ~ (RB /): A superfluous detail for *RB*.

ad gubernum (*guvernum* **P**) (RA) ~ *ad unum de servis, nomine Ardalionem* (**π**: *-uli-* **βM)** (RB): The form *gubernus* has been retained with Ring, Riese (1893), cf. LSJ, s.v. κύβερνος: 'Gloss. *gubernita*'; Gundermann, *Archiv.* 7 (1892), p.588 refers to CGL II 36,27 *gubernum:* κυβέ(ρ)νιον; elsewhere 25, RA 20 *guvernus* (= gubernius) (comm.); secondary redactions correct: Rα *gubernatorem*.

Curiously, then, Athenagoras asks the helmsman to bother Apollonius with a renewed request, despite his absolute prohibition (RA, 9-10). This is probably why *RB* introduces an intermediate figure, the impertinent cabin boy. His name is particularly well chosen, cf. 21, RA 4/RB 3 (comm.). He is cocky, but does not actually do anything. In theory the mention of him here, only in *RB*, may lead to many problems, ranging from dropped out in *RA* to authentic *RB* element (perhaps even introduced from a Greek variant version [cf. Introd. VII.2.b.2]) or interpolated (cf. Klebs, p.43). Though there can be no certainty here, it seems to me that the absence of this name in *RA* is authentic: many secondary characters in *RA* do not have a name. By contrast, *RB* is bent on supplying names, cf. Introd., loc. cit. It is unlikely that *RB* in giving these names relies on a Greek source, but it is not impossible. The most probable scenario is that RB, as he often does, has transferred material from elsewhere in the *HA* (cf. Introd. VII.2.a), so in this case from 21, RA 4. All the more so because this name as 'couleur locale' has increased the appeal of his version. (Klebs proposes to delete both *ad gubernum* in *RA* 26 [cf. p.256 n.4] and *nomine Ardalionem* in RB 25-26 [cf. pp.42-3].)

descende (RA/RB): *RB* can preserve this detail (cf. above RA, 16-17 ~ RB 18), since Apollonius is in the hold.

39, RA 27-29 "Rogat te Athenagoras, princeps huius civitatis, ut procedas ad eum de tenebris et ad lucem exeas." '"Athenagoras, prince of this city, asks you to come out to him from the dark into the light."'

39, RB 27-28 "Rogat te Athenagoras, princeps huius civitatis: procede de tenebris ad lucem."

procedas <…> **de tenebris** <…> **ad lucem exeas** (RA) ~ *procede de tenebris ad lucem* (RB): *RA*'s chiasmus is disrupted, in a very common image. For Latin, McGowan (1997), p.241 refers to Cic., *Pro Rege Deiotaro* 11 (39) *rex* <…> *vestram familiam abiectam et obscuram e tenebris in lucem evocavit*; 1 Pet. 2:9 *qui de tenebris vos vocavit in admirabilem lumen suum* (Gr. τοῦ ἐκ σκότους ὑμᾶς καλέσαντος εἰς τὸ θαυμαστὸν αὐτοῦ φῶς). For the Greek Novel, cf. Xen. Eph. 3,8,2 οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἐπίδοιμι τὸν ἥλιον οὐδ᾽ [ἂν] εἰς φῶς ἐλεύσομαι 'nor could I look upon the sun nor will I go to the light'; id. 3,8,5 μή με ἡμέρᾳ δείξητε, τὴν ἄξια νυκτὸς καὶ σκότους δυστυχοῦσαν 'do not expose me to the daylight, when my misfortunes deserve night and darkness.'

39, RA 29 Iuvenis ait: “si possum de duobus aureis IIII habere crura.” ‘The youth replied: “if I can get four limbs with two gold pieces!”’

39, RB 28-29 Iuvenis ait: “Domine, non possum de duobus aureis IIII crura habere.

si possum (RA) (I would do that) if I could ~ *Domine, non possum* (RB): In *RA*’s account the helmsman (in *RA*: the cabin boy in *RB*) answers with an impertinent gibe, cf. Konstan, p.96. *RB* changes this gibe to a decent objection.

de duobus aureis (RA/RB): Late Latin often use *de* as an instrumental abl. to indicate from or with what certain expenses are paid, cf. ThLL V,1 61,13-83: e.g. Lampr., *Alex.* 21,9 *empta de propria pecunia*. This usage can be traced back directly to the Greek use of ἐκ, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐκ (III.9.b): ‘of Price’; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ἐκ (4.b): ‘zur Umschreibung des gen. pretii *für, um*: Act. Ap. 1,18 *Et hic quidem possedit agrum de mercede iniquitatis* (Gr. ἐκ μισθοῦ τῆς ἀδικίας).’ For *de* = ἐκ, cf. CGL II 288,23; III 404,72.

crura (RA/RB): Here in the general sense of limbs. The original Greek reading is a subjective matter (?) τέσσαρα σκέλη, μέλη, cf. CGL VI 289. Normally σκέλη is used to denote the legs; figurative use is found in τὰ μακρὰ σκέλη ‘the long walls connecting Athens with Piraeus’, cf. LSJ, s.v. σκέλος (II, met.). In practice *crurifragium* often went together with other gruesome physical punishments: Sall. *Hist.* frg. 1,44 *cui* (sc. M. Mario) *fracta prius crura brachiaque et oculi effosi* (cf. Flor., *Epit.* 3,21,26); Sen., *Dial.* 5,18,1 *M. Mario <…> L. Sulla praefringi crura, erui oculos, amputari linguam, manus iussit*; Mart. 11,58,10 *frangam crura manusque simul*; Iustin. 21,4,7 *capitur virgisque caesus effossis oculis et manibus cruribusque fractis <…> in conspectu populi occiditur*. The Greek parallel text Oros., *Hist.* 4,6,19, p.221,3 is instructive. (The interpretation in ThLL IV 1250,9: ‘*in aenigmate, quia poenam crura frangendi metuit*’ requires adjustment: there is nothing mysterious about the ship boy’s stinging gibe.)

39, RA 30-32 et: “Tam utilem inter nos <tali> muner<i non> elegisti, nisi me? Quaere alium, qui eat, quia iussit, quod, quicumque eum appellaverit, crura ei frangantur!” ‘and: “Have you selected among us no other one so likely for that job as me? Ask someone else to go, for he gave orders that whoever addressed him would have his legs broken!”’

39, RB 29-31 Tam utilem non invenisti inter nos nisi me? Quaere alium, quia iussit, ut, quicumque illum appellaret, crura illius frangantur!"

et: "<...> (RA) ~ (RB /): extremely careless but lively language, removed by *RB*, cf. 2, RA 2 *Puella ait: "Et ubi est pater?" Et ait:* (RB /) (comm.); 4, RA 4 *rex Antioche" et "quod* (RB /).

Tam utilem (RA/RB): *Utilis* has the meaning *aptus* here, cf. OLD, s.v. *utilis* (3): 'useful, helpful': Plaut., *Epid.* 291 *quem hominem inveniemus ad eam rem utilem*; Cic., *Off.* 3,29 *homini ad nullam rem utili*; Hor., *Epist.* 2,1,124 *militiae quamquam piger et malus, utilis urbi*. It corresponds with χρηστός, cf. Ps. Method. [12]6 χρηστοὶ .. οὐ ζητηθήσονται: (text. lat.) *electi* <...> *non queruntur*. This χρηστός is often used for slaves, cf. LSJ, s.v. χρηστός: generally, 'good, honest, worthy' Xen., *Oec.* 9,5 χρηστοὶ οἰκέται; it is also used ironically (as here); Aristoph., *Nub.* 8 ὁ χρηστὸς οὑτοσὶ νεανίας 'that brave young slave'. In the Greek Novel: Charit. 1,10,4 (where slaves remark) ἆρά γε τὸ τυμβωρυχεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐποίησε χρηστούς· 'Has breaking into a tomb made us apt for our job, then?' In sum, we can conclude that this disparaging remark goes back to **HA(Gr)**. Of course, other synonyms are conceivable too, cf. CGL VII 387: εὔχρηστος, χρήσιμος, ὠφέλιμος.

<**tali**> **muner**<**i non**> **elegisti** (RA) ~ *non invenisti* (RB): The transmitted text is dubious: *muneri elegistis* **P**. I have opted for the conjecture by Waiblinger (1978), p.122 *muneri non*, with the addition of (?) *tali*, (?) *huic*, also in connection with *non* (RB). This *munus* could derive directly (cf. CGL VI, 718) from λειτουργία, cf. LSJ, s.v. (II.2): '*any service* or *function*'. Compare Peters p.149 'Kannst du in unserer Zahl für dieses Geschäft nicht einen geeigneteren finden, denn mich? Suche einen anderen der sich hinwage; hat er doch erklärt, wer ihn angehe, dem sollten die Beine zerschlagen werden.' An attractive conjecture would be *neminem* Tsitsikli (1981), ad loc. (p.126); Konstan, ad loc. (p.96) 'perhaps read *neminem* for *muneri*'. The reading *elegistis* **P** would be possible, as a majestic plural, but because it is hard to reconcile with the rest of the remark, I have preferred the sing. with RB (Ring, Riese), cf. *elegisti* **Rα(φF)**. (Hunt [2002] discusses various conjectures, but ends in a *non liquet*.)

nisi me (RA/RB): For classical *quam me*, cf. 48, RA 13 *nisi ipsa* (RB /). It probably overlies Greek: εἰ μὴ ἐμέ 'except me', cf. LSJ, s.v. εἰ VII.1.3. A good example is offered by the testament of Emperor Augustus (the so-called *Res gestae divi Augustus*, ed. J. Gagé, Paris 1935, p.92): ἥτις τιμὴ <...> οὐδὲ ἑνὶ εἰ μὴ ἐμοὶ ἐψηφίσθη 'which honour has been accorded <...> to no one except me'. The Latin version, loc. cit., adjusts: *nemini praeter me*.

quaere alium, qui eat (RA) ~ *quaere alium* (RB): A popular saying (RA), esp. in cases of 'passing the buck', cf. Terent., *Eun.* 810 *quaere, qui respondeat*; Ov., *Amor.* 3,11,28 *quaere alium pro me, qui queat ista pati*; *Met.* 5,181 *quaere alium, tua quem moveant miracula*; Mart. 9,102,3 *quaere alium, cui te tam vano munere iactes*. In Greek too: CGL III 115,19 (= 643) ὕπαγε, ζήτει τίνι (= ᾧ) ἐδάνεισας, ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐδέν σου ἔχω *duc te, quaere cui fenerasti*; *ego enim nihil tuum habeo*, cf. Heraeus, *Kleine Schriften*, p.117; Headlam, p.293 (on Herond. 6,32). These examples show that *RB* wrongly omits *qui eat*.

iussit, quod (RA) ~ *iussit, ut* (RB): *RA* has a very free construction (no example in OLD, s.v. *iubeo*; Georges, *Wörterb.*; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v.; not included in Riese (1893), Index, s.v. *iubeo*), but theroretically (?) not out of the question; included as the only place in ThLL VII,2 581,29 (influenced by [?] κελεύω, ὅτι). *RB* corrects to *ut*, a possibility offered in classical Latin, extended in Late Latin, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *iubeo*. Compare also 51, RA 13 *iubet famulis suis, ut* <...> *comprehenderent* (Klebs, p.262 n.3; p.265 of no value).

39, RA 32-33	Athenagoras ait: "Hanc legem vobis statuit, nam non mihi, quem ignorat. 'Athenagoras said: "He made this rule for you but not for me, whom he does not know.'
39, RB 31-32	Athenagoras ait: "Hanc legem vobis statuit, non mihi, quem ignorat.

legem <...> **statuit** (RA/RB): We can probably compare (?) νόμον ἔθηκεν, cf. LSJ, s.v. νόμος (I.d): '"ordinance" made by authority'.

nam non (RA) ~ *non* (RB): The reading *nam non* **P** has been retained. In Late Latin causal particles like *nam* and *enim* have an adversative meaning: conversely, *autem, sed* and *tamen* can be causal. Thus *nam* has an adversative sense here, cf. 44, RA 13 *Me namque* (= however) *in cunabulis posita* (RB *aliter*). Correction seems natural (cf. *non* **Rα(φF)**), but is totally unnecessary, cf. LHS II, pp.505[4],506; Löfstedt, *Per.* pp.34-5; Heraeus, *GGA* (1915), p.472; Salonius, pp.341-2; Linderbauer, p.174 (on Reg. Ben. 2,49); Corbett, p.226.

39, RA 33-34	Ego autem ad eum descendo. Dicite mihi, quis vocatur?" Famuli dixerunt: "Apollonius." 'I will go down to him myself. Tell me, what is his name?" The servants said: "Apollonius."'

39, RB 32-33 Ego ad eum ascendam (**βMπ**: descendam **π**[1]). Dic, quis vocatur?" Famuli dixerunt: "Apollonius."

descendo (RA) ~ *ascendam* **βMπ**: Though the **βMπ** reading could be regarded as an early corruption of the more logical *descendam* **π**[1] (cf. ed. m. [1984], ad loc.; Schmeling [1988], ad loc.), I have retained this *lectio difficilior* on account of the unanimous tradition and the fact that its meaning does admit of explanation: "I will now go up, to him", cf. above 39, RB 18 (comm.). For the usual, popular spelling *ascendo* instead of *adsc-*, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.* § 114. As regard the correction of tense: Late Latin is often careless in its use of tenses, precisely in confident affirmations, cf. 36, RA 4; Zander, *Phaedrus Solutus*, p.CXXVII.

Dicite mihi (RA) ~ *Dic* (RB): Strictly speaking (RB), Apollonius is still speaking to the helmsman. But *RA* tells the story in a lively manner.

quis vocatur (RA/RB): Whereas those who advocate a Latin original of the *HA* refer to the Latin character of a purely paratactic placement of the indicative instead of the subjunctive after verbs of speaking and asking (Klebs, p.265), supporters of a Greek model **HA(Gr)**, starting from the same given, point to an identical Greek construction: thus here εἴπετέ μοι, τίς καλεῖται·

CHAPTER 40

40, RA 1-2 Athenagoras vero ait intra se audito nomine: "Et Tharsia Apollonium <nominat> patrem." 'But when Athenagoras heard the name he said to himself: "Tarsia also named Apollonius as father"'

40, RB 1 Athenagoras ait intra se: "Et Tharsia patrem Apollonium nominabat."

ait intra se (RA/RB): A rare combination in classical Latin, cf. OLD, s.v. *intra* (2): 'to oneself, privately': Tacit., *Dial.* 3,3 *hanc tragoediam disposui iam et intra me ipse formavi*; Iuv. 13,209 *scelus intra se tacitum qui cogitat ullum*. It is very frequent in biblical Latin, probably owing to Hebrew-Aramaic influence, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ἐν, I, 5 b (Sp. 514): ἐν ἑαυτῷ 'bei sich, d.h. im Stillen', with combinations like διαλογίζεσθαι, διαπορεῖν, εἰδέναι, λέγειν, εἰπεῖν, ἐμβριμᾶσθαι; in particular the combination with εἰπεῖν is much favoured, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. εἶπον: Luke 7:39 εἶπεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ λέγων ~ *ait intra se dicens*; ibid. 16:3 εἶπεν δὲ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὁ οἰκονόμος· τί ποιήσω ~ *ait autem villicus intra se*: *Quid faciam <...>?* (20x according to *Concord.*) It is very common in Late Latin, cf. Adams (1976), p.28 in connection with *cogitare intra se*. As such it does not occur in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. ἐν. Influence from **R(Gr)**? (Klebs, p.271 regards *intra se* as an interpolation.)

audito nomine (RA) ~ (RB /): Cf. 39, RA 26 *Quo audito dolens* ~ (RB /): Negligible details for *RB*.

<**nominat**> (RA) ~ *nominabat* (RB): Suppletion seems logical, especially after *Apollonium*, cf. *nominat* **M**, **Rα** (**LGAtr.**), *nominavit* **Rα(φ)**. Nevertheless the ellipsis may be original. It is common precisely with verbs like *dicere, praedicare, credere*, cf. Cic., *Att.* 16,7,3 *bene igitur tu, qui εὐθανασίαν* (sc. praedicas). For extensive literature on the subject, see Löfstedt, *Syntact.* II, p.244 ff.; LHS II, p.424. A similar ellipsis is found in Greek: Herond. 7,70 τὠληθὲς ἢν θέλῃς 'if you wish the truth', cf. Headlam, p.349 'it would imply the ellipse of an infinitive such as εἰπεῖν or ἀκούειν', cf. Callin., *Ep.* 15 οὗτος ἐμὸς λόγος ὑμῖν ἀληθινός· εἰ δὲ τὸν ἡδὺν βούλει 'this is my sincere word to you; if you prefer the sweet one'; Theod. Mopsuest., *in Psalm LIV* 24[c] (p.360,12) τὸ γὰρ "εἶπεν" κατὰ τὸ σύνηθες ἑαυτῷ κἀνταῦθα ἀπεσιώπησεν 'The verb "he said", as is his

custom, he suppressed here too', cf. Index (p.565, s.v. *dicere*): 'vox *dicere* non semel subaudita'.

40, RA/RB 2 Et demonstrantibus pueris pervenit ad eum. 'The servants showed him the way, and he went down to him.'

pueri (RA/RB): Like παῖδες a technical term for the crew of a ship, cf. LSJ, s.v. παῖς (III) pl.: Demosth. 33,8 ὠνὴν ποιοῦμαι τῆς νεὼς καὶ τῶν παίδων 'I buy the ship and the crew'; the Latin abl. abs. could stem directly from Gr. gen. abs. (?) τῶν παίδων δεικνύντων 'the boys showing him the way', cf. Hom., *Od.* 12,25 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ δείξω ὁδόν 'but I shall show the way'.

40, RA 3-4 Quem cum vidisset squalida barba, capite horrido et sordido in tenebris iacentem, submissa voce salutavit eum: "Ave, Apolloni." 'When he saw Apollonius lying in the dark with an unkempt beard and a dishevelled, dirty head, he greeted him in a low voice: "Greetings, Apollonius!"'

40, RB 2-4 Quem ut vidit barba caput squalidum, in tenebris iacentem, submissa voce ait: "Apolloni, ave!"

squalidā barbā, capite horrido et sordido (RA) ~ *barbā caput squalidum* (RB): Standard terminology. For *squalida barba*, cf. ThLL II 1725,75 ff.: Verg., *Aen.* 2,277 *squalentem barbam* <…> *gerens*; Sen., *Controv.* 1,1,19 *squalida barba capilloque*; Apul., *Flor.* 3 (p.13) *barba squalidus*, etc.. *Horridus* is also part of the standard terminology, cf. ThLL VI,2 2991,41: Ov., *Pont.* 3,3,17 *horrida pendebant* <…> *super ora* (sc. Amoris) *capilli*; id., *Trist.* 5,7,10 *ora* <…> *sunt longis horrida tecta comis*. Naturally such descriptions are also found in Greek, which particularly uses the term αὐχμηρός, cf. LSJ, s.v. αὐχμέω 'to be squalid or unwashed'; αὐχμηροκόμης 'with squalid hair'; αὐχμηρός (2): 'especially of hair'. The Greek Novel too: Charit. 3,4,4 Χαιρέας <…> εἰσῆλθε μελανείμων, ὠχρός, αὐχμῶν 'Chaireas came in first, dressed in black, pale, unwashed'; Xen. Eph. 1,13,3 κόμη ἦν αὐτῷ αὐχμηρὰ καθειμένη 'his hair hung loose and unkempt'; Heliod. 2,16,1 ἀνὴρ τὴν κόμην αὐχμηρός 'a man with matted hair'. *RB*'s abridgement seems unjustified, since it omits the element of *capilli* (Klebs's reference, p.289 to Apul. *Met.* 4,35; 8,7 as 'eine weitere auffällige Übereinstimmung' [= Garbugino, p.119 with n.139] was already discussed at 38, RA 17-19/RB 14-16 [comm.].)

in tenebris iacentem (RA/RB): To be taken literally here and as such probably adopted from **R(Gr)**. Particularly with *sedere* the phrase has a biblical ring, cf. Matt. 1:16 *populus qui sedebat in tenebris* (Gr. ὁ λαὸς ὁ καθήμενος ἐν σκοτίᾳ); Luke 1:79 *illuminare his, qui in tenebris et in umbra mortis sedent* (Gr. ἐπιφᾶναι τοῖς ἐν σκότει καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου καθημένοις), cf. below 40, RA 30/RB 25 *sedentem in tenebris*.

submissa voce (RA/RB), cf. 40, RA 37/RB 31: Cf. Greek (?) τῆς φωνῆς ὑφειμένης, cf. LSJ, s.v. ὑφίημι (III) 'lower one's tone'.

salutavit eum: "Ave, Apolloni (RA) ~ *ait: "Apolloni, ave* (RB): For *Apolloni* mentioned first in a greeting, cf. ThLL II 1300,60 ff.

40, RA 4-7 Apollonius vero putabat se a quoquam de <s>uis contemptum esse; turbido vultu respiciens, ut vidit ignotum sibi hominem honestum et decoratum, texit furore<m> silenti<o>. 'But Apollonius thought he was being mocked by one of his crew; when he looked up with a furious expression to see a noble, well-dressed stranger, he concealed his anger in silence.'

40, RB 4-6 Apollonius putans se ab aliquo suorum contemni, turbulento <v>ultu respiciens vidit ignotum sibi hominem honesto cultu decoratum. Furorem silentio texit.

putabat (RA) ~ *putans* (RB): An elegant move, cf. below *RA* 30 *consoleris* / RB 25 *consolans*.

a quoquam de <s>uis (RA) ~ *ab aliquo suorum* (RB): *Quisquam* is on the wane in Late Latin, superseded by *aliquis*, cf. Linderbauer, p.111 on Reg. Ben., Prol. 12 *aliquando*; Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 290. Ziehen's conjecture *de <s>uis* for d' qûis **P** is the least drastic of those proposed (*de servis* Ring; *de pueris* Heraeus, Hunt [1983], p.338). The phrase *de suis* represents the classical partitive gen. This also occurs occasionally in 'high' authors, cf. OLD, s.v. *de* (10): '(in partitive sense, indicating the whole from which part is taken)': Plaut., *Pseud.* 1164 *dimidium de praeda*; Cic., *Verr.* 1,32 *aliquam partem de istius impudentia*; Caes., *Gall.* 1,15,2 *pauci de nostris*; for this tendency, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 250; Linderbauer, p.113; Adams (1976), pp.50,51,119. The parallel with τὶς ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ suggests itself, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐκ I.4; Bauer *Wörterbuch*, s.v. τίς I.a. In both cases *RB* reacts with great

linguistic sensibility, cf. Plaut., *Amph.* 1099 *nostrum quisquam*; Liv. 3,68,4 *vestrum quisquam*. (Schmeling, *Notes*, p.396 [on ed. 72,4] argues in *RB* for *ab aliquo servorum* RE, Klebs, p.67.)

contemptum esse (RA) ~ *contemni* (RB): Classical verb for *despici, illudi* when orders have not been obeyed, cf. OLD, s.v. (2) 'to pay no heed to, disregard'. The epenthetic *-p-* is probably authentic, cf. ThLL IV 635,4. As equivalent the Glossaria offer καταφρονέω 'despice', cf. 7, RA 17 *contemptor regni* (comm.).

turbido vultu (RA) ~ *turbulento <v>ultu* (RB): The two words are virtually synonymous, cf. OLD, s.v. *turbidus* (3): (troubled in expression, gloomy, frowning) Turp., *Com.* 167 *stare <...> turbulento vultu, subductis cum superciliis senes*; Excid. Troiae 50,23 *turbido vultu* **Ri**. Cf. on the other hand OLD, s.v. *turbulentus* (3): '(of persons) turbulent': Cic., *De Orat.* 2,48 *seditiosum civem et turbulentum* (no example of collocation with *vultus*). Though Isid., *Diff. lib.* (Migne 83) 1, no.564 states: *turbidus de natura est, turbulentum fit* (for the quotation, cf. Forcellini, s.v. *turbidus*), the change from *turbidus* to *turbulentus* probably involves more than the preference in Late Latin for longer, polysyllabic words, cf. V. Bulhart, 'Lexikalisches zum Spätlatein', *WS* 67 (1954), p.148. A possible Greek substrate is θολερός 'troubled by passion', cf. CGL III 315,30; 465,67; 522,37.

respiciens (RA/RB): To be taken literally: looking up, from (?) ἀναβλέψας.

honestum et decoratum (RA) ~ *honesto cultu decoratum* (**β¹π**): The Latin text of *RA* poses few difficulties as such: 'noble and distinguished' (Konstan). The combination *homo/vir* with *honestus* is very common, cf. ThLL VI,2 2901,64 ff.; OLD, s.v. *honestus* (1.2). (It seems less plausible to interpret this as *dives* with Riese (1893), Index s.v. *honestus*; for the meaning 'rich', see Adams [1976], p.108.) Yet *decoratus* without modification may appear strange (Riese [1893], ad loc.: num *decorum*?) Perhaps both adjectives overlie a Greek substrate text: ἔνδοξος (cf. LSJ, s.v. 'held in honour')/ἔντιμος 'honoured' (also in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v.) alongside κεκοσμημένος, with the standard Latin translation *decoratus* (cf. ThLL V,1 213,37). This κεκοσμημένος is also used absolutely, cf. LSJ, s.v. κοσμέω (II): 'pf. part. of pers.': Plato, *Leg.* 716[a] ταπεινὸς καὶ κεκοσμημένος 'humble and orderly'. Probably on account of unmodified *decoratus* (RA), *RB* modifies to *honesto cultu decoratum*, a clever invention in itself, cf. CIL VI (epitaph, Rome, 2nd/3rd c., on a son who died young) 19683 *vitae nitidus, cultu decoratus, formae speciosus*. For the change from *cultu* (**β¹π**) to *vultu* (**β²π**), cf. Apul., *Met.* 10,30 *puella vultu honesta*.

texit furore<m> silenti<o> (RA) ~ *Furorem silentio texit* (RB): No doubt Romans immediately understood the expression itself. Yet it does not seem to be often recorded for Latin literature (it is lacking in ThLL VI,1 1637,15 ff., s.v. *furor*). This may be a coincidence, cf. Mombr. I. 606,627 *miror quare non erubescimus militum Christi victorias silentio tegere*; 455,40 *Probabile satis <…> videtur, si clarorum gesta virorum non silentio tegamus*. Greek has the phrase in many variants, cf. LSJ, s.v. σιγή 'silence': σιγᾷ καλύψαι, σιγῇ στέγειν, σιγῇ κεύθειν. In later Greek too, cf. Leont. Neap., *Vita Jo. Eleem.* (ed. Festugière, A.J. ~ Rydén, L. *Léontios de Neapolis, Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre*, Paris 1974) 3,7 ἐννοούμενοι οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι τὰ δυνάμενα ὠφέλειαν τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ποιῆσαι τῇ σιγῇ ἀποκρύψαι 'thinking it would not be just to conceal with silence events which could be useful for those hearing.' On this basis we can reconstruct the transmitted text *furore silentium* **P**, cf. *furorem* (**Rα**) *silentio* (**Rα**: **φF**). This forms an interesting case of so-called *metathesis casuum* (transposition of cases), cf. D. Norberg, *Beiträge zur spätlateinischen Syntax*, Uppsala 1944, p.121; Blatt, *Acta Andreae*, p.41,10.

40, RA 7-9	Cui Athenagoras, princeps civitatis, ait: "Scio enim te mirari, sic quod nomine <te> salutaverim: disce, quod princeps huius civitatis sum." 'Athenagoras, the prince of the city, said to him: "I realize that you are surprised to be greeted by name like this. Let me inform you that I am the prince of this city."' (RB: 'and my name is Athenagoras'.)
40, RB 6-8	Athenagoras ait: "Scio te mirari, quod ignotus homo tuo nomine te salutavit. Disce, quod princeps sum huius civitatis, Athenagoras nomine.

princeps civitatis (RA) ~ (RB /): In *RA* almost an *epitheton ornans*, repeated in the next remark. For the title, cf. 4, RB 2 (comm.).

Scio enim te (RA) ~ *scio te* (RB): For the placement in second position, cf. OLD, s.v. *enim*; here almost as a transitional particle, cf. OLD (7): 'namely', hence omitted by *RB*.**sic quod nomine <te> salutaverim** (RA) ~ *quod ignotus homo tuo nomine te salutavit* (RB): A laborious formulation in *RA*: we could connect *sic* with *salutaverim*, but then why not just write *sic salutaverim* ("that I have thus greeted you", Konstan)? We are probably dealing with a literal translation of ὡς ὅτι, with the meaning: 'that' (Blaß-Debrunner, § 396; Moulton, p.336; Jannaris, § 1754; Ljungvik,

Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten, p.67). The rest of the combination also has a Greek feel to it. A very common phrase in the Greek Novel is ὀνομαστί (ἀπο-, προσ-)καλεῖν, cf. *Less.*, s.v. ὀνομαστί (Xen. Eph. 2x; Long. 2x; Heliod. 4x). The addition <*te*> (Ring, Riese) is elegant from a Greek point of view too (cf. CGL II, s.v. *saluto*: III 509, 22 saluto te ἀσπάζομαί σε), but is perhaps unnecessary, given the fixed expression. *RB* normalizes: *sic* (taken as: 'in these circumstances') is specified by *ignotus homo*; the vague *nomine salutare* by *tuo nomine te salutare*, obviously with change of person and indicative, as a real fact (*aliter* Hunt [1999], pp.352-3).

disce, quod (RA/RB): A very rare combination in Latin. ThLL V,1 1334,29 has only three references, which are partly influenced by Greek (Hier., *Lev.* 23,43 *ut discant, quod*; Vulg. Esth. 12:2 *didicit quod conarentur in regem Artaxerxem manus mittere*; Vulg., Eccl. 2:14 *et didici, quod* (Gr. καὶ ἔγνων <…> ὅτι). Clearly Greek is involved here too: (?) γίγνωσκε, ὅτι; γνῶθι, ὅτι; μάθε, ὅτι (cf. Herod. 7,49).

princeps huius civitatis (RA): A shrewd addition by *RB*: *Athenagoras nomine*, necessary after: *ignotus homo* (RB).

40, RA 9-10 Et cum Athenagoras nullum ab eo audisset sermonem, item ait ad eum: 'When Athenagoras heard no comment from him, he spoke to him again:' ~ (RB /)

sermonem (RA): The Glossaria (cf. CGL VII, 260) have *sermo* as the standard translation of λόγος (Souter), cf. LSJ, s.v. λόγος (VI): 'utterance'; one would have expected *verbum*, cf. Matt. 15:23 ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῇ λόγον ~ *Qui non respondit ei verbum.*

item (RA) = (?) πάλιν, this meaning *passim*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. This sentence, clearly based on Greek, could be omitted by *RB* because it seems superfluous.

40, RA 10-12 "Descendi de via in litore ad naviculas contuendas et inter omnes naves vidi navem tuam decenter ornatam, amabili aspectu eius. 'I came down from the road to the shore to inspect the ships, and I noticed yours among all the rest because of its fine decoration and attractive appearance.'

40, RB 8-9 Descendens in litore ad naviculas contuendas, inter ceteras vidi navem tuam decenter ornatam et laudavi.

Descendi <…> **vidi** (RA) ~ *Descendens* <…> *vidi* (RB): The usual procedure, cf. above (5) *putabat* <…> *texit* (RA) ~ (4) *putans* <…> *vidit* <…> *texit* (RB).

in litore (RA/RB): Classical Latin would have expected: *in litus*. For the situation, cf. 39, RA 12 (comm.); 42, RA 36-42.

ad naviculas contuendas (RA/**Mπ**): *Navicula* (*naucula*) is already found in classical Latin, cf. OLD, s.v. *navicula* 'a small ship, boat'. The Greek Novel likes to use πλοῖον, cf. *Less.* s.v. (Charit. 7x; Xen. Eph. 5x; Achill. Tat. 8x), even more ναῦς, cf. *Less.*, s.v. (Charit. 25x; Xen. Eph. 27x; Achill. Tat. 63x; Long. 25x; Heliod. 35x); never a diminutive like πλοιάριον/πλοιαρίδιον. Moreover, both *RA* and *RB* alternate between the diminutive *navicula* and the noun *navis* without any appreciable difference in meaning. The same applies to the Koine Greek of the NT, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. πλοιάριον: Mark 3:9 πλοιάριον alternating with ibid. 4:1 πλοῖον; ibid. 4:36 πλοῖα (πλοιάρια v.l.); Luke 5:2 δύο πλοιάρια (πλοῖα v.l.); John 6:22-23 successively πλοιάριον-πλοῖον-πλοιάρια (cf. app. crit.). Though nothing can be said with absolute certainty about this, we can perhaps find an argument here for **R(Gr)**: *navicula* (translating **HA(Gr** πλοιάριον) is improbable for the Greek Novel; the equation πλοιάριον ~ πλοῖον argues for the language of an intermediate phase **R(Gr)**, written in Koine Greek, cf. Introd. n.40; 24, RA 2 *ventriculum* (comm.).

contuendas RA, **Mπ** ~ *committendas* **β**: A skilful emendation by *RB*, preserving the word shape and number of syllables (cf. Introd. III.3), from '*contuendas*' 'to look at' (cf. CGL [συν]ἀθενίζω 'to look intently'), in accordance with the situation, to *committendas* 'to compare' 'choose', to determine the most beautiful ship, cf. ThLL III 1902, 50-9.

inter omnes naves (RA) ~ *inter ceteras* (RB): Absolutely classical.

decenter ornatam (RA/RB): According to ThLL V,1 136,53, *decenter* is the standard translation of πρεπόντως. The combination with *ornare* occurs frequently (ibid., 72 ff.): here from (?) στεφανόω 'crown', cf. Verg. *Georg.*

1,304 (= *Aen.* 4,418) *puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere coronas*; Charit. 8,6,10 καὶ αὗται γὰρ αἱ τριήρεις ἐκ πολέμου κατέπλεον ἐστεφανωμέναι 'these ships too were sailing back from battle decorated with garlands'; Plut. *Moralia* 2,981[e] (when a sturgeon allows himself to be caught by fishermen) στεφανοῦνται μὲν αὐτοί, στεφανοῦσι δὲ τὰς ἁλιάδας 'they put on wreaths themselves and wreathe their boats'.

amabili aspectu eius (RA) ~ *et laudavi* (RB): *Aspectus* (RA) should probably be interpreted in the primary sense: 'with its attractive appearance'. The Glossaria suggest a translation from (?) προσφιλοῦς προσόψεως/ἐπόψεως αὐτῆς (gen. of quality) 'with its pleasing appearance', cf. CGL VI,57 s.v. *amabilis*; ibid., 103, s.v. *aspectus*. A discussion of *eius* (RA) is required. Since Riese (1893) editors have unanimously eliminated *eius* (passed down as *e'*, i.q. *eius*, **P**). Yet the transmitted text should be respected as one of the most salient places evidencing a Greek original, in this case a Greek intermediate phase **R(Gr)**, and a literal translation in *RA*. For the construction runs parallel to the abundant use of pronouns, without any internal coherence, typical of Koine and later Greek, e.g. Mark 7:25 ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀκούσασα γυνὴ περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἧς εἶχεν τὸ θυγάτριον <u>αὐτῆς</u> πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον, ἐλθοῦσα προσέπεσεν πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ: in the relative clause αὐτῆς goes with ἧς and is grammatically redundant, cf. Luke 6,20 καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπάρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς <u>αὐτοῦ</u>; John 2:11 καὶ ἐπίστευσαν εἰς αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ <u>αὐτοῦ</u>. Likewise *eius* can be a literal translation of αὐτῆς (in the case of ναῦς)/ αὐτοῦ (in the case of πλοῖον, σκάφιον), cf. Introd. IV.2.2. For this phenomenon in a broader context, see A.N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar*, London 1897, §§ 1399-1401. *RB*'s elimination is purely an attempt to regularize the sentence construction (with probably *laudavi* instead of *amavi*). The Vulgate also eliminates the abundant use in the biblical places quoted. (With thanks to Prof. W.J. Aerts, who kindly pointed out this place to me.) (Schmeling, *Notes*, p.151 [on ed. 31,22 *amabili aspectu* [*eius*]] draws attention to *et amavi aspectum eius* **Rα(FG)**. But this is a clear attempt at correction.)

40, RA 12-13	Et dum incedo, invitatus sum ab amicis et nautis tuis. Adscendi et libenti animo discubui. 'When I came nearer, your friends and the crew invited me aboard. I came on board and took a place with pleasure.'
40, RB 9-10	Nautis vero tuis invitantibus libenti animo discubui.

dum incedo (RA): For *dum* + pres. subjunct., cf. 1, RA 16 *dum miratur* (RB /) (comm.).

ab amicis et nautis tuis (RA): The striking element *ab amicis* has led to much tinkering in the tradition and by editors (cf. app. crit.). The text passed down by **P** has been retained, cf. Greg. Tur., *Lib. de Miraculis B. Andreae* (ed. Bonnet), p.840,26 *cum navigarem cum pueris* (i.e. 'with the crew') *et amicis meis*. The term *amici* may cover various people: perhaps personal φίλοι and ἐπιτήδειοι/ἑταῖροι. For ἐπιτήδειος, cf. Charit. 1,12,1 αὐτὸς δὲ διέδραμεν εἰς ἄστυ παραλαβὼν δύο τῶν ἐπιτηδείων 'He (i.e. Theron, the pirate) himself hurried to town with two of his men (leaving his crew on ship)'; Heliod. 2,21,7 ἀναμεῖναί τινας <…> τῶν ἐπιτηδείων 'to wait for some friends'. Voor ἑταῖρος 'sailor' 'shipmate', cf. Hom., *Od.* 13,21 αὐτὸς ἰὼν διὰ νηός, ὑπὸ ζυγά, μή τιν' ἑταίρων | βλάπτοι ἐλαυνόντων 'personally going through the ship, all over the thwarts, making sure not to hinder anyone of his friends from rowing.'

Adscendi (RA): A technical term, cf. (?) ἀναβαίνω, cf. LSJ, s.v. (II): 'to mount a ship, go on board', cf. 39, RA 16-17/RB 18 (comm.). For *libenti animo*, cf. 39, RA 23 (comm.).

RB's version is no more than an elegant abridgement (note *vero* and the abl. abs.) sidestepping the difficulties (*ab amicis*).

40, RA 13-14 Inquisivi dominum navis. Qui dixerunt te in luctu esse gravi ; quod et video. 'I asked about the master of the ship; they told me that you were in deep mourning, as indeed I see.'

40, RB 10-11 Inquisivi dominum navis. Dixerunt in luctu morari; quod video.

Qui dixerunt (RA) ~ *Dixerunt* (RB): Late Latin, certainly in this kind of story, has a sometimes extreme preference for the relative link, cf. Blatt, *Acta Andreae*, p.118,9. Editors often delete, cf. Riese (1893), ad loc.: 'qui *deleo*'.

in luctu esse gravi (RA) ~ *in luctu morari* (RB): For the alternative reading, cf. 7, RA 8/RB 9; 39, RA 24-25/RB 23.

ét (RA) ~ (RB /): For *et* = *quoque* (cf. Konstan, p.97: 'in addition to having been told') cf. 32, RA 23 *Quod et factum esse scias!* (RB /).

40, RA 15-16 Sed pro desiderio, quo veni ad te, procede de tenebris ad lucem et epulare nobiscum paulisper. 'But in response to the desire which

brought me to you, come out of the dark to the light and feast with us for a little while.'

40, RB 11-12 Prosit ergo, quod veni. Procede de tenebris ad lucem, discumbe, epulare paulisper.

pro desiderio, quo (RA) ~ *Prosit ergo, quod* (RB): The expression *pro desiderio* does not occur often in classical Latin, cf. ThLL V,1 701,31: Traian., in Plin., *Epist.* 10,119; Plin., *Val.* 5,33 (2x); Anthim. 25.49.51; from Late Latin: *Recognitiones* 2,1 (PLG 1), p.1249^{A} *pro ipsorum desiderio*; Vita Wandr. 7 (MGMer. V 16,27) *pro Christi desiderium omnem gloriam mundi dispexerat*; Vita Filib. 7 (ibid. 589,1) *castra Dei, ubi suspirantes pro desiderium* (*-io* v.l.) *paradisi gemunt* (with thanks to T. Payr, MLW). These places clearly show that the *RA* reading (Konstan, p.90 "in return for the longing with which") is authentic and should be retained (Riese [1893]: † pro). *Pro* has the value of *propter* here (cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *pro* [3.4]), as often in Late Latin (Schmalz-Hofmann, p.534; Bonnet, p.615; Löfstedt, *Per.*, p.156; Linderbauer, p.218; Svennung, *Orosiana*, p.42), esp. in the expression *pro qua re* (cf. 41, RA 31 *pro eo quod* ~ RB /; 44, RA 15 *pro quibus* ~ RB /). In translations this *pro* = *propter* often corresponds to διά + acc., cf. Salonius, *Vitae Patrum*, p.161 ff.; Hofmann, *Beiträge*, 105. It is possible that *pro* (RA) goes back directly to πρό, cf. LSJ, s.v. III.2: 'of Cause or Motive *for*, *from*: Il. 17,667 πρό φόβοιο *for* fear; Soph. *Electra* 495 πρό τῶνδε there*fore*.' Based on sound and form, *RB*'s change is cleverly devised, but in fact it betrays the text and is unnecessary. (In 19, RB 10 *pro amore RB* does accept this meaning [in correction of *RA* 9 *prae amore*].)

nobiscum (RA) ~ (RB /): Probably omitted because this aspect is superfluous in the case of a joint meal. (Schmeling, *Notes*, p.396 [on ed.72,12] proposes, with Riese, to add *nobiscum* in RB.)

40, RA 16-17 Spero autem de deo, quia dabit tibi post hunc tam ingentem luctum ampliorem laetitiam." 'I hope that after such a great grief God will give you even greater joy."'

40, RB 12-14 Spero enim de deo, quia dabit tibi deus p<ost t>am ingentem <luctum> et laetitiam ampliorem."

autem (RA) ~ *enim* (RB): A classical emendation. But *autem* may derive directly from δὲ, cf. ThLL II 1588,34 ff.; Salonius, *Vitae Patr.*, p.343.

spero de deo, quia (RA/RB): Classical Latin would have construed: *spero deum daturum esse*; for the looser construction *sperare de*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *spero*: Ambr., *Epist.* 71,20; Oros., *Hist.* 7,35,22. For the analytical construction *quod/quia*, cf. *HA* 6, RA 3/RB 2 *scias, quia*; Blaise, ibid.; Luc. 24,21 *sperabamus, quod* (Gr. ἠλπίζομεν, ὅτι) *ipse esset redempturus Israel*; 2 Macc. 2:18; Rom. 15:24. A similar form of consolation is found in the Greek Novel, cf. Xen. Eph. 1,6,2 ᾿Αλλ᾿ ἔτι που μετὰ πήματ᾿ ἀρείονα πότμον ἔχουσι 'But still after their sufferings a better fate is in store'; Heliod. 7,5,5, ἕως ἄν τι τέλος τῶν κατά σε δεξιώτερον ὑποφήνῃ θεός 'until god allows you to glimpse a happier ending to your story'. The move from a θεός (*paganus*) **HA(Gr)** to **R(Gr)** and thence to RA/RB (*deus christianorum*) need not have been radical. (Klebs, pp.190, 225 deletes both *RA* and *RB*.)

40, RA 17-18 Apollonius autem luctu fatigatus levavit caput suum et sic ait: 'But Apollonius, worn out by his grief, raised his head and said:'

40, RB 14 Apollonius vero luctu fatigatus levavit caput et dixit:

luctu fatigatus (RA/RB): Here in the sense of *vexatus*, cf. 12, RB 4 *proicitur fatigatus in Cyrenen*; 44, RA 8/RB 11 *ab ipsis cunabulis fatigari*. This use is rather singular: ThLL VI,1 347,36 has no further parallel for *luctu fatigatus* (from Gr. [?] ὑπὸ [τῆς] λύπης κεκοπωμένος).

40, RA 18-19 "Quicumque es, domine, vade, discumbe et epulare cum <m>eis ac si cum tuis. '"Whoever you are, lord, go away, recline and feast with my men as if your own.'

40, RB 14-15 "Quisquis es, domine, vade <et discumbe>: epulare cum meis ac si cum tuis.

Quicumque es (RA) ~ **Quisquis es** (RB): The same change below 40, RA 38 ~ RB 32; elsewhere *RB* retains *quicumque*, cf. 12, RA 11/RB 14.

domine (RA/RB): An ordinary term of address, from (?) κύριε.

vade (RA/RB): The *HA* has a preference for this disyllabic imperative instead of *i*: cf. Ind. verb., s.v. vado. Only in 40, RA 24 does *RA* offer the poetic form *perge, puer* versus *RB* 20 *vade*. The verb *vadere* is very defective, cf. 12, RA 20/RB 23 (comm.). For the obsolescence of *eo, ire* in monosyllabic forms, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.* § 141.

ac si (RA/RB): This combination has the value of classical *aeque ac si*, cf. 33, RA 14/RB 12 (comm.); perhaps it corresponds to Gr. (?) ὡσεί.

40, RA 19-21	Ego vero valde afflictus sum meis calamitatibus, ut non solum epulari, sed nec vivere desiderarem." 'For I am overwhelmed by my misfortunes, so that not only have I no desire to feast, but I do not want to live.'
40, RB 15-17	Ego autem afflictus calamitatibus gravibus non possum epulari, sed nec vivere volo."

Small but deliberate adjustments (*vero* ~ *autem*, *valde* /, *sum* /, *meis* ~ *gravibus*).

afflictus (RA/RB): A very common image: Cic., *Quinct.* 10 *tot tantisque difficultatibus adfectus atque adflictus*; id., *Sulla* 15 *hic se* <…> *fractum illa calamitate atque afflictum putavit*; Liv. 23,30,6 *urbem* <…> *multis magnisque cladibus adflictam*, cf. ThLL I 1234,42-1235,43.

ut non solum <…> **sed nec** <…> **desiderarem** (**P**) ~ *non possum* <…> *sed nec* <…> *volo* (RB): The reading *desiderarem* **P** in *RA* has been reluctantly retained. A classical emendation would be *desiderarim* (Ring, Riese [1893] = *desideraverim* ["so that I have had no desire", Konstan]). The secondary redaction **Rα** has the grammatically expected *desiderem* (**F**) alongside *desidero* (**φ**, **LGAtr.**), where *ut* is combined with indic., a not unusual construction in Christian Latin, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *ut* (4). A second curiosity in *RA* is the ellipsis of *non* after *non solum*, sporadically found even in great authors: Cic., *Acad.* 2,6 *non modo operam nostram umquam a populari coetu removimus, sed ne litteram quidem ullam fecimus nisi forensem*, cf. id., *Pis.* 10,23; *De off.* 3,19,77. This linguistically understandable construction becomes more widespread in Late Latin, cf. Norberg, p.104; LHS II, p.519[1.2]. *RB* has skilfully eliminated both problems. For *nec* = *ne* <…> *quidem*, cf. 28, RA 7 *sed neque*. For the phenomenon, cf. Löfstedt, *Synt.* I (1928), p.265 ff.; Linderbauer, p.116 (on Reg. Ben. 15); Blatt, p.47,8. The Greek background of the *HA* suggests a translation of the entire phrase from οὐ μόνον οὐ <…> ἀλλὰ καί. (Klebs, p.242-243 is of no value; Schmeling, *Notes*, p.396 [on ed. 72,16] proposes to read *non solum non possum* instead of *non possum* **βMπ**.) For the line of thought, cf. Charit. 6,2,8 Χαιρέας δὲ οὐχ ἥπτετο τροφῆς, οὐδὲ ὅλως ἤθελε ζῆν 'But Chaereas would not touch food; he had lost all desire to live.'

40, RA 21-22 Confusus Athenagoras subiit de subsannio navis rursus ad navem et discumbens ait: 'Confused, Athenagoras went back from the hold to the deck. He reclined and said:'

40, RB 17-18 Athenagoras confusus ascendit in navem et discumbens dixit:

Confusus (RA/RB): From (?) συγχυθείς, cf. LSJ, s.v. συγχέω (II): 'of the mind, *confound, trouble*'; see also 14, RA 12/RB 10 (comm.).

subiit de subsannio navis rursus ad navem (RA) ~ *ascendit in navem* (RB): *RA* almost enacts the laborious climb up: *subiit* must mean 'to go up' ('he went up', Konstan), contrary to the normal meaning, cf. OLD, s.v. *subeo* (1): 'to go underneath'. For this secondary meaning, cf. OLD, s.v. (5): 'to ascend': Prop. 4,2,30 *clamabis capiti vina subisse meo*; Plin., *Nat.* 31,31 *quoniam levissima sit imbrium* (aqua)*, ut quae subire potuerit et pendere in aere*; ibid. 31,57 *subit* (aqua) *altitudinem exortus sui*. This usage links up with the standard expression *subire (in) collem*, cf. OLD, ibid. (5 b). Compare also *Actus Petri cum Simone* c.5 (Lips.-Bonn. I, p.50,31): *Petrus per funem descendens baptizavit Theonem <...>, ille autem subivit ab aqua <...> et continuo ascenderunt Petrus et Theon et introierunt in lectina*. The meaning 'to go up' is found directly in the Glossaria, cf. CGL VII 304 *subeo* ἀνέρχομαι 'to go up'; ibid. 456 ἀνέρχομαι *ascendo <...> subeo*.

navem (RA/RB): Obviously this means 'the deck' here (Konstan, ad loc.: '*i.e.* the ship's deck'). The dictionaries do not offer a parallel place for this curious *totum pro parte*. Because various factors may have played a role, both in Latin and in Greek, I believe the text should not be changed. Perhaps the problems are already caused by the term σανίς, cf. LSJ (3): '*wooden floor*, esp. *ship's deck*' in contrast to LSJ (Suppl.), s.v. (3): 'in the hull of a ship' (*aliter* Schmeling [1988], p.31,31 and p.72,17: lucem *scripsi*).

40, RA 22-24 "Non potui domino vestro persuadere, ut ad lucem venire procederet. Quid faciam, ut eum a proposito mortis revocem? "'I have not been able to persuade your master to come into the light. So what can I do to dissuade him from his determination to die?'

40, RB 18-19 "Non potui persuadere domino vestro, ut vel ad lucem rediret. Quid enim faciam, ut eum revocem a proposito mortis?

ad lucem venire procederet P ~ *vel ad lucem rediret* (RB): **P**'s expansive expression has aroused the suspicions of many scholars: a simple remedy seems the deletion of *venire* (Riese [1893], Schmeling), possibly in the form *veniret* as a gloss on *procederet* (Riese [1893], in the text). Nevertheless the **P** reading should be respected as a final inf., frequent after verbs like *descendere, mittere, ponere, porrigere, venire*, cf. Greg. Tur., *Hist.*, Index Levison, p.608,6; LHS II, p.344[4]; Löfstedt, *Synt.* II, p.183. Moreover, the pleonasm is only an apparent one: it plastically represents a first step to re-enter the light. At the same time it could be a literal rendering of (?) προβαίνω, likewise with final inf. εἰς τὸ φῶς ἔρχεσθαι. For the final inf. after verbs of going (cf. Hatzidakis, p.226) in the Greek Novel: Xen. Eph. 5,10,7 ἐληλύθει δὲ προσεύξασθαι τῷ θεῷ 'he (sc. Habrocomes) had come to pray to the god'. For the phrase itself (used figuratively), cf. Heliod. 7,21,1 εἰ ταῦτα εἰς φῶς ἔλθοι καὶ γνοίη ποθὲν τὸ παράνομον τῶν δεδραμένων ὁ σατράπης 'if this business ever comes to light and somehow the satrap gets to hear of these illicit goings-on'. Like modern editors, *RB* has taken exception to the apparent tautology: the result is splendid. For *vel*, cf. OLD, s.v. *vel* (6): 'even if only' (Germ. 'wenigstens'). It is much favoured in Late Latin: Ven. Fort., *Carm.* 2,16,79 *dolor est vel cernere poenam*.

40, RA 24-25	Itaque bene mihi venit in mente<m>: perge, puer, ad lenonem illum et dic ei, ut mittat ad me Tharsiam." 'I have a good idea: boy, go to the pimp and tell him to send Tarsia to me."'
40, RB 19-21	Bene mihi venit in mentem: vade, puer, ad Ninum lenonem et dic illi, ut mittat ad me Tharsiam.

Itaque bene (RA) ~ *Bene* (RB): *RB*'s abridgement is understandable, since strictly speaking there is no causal connection. In the sense of '*et ita*' the word usually takes first position, rarely second, cf. ThLL VII,2 528,29. Perhaps from Greek (?) καλῶς οὖν.

venit in mente P, Ra(φ) (*-m* **Rα (FGAtr.)**) ~ *venit in mentem* (RB): The expression occurs not only in Latin, cf. Heraeus, *Kleine Schriften*, p.114 (Treb., *Trig. tyr.* 20,1; Claud. 10,1). Greek has many variants: (καλῶς) ἐπὶ νοῦν ἀναβαίνει/ἥκει/ἦλθεν, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ἀναβαίνω; LSJ, s.v. νόος (I,2): ἐπὶ νοῦν ἐλθεῖν τινι 'to occur to one'. In the Greek Novel too, cf. Zimmermann, p.86 n.2; Achill. Tat. 8,17,7 κἀμὲ <...> ὑπεισῄει τὸ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους 'And I was reminded of what they say about Themistocles'. As these examples show, the expression is usually combined with *mihi*/μοι.

perge, puer (RA) ~ *vade, puer* (RB): For this poetic variation in *RA* (continued in *RA* 25 *Cumque perrexisset puer*) compared with the usual *vade*, see above *RA* 19/RB 20 (comm.), cf. Löfstedt, *Synt.* II, pp.38-41; Garvin, p.281. For *puer* 'slave' (Gr. παῖ), see below.

ad lenonem illum (RA) ~ *ad Ninum lenonem* (RB): A typical intervention by *RB*: on the one hand he eliminated *ille* in the function of definite article (cf. 21, RA 2 *illos tres iuvenes*), on the other hand he supplied the name, as he likes to do, cf. Introd. VII.2.2.2. For the name *Ninus*, only in *RB*, cf. 33, RB 3. (Klebs, p.42 wrongly proposes to supply the name *Leoninus*, authentic in his view, after *illum* in *RA*.)

ut mittat ad me Tharsiam (RA/RB): Prostitutes can also be hired outside of the *lupanar*, cf. e.g. Menand., *Epitr.* 10-11; Theophr., *Charact.* 20,10 ὁ παῖς μέτεισι παρὰ τοῦ πορνοβοσκοῦ ἤδη, ὅπως πάντες ὑπ' αὐτῆς αὐλώμεθα καὶ εὐφραινώμεθα 'The slave will go to the pimp so that we all can hear some music from her and enjoy ourselves', cf. O. Navarre, *Dict. des antiquités*, s.v. *Meretrices*, p.1825; H. Herter, 'Die Soziologie der antiken Prostitution im Lichte des heidnischen und christlichen Schrifttums', *JhrbAChr.* 3, 1960, (pp.70-111) n.193.

40, RB 21-22

Est enim scholastica et sermo eius suavis, ac decore conspicua. Potest enim ipsa exhortari, ne talis vir taliter moriatur." 'For she is a learned girl, delightful in conversation, and very beautiful. It may be that she can persuade him that such a man should not die like this."'

sermo <…> **suavis**: Cf. Georges, *Wörterb.*, s.v. *suaviloquens*, *suaviloquus* (= ἡδυεπής 'sweet-speaking').

A prudish addition by *RB* with the aim of redirecting *RA*'s actual intention. Her qualities are listed in a series of three (intellectual talents coming first) according to the rules of rhetoric. For *decore conspicua*, cf. ThLL IV 499,23; the connection with Apul., *Met.* 220,7 *splendore conspicuus* is coincidental (differently: C. Morelli, 'Apuleiana', *SIFC* 20 [1913], p.183). The polyptoton *talis* <…> *taliter* is frequently found in hagiography (*aliter* Hunt [2001], p.159).

40, RA 25-27

Cumque perrexisset puer ad lenonem, <haec> leno audiens non potuit eum contemnere: licet

autem contra voluntatem, [volens] misit illam. 'When the boy arrived at the pimp's house, the pimp listened and could not ignore him; although it was against his will, he sent her along.'

40, RB 23 Leno cum audisset, nolens dimisit eam.

<**haec**> (RA) ~ (RB /): **P** actually reads *et*. This *et* is possible in Late Latin, where the apodosis sometimes starts with *et*, cf. Svennung, *Untersuchungen*, p.482; Löfstedt, *Per.* 201; Adams (1976), p.63. But because such confusion between parataxis and hypotaxis is highly questionable elsewhere in the *HA*, I have preferred to normalize: *haec* ('i.e. the order, given by Athenagoras' annotates Konstan) is often represented by a single letter in codd.

licet <…> **contra voluntatem [volens]** (RA) ~ *nolens* (RB): For *licet* (without verb), cf. 31, RB 14 (comm.); OLD, s.v. *licet* (4.c); from (?) καίπερ, cf. LSJ, II: 'although, albeit'. The *RA* text is difficult to establish. Two options present themselves:

a. Perhaps there is a *nolens, volens* wordplay (see combinations like *velit, nolit / voluit, noluit*), cf. Blatt, *Acta Andreae* (Casanat.), p.89,8 *sed volentes, nolentes credamus ei et verbis eius*. So in this case we would get, with a positive twist, *contra voluntatem* (= nolens), *volens*. This construction is quite conceivable, esp. starting from Greek ἄκων, ἕκων: e.g. Eur., *Hec.* 566 ὁ δ' οὐ θέλων τε καὶ θέλων οἴκτῳ κόρης | τέμνει σιδήρῳ πνεύματος διαρροάς 'Half willing, and half loth / through pity for the maid, he with keen steel / severed the arteries' (translation M. Wodhull, *The plays of Euripides* [Everyman's Library, no. 63] London 1906, I p.38); Charit. 2,6,2 καὶ ἑκοῦσα καὶ ἄκουσα ποιήσει τὸ σοὶ δοκοῦν· 'whether she likes it or not, she will do what you want'; Heliod. 7,27,1 ἑκών τε τὸ μέρος καὶ ἄκων ἐκοσμεῖτο 'with a mixture of delight and disgust he adorned himself', cf. 1,23,1; id. 8,3,2 ἑκούσης Ἀρσάκης εἴτε καὶ ἀκούσης 'whether Arsake consents or not'. Admittedly, though, this construction 'against his will, willing' is very harsh. Surely in that case we would simply expect *nolens, volens*? (The same objection applies even more to *contra voluntatem, nolens*, a reading introduced into the text by Schmeling after the example of **Rα(F)**, Ring.)
b. Perhaps *licet contra voluntatem* is original and *volens* merely a gloss: in the end the *leno* concedes. For such a gloss, see 33, RA 26 *dimidiam auri (partem vel) libram* **P** (comm.). This phrase is also easy to parallel in the Greek Novel: Charit. 5,2,4 Ἄκων μέν, ἀλλὰ ἐπείθετο Χαιρέας 'Although against his will Chaereas accepted this'; Heliod. 2,15,2 φύσεως νόμῳ καὶ ἄκοντες ἐπείθοντο 'although against their will they were compelled to obey the law of nature.' Compare the phrase μόλις μέν, ἀλλ' ὅμως, cf. LSJ, s.v. μόλις. I have opted for this second possibi-

lity. But since it may be that *RA* originally read *contra voluntatem, volens, volens* has been kept in the text. The *leno*'s protestations are a stock element too. Compare his complaints in: Plaut., *Rud.*712 *meas mihi ancillas invito me eripis*; Terent., *Adelph.* 198 *me invito abduxit meam*; Herond., *Mimiamb.* 2,24 βίῃ τιν' ἄξει τῶν ἐμῶν ἔμ' οὐ πείσας, καὶ ταῦτα νυκτός 'Forcibly he will abduct one of my girls without persuading me, and that overnight.' The reading *nolens* (RB), to be interpreted concessively, is simply the positive version of *Licet contra voluntatem* (RA): within the genre it corresponds to a term like *invitus* above.

illam (RA) ~ *eam* (RB): A striking change in pronoun, typical of *RB*, cf. Introd. III.1.

40, RA 27-28 Veniens autem Tharsia ad navem, videns eam Athenagoras ait ad eam: 'When Tarsia reached the ship, Athenagoras saw her and said:'
40, RB 23-24 Et veniente Tharsia dixit Athenagoras:

Veniens <…> **Tharsia** (RA) ~ *veniente Tharsia* (RB): A harsh construction in *RA*, the so-called nominative absolute, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. nominativus. *RA*'s sentence structure is extremely awkward: *veniente Tharsia* videns *eam* ait ad *eam*, cf. Horn (1918), p.22. It is not unusual in Late Latin, cf. 14, RA 13 (comm.). Here it is probably influenced by Greek, (?) **R(Gr)**. (Klebs, p.264 deletes: *veniens* <…> *navem*; Schmeling, *Notes*, pp.151-152 [on ed. 32,5] argues for *veniente* = Garbugino, pp.99-100 "probabilmente esito di corruzione"; p.108 "Solo da P".) *RB*'s 'correction' to a classical abl. abs. has only partial validity: classical Latin would have preferred a dat. Elsewhere he allows the nom. abs. (48, RB 31; 50, RB 23). For the rest he has cut back drastically, in the next lines too.

40, RA 28-29 "Veni huc ad me, Tharsia domina; hic <est> enim ars studiorum tuorum necessaria, 'Come here to me, lady Tarsia. We have need here of your skill and learning,'
40, RB 24 "Domina, hic est ars studiorum tuorum necessaria:

Veni huc ad me, Tharsia domina (RA) ~ *domina* (RB): A courteous invitation in *RA*, reduced to a minimum by *RB*. The term *domina* is striking (from [?] κυρία) for a whore, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. domina. Schmeling, *Notes*, p.152 (on ed. 32,6): [*domina*].

ars studiorum tuorum (RA/RB): A so-called *gen. inhaerentiae* or *gen. synonymorum*: *ars* and *studium* are almost identical, cf. ThLL II 673,32.

40, RA 29-32	ut consoleris dominum navis huius et horum omnium, sedentem in tenebris horteris consolationem recipere, et eum provoces ad lumen exire, lugentem coniugem et filiam. 'to console the master of this ship and of all these men. Persuade him, sitting in darkness, to receive consolation. Invite him, though mourning wife and daughter, to come out into the light.'
40, RB 25-26	consolans navis huius dominum sedentem in tenebris, coniugem lugentem et filiam, exhorteris ad lucem exire.

RA's formulation is expansive, rhetorical, but well-ordered: *RB* has eliminated and repositioned various elements.

ut consoleris (RA) ~ *consolans* (RB): A common abridgement by RB.

dominum navis huius et horum omnium (RA) ~ *navis huius dominum* (RB): For the ancient world this is a substantial intervention: Apollonius legally held absolute sway (*dominus*/κύριος), over both ship and crew (cf. Demosth. 33,8 quoted above 40, RA/RB 2): *RB* sees this as one concept.

sedentem in tenebris (RA/RB): Cf. above RA 4/RB 3 *in tenebris iacentem* (comm.).

horteris consolationem recipere, et eum provoces (RA) ~ *exhorteris* (RB): Shortened by *RB*, since *consolationem recipere* repeats in effect *consoleris* (RA)/*consolans* (RB). The expression itself is solemn, cf. ThLL IV 477,11-15: e.g. Sen., *Epist.* 21,11 *de his tecum desideriis loquor, quae consolationem non recipiunt*; Hier., *Epist.* 99,2 *nullam pro matris absentia recipit consolationem*; Ps. Rufin., *in Os.* 13,14-15 *ut consolationem recipere non valerent*. For *provoces* (*ad lumen exire*), see 41, RA 29 *provoca eum ad lumen exire*, omitted there too by *RB* (see comm.). This *provoces* probably goes back to (?) προσκαλέω, cf. LSJ, s.v. (II): '*invite* or *summon*'; CGL VII 152. Another acceptable substrate would be προκαλέω, cf. LSJ, s.v. προκαλέω (3): 'c. acc. et inf., *invite* one to do'. Probably unwittingly, *RB* thus eliminates a Greek phrase, cf. IV.3.

ad lumen exire (RA) ~ *ad lucem exire* (RB): For *ad lumen exire*, cf. 41, RA 29 *ad lumen exire* from (?) Gr. εἰς φῶς ἔρχεσθαι.

lugentem coniugem et filiam (RA) ~ *coniugem lugéntem et fíliam* (*t*) (RB): Most likely in a concessive sense. *RB* has probably changed it *rythmi causa*.

40, RA 32-34 Haec est pietatis causa, per quam dominus omnibus fit propitius. Accede ergo ad eum et suade exire ad lucem; forsitan per nos deus vult eum vivere. 'This is an occasion for an act of charity ('matter of charity'?), through which God is made well-disposed to mankind. So go to the man and persuade him to come out into the light. Perhaps it is God's will that he should continue to live through us.'

40, RB 26-28 Haec est pars pietatis, causa, per quam deus fit hominibus propitius. Accede ergo et suade ei exire ad lucem: forsitan per nos vult deus eum vivere.

An emphatic Christian formulation for what in essence must have originally been something like: it is almost providential that we two have ended up here to rescue the captain from his isolation.

Since the *HA* was first scientifically studied, critics have regarded this passage in particular as suspicious and used it as a cornerstone for their theories, cf. Thielmann (1881), p.6: 'aber auch ganze Sätze, in denen der Name Gottes erwähnt wird, lassen sich, ohne dass der Zusammenhang eine Einbusse erlitte, völlig ausschneiden. Ein schlagendes Beispiel bietet der Stelle Rieses, S.50,14.' This place (from Riese, 1871) corresponds to the above passus. See also Fürtner (1881), p.340. Their views culminate in the theories of Klebs, who, starting from this place in particular, builds up his Latin-pagan original **Hi** (see Klebs, pp.190,225,269). Supporters of Klebs's thesis base their position partly on this place (e.g. Schmeling [1988], p.32,9-11; Garbugino, p.96 deletes RB 26 *Haec est pars – propitius*, and RB 28 *forsitan* <…> *vivere*; he accepts only the intervening clause *Accede* <…> *lucem* as authentic). To a certain extent these critics are right, since the motivation set out here clearly differs from standard views in both the Latin and the Greek Novel: it belongs to the domain of Christian soteriology, where one human being can achieve salvation through the agency of another, see below. But the passage can also be accommodated within the textual genesis of the *HA* **(Gr)**, inasmuch as it clearly voices the outlook of the Christian epitomator **R(Gr)** in the adaptation by *RA/RB*. Compare 1 Tim. 2:4 *coram Salvatore nostro Deo, qui omnes homines vult salvos fieri et ad agnitionem veritatis venire* (Gr. ἐνώπιον τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ, ὃς πάντας ἀνθρώπους θέλει σωθῆναι καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν). This formulation, well known

from its inclusion in the Roman Missal (Missa de propaganda fide, oratio), agrees with the language of both *RA* and *RB* and should not be deleted.

pietatis causa (RA) ~ *pars pietatis, causa* (RB): Both words in *RA* come from the *sermo cotidianus*, cf. Petrs, p.152 'Das ist eine Liebestat, für die Gott den Menschen seine Gnade schenkt.' For *causa = res*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *causa* (6): 'affaire, chose'. This meaning is found in Cassianus, Cassiodorus, Benedictus and the more or less contemporary translators of the *Vitae Patrum*, cf. Linderbauer, p.293 (on Reg. Ben. 35,3 *aut in causa gravis utilitatis*). Translations often use *causa* for πρᾶγμα in the original, cf. Hofmann, *Beiträge*, p.99 n.3. The word's success is shown by the Romance languages (Fr. 'chose'; Ital. 'cosa'), cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, §§ 60, 154. For *pietas* (RA) Klebs himseslf, p.269 quotes Aug., *Civ. dei* 10,1 *pietas proprie Dei cultus* <…>*, more autem vulgi hoc nomen etiam in operibus misericordiae frequentatur*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *pietas* (4). *RB* re-aligns both terms: for *pars pietatis* 'part of orthodoxy'/'part of human respect for each other'), see Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *pietas* (2.4); *causa* takes on a more classical colouring in *RB*: 'cause' (the meaning 'matter' is not out of the question, especially in legal literature, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *causa* (6): 'affaire, chose (Dig.)')

omnibus (RA) ~ *hominibus* (RB): Often interchangeable, cf. 11, RA 5 *hominibus* ~ RB 4 *omnibus*.

propitius (RA/RB): A term appropriate both to the pagan gods and to the Christian deity, esp. in liturgical texts, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *propitius*.

suade (RA: *suade ei* RB) **exire ad lucem** (RA/RB): Purely classical Latin would have preferred *(per)suadere ut* + subjunct., but the construction with inf. is not uncommon, cf. OLD, s.v. *suadeo* (1.b): Cic., *Fin.* 2,95 *vide ne facinus facias cum mori suades*; Apul., *Met.* 3,11 *statuas* <…> *dignioribus* <…> *reservare suadeo*; it is not unusual in Late Latin, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. (2). The addition *(suade) ei* (RB) is classical.

forsitan per nos vult deus eum vivere (RA/RB): In *RA* after correction *vos* **P** to *nos* (**Rα: FG**). A typically Christian formulation (cf. 1 Tim. 2:4) repeated in countless sources: *Deus omnes homines vult salvos fieri et ad agnitionem veritatis venire*. At the same time it must be done by people for people: Pass. Caeciliae (ed. Delehaye, p.199) c.8: *Audiens haec angelus* <…> *dixit ad eum* (sc. Valerianus, who wants his brother Tiburtius as a fellow martyr): <…> *sicut te per famulam suam Caeciliam lucratus est Christus, ita per te quoque tuum lucrabitur fratrem* (sc. Tiburtium) *et cum eodem ad martyrii palmam attingis*, cf. ibid., p.267; Mombr. II 115,37 *omni animae consuetudo est lucrari fratrem suum de errore, quo et sibi conferat et illum liberet de laqueis diabolicis*, cf. ibid. p.135,4;

242,29; 242,45. Naturally it is also found in Greek hagiography, e.g. 'Passio antiquior SS. Sergii et Bacchi', *AB* 14 (1895), p.393 Βούλει γὰρ πάντας ἀνθρώπους σωθῆναι καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν; *Hist. Laus.* (ed. Bartelink), c.21, ll.89-91 (Eulogius and the cripple) καὶ δεξιὰς ἔδωκα τῷ θεῷ, ἵνα αὐτὸν νοσοκομήσω, κἀγὼ σωθῶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς δι' ἐμοῦ 'And I promised God that I would attend the cripple, so that I should be saved through him and he through me.' The literature on this theme is vast. Perhaps we can recommend J. Seipel, *Wirtschafts-ethischen Lehren der Kirchenväter* (Studien der Leo-gesellschaft XVIII), Wien 1907: A. von Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, Leipzig 1924[4], I, Das Evangelium der Liebe und Hilfsleistung, p.154.

40, RA 34-36 Si enim hoc potueris facere, XXX dies a lenone te redimam, ut devotae virginitati tuae vacare possis; et dabo tibi insuper decem sestertia auri." 'If you succeed, I will redeem you from the pimp within thirty days, so that you can dedicate yourself to your devoted chastity. And over and above this I will give you ten thousand gold sesterces."

40, RB 28-30 Si enim hoc potueris facere, dabo tibi ducenta sestertia et XX aureos, et XXX dies te redimam a lenone, ut melius possis virginitati tuae vacare."

XXX dies te redimam a lenone (RA) ~ (RB, with a minor transposition): Critics and translators find it very difficult to interpret these words (Peters, p.152: 'dreißig Tage lang'; Archibald, p.161 'for thirty days' (= Panayotakis [2006], p.218); Konstan, p.98 'accusative of duration of time'). In my view, the translation and explication 'within' functions best in the context. If this interpretation is correct, we are dealing with an extremely rare construction both in Latin and (to a lesser degree) in Greek. To my knowledge, there is only one place in Latin for elucidating such aconstruction, and of dubious interpretation at that, viz. Epiphan, *Interpretatio Evangeliorum* 18,26 *Sex enim dies deus fabricam mundi constituit et septima die requievit*. A. Erikson, *Sprachliche Bemerkungen zu Epiphanius interpretatio evangeliorum*, Lund 1939, p.25 notes that the reading *dies* is entirely certain and that the place 'deswegen bemerkungswert ist, weil er logisch gesehen nicht die Duration bezeichnet, sondern die Zeit innerhalb deren etwas geschehen ist.' The late date, the place, and the nature of the Latin (cf. Schanz-Hosius, *Röm. Literaturgeschichte*, München 1920 [repr.], p.595[4]) could lend more plausibility to the construction in the *HA*,

but doubt seems justified. Perhaps it is safer to assume a rare Greek construction, indicating the time within which something happens, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἡμέρα (II.3): Thuc. 8,23 Τρίτην ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ ἥκοντος 'arriving within three days'; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ἡμέρα (2) annotates: 'Nur selten antwortet d. Akk. auf die Frage wann' and illustrates this construction with two examples from pagan literature (Antiphanes Com. [IVv], fr.280; Ps. Lucian, *Halc.* 3 τρίτην ἡμέραν). Bauer quotes from the NT Acts 20:16 τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πεντηκοστῆς *am Pfingsttage*. Clearly the material adduced is far from extensive. Of course there are plausible ways of introducing a more common construction, e.g. in Latin *intra (triginta dies)*; in Greek: omission of ἐν + dat. (cf. LSJ, s.v.: 'in, within') or ἐντός + gen. (cf. LSJ, s.v. [3]: 'within'). But it is better in my view to retain the reading passed down in RA/RB, even though parallel places are scarce. Perhaps further literature, esp. from Late Greek, could produce a useful parallel. The change within *RC* from *XXX dies* **Va** to *post XXX dies* V (cf. Schmeling [1988], p.121,5) is completely understandable. Panayotakis (2006), p.223 proposes to interpret *XXX dies* as the first phase in a formal, legal procedure, cf. 5, RA 3/RB 4 (comm.). In my view, it is adequate enough to translate 'within a month', a very common period. (The meaning argued by Schmeling [1989], p.207: 'to ensure that she has not become pregnant in the *lupanar*' should be rejected.) *Redimere*, is a term in the legal sphere, cf. OLD, s.v. *redimo* (5.b): 'from slavery'. This could be formally done by supplementing Tarsia's own *peculium*. The corresponding Greek phrase is probably ἐξαγοράζω τι παρά τινος, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐξαγοράζω 'to buy from someone' (other translations λύτροω, [ἀπο]λυτρόομαι are possible too, cf. CGL VII 190; Ps. Method. [ed. Aerts-Kortekaas], II, index p.204, s.v. *redimo*).

devotae virginitati <...> **vacare** (RA) ~ *melius virginitati tuae vacare* (RB): *RA*'s apparently simple reading has led to various translations. Some translators take it to refer to a real vow (Peters, p.152 'daß dein gelobtes Magdtum ungefährdet bleibe'; Konstan, p.98 'consecrated'; Archibald, p.161 'so that you can devote yourself to your vow of chastity'. Others opt for a more neutral translation (Sandy, p.764 'so that you can resolutely devote your attention to maintaining your virginity'). In my view, *RA* goes back to a Greek phrase, cf. 24, RA 18 *devotum regnum*. The combination *devota virginitas* is very rare in itself and no doubt Latin readers will have mentally added: *devotae* sc. *deo*, cf. ThLL V,1 p.881,30: Optat. 6,4 p.151,10 *rem iam deo devotam*; Auson. 165,8 *devotae virginitatis amor*, cf. Zacch. 3,3 *devotae castitatis*; Arnob. ad Greg. 16, p.413,8 *patientia virginitatem deo dicatam exhilarat*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *dicatus*. But here too, for a more accurate interpretation, we can probably find a solution in a Greek substrate term: ἀνατίθημι / (perf. pass.) ἀνάκειμαι in the sense of (LSJ, s.v. II): 'to dedicate' (the same substrate is postulated for the parallel place

24, RA 18). Such a verb would be perfectly plausible in the Greek Novel, cf. Xen. Eph. 3,8,5 (Anthia to desecrators of a grave) Δυοῖν ἀνάκειμαι θεοῖς, Ἔρωτι καὶ Θανάτῳ. τούτοις ἐάσατε σχολάσαι με 'I am consecrated to two gods, Love and Death. Leave me to devote myself to them in peace' (a similar combination *vacare* ~ σχολάσαι 'to be vacant for'). Various examples in the Greek Novel show that this phrase can also be used without specification (dedicated to a god/goddess), cf. *Less.*, s.v. ἀνατίθημι (2,a) 'di oggetto votivo': Achill. Tat. 1,1,2 γραφὴν ἀνακειμένην 'a votive painting'; id. 8,6,1 ἀνάκειται δὲ σύριγξ 'a syrinx hangs (as votive offering)'; Long. 1,4,3 ἀνέκειντο δὲ καὶ γαυλοὶ καὶ αὐλοὶ πλάγιοι καὶ σύριγγες καὶ κάλαμοι, πρεσβυτέρων ποιμένων ἀναθήματα 'Various things were tied up there: milk buckets, transverse flutes, Pan pipes, reed pipes, the offerings of shepherds in the past.' So if no specification is necessary in Greek, it is clear that this devotion refers in the first place to Artemis. Her role is central here. She is in fact quoted many times, cf. *Less.*, s.v. Ἄρτεμις (Charit. 4x; Xen. Eph. 7x; Achill. Tat. 3x; Heliod. 9x). Heliod., 2,33,4 links παρθενεύειν 'to lead a maiden life' directly to Ἄρτεμις. In the *HA* in its present form, too, *virginitas* and Artemis/Diana play an important part (cf. 35, RA 23 ~ RB /; 47, RA 5/RB 6; 47, RA/RB 13; 48, RA/RB *passim*). We can therefore be fairly certain that **HA(Gr)** directly or indirectly connected this goddess with the 'vow' mentioned here. Such a vow did not necessarily rule out a serious marriage, cf. Xen. Eph. 5,2 (statement by Anthia) τὴν μέχρι νῦν σωφροσύνην τετηρημένην φυλάξω 'I shall guard the chastity I have preserved till now': eventually she marries Habrocomes, just as Tarsia marries Athenagoras! *RB*'s change is significant: precisely the pagan connotation *devotae* is excluded. The substitute *melius* is almost painful in view of Tarsia's position in the *lupanar*.

vacare (RA/RB): A standard Latin term, cf. OLD, s.v. *vaco* (7.b) 'to give one's time to'; Val. Max. 3,8 ext. 1 *amicitiae vacantem*; Sen., *Dial.* 10,7,1 *vino ac libidini vacant*; Suet., *Aug.* 8,2 *studiis vacavit*. Translation from (?) σχολάζω, cf. LSJ, s.v. (III) cum dat. 'to have leisure, time': Paul, 1 Cor. 7:5 ἵνα σχολάσητε τῇ προσευχῇ ~ Lat. *ut vacetis orationi*. In sum, we can conclude that the entire phrase goes back to **R(Gr)**, perhaps even to **HA(Gr)**. There is no question of a direct, special vow.

insuper decem sestertia auri (RA) ~ *ducenta sestertia et XX aureos* (RB): In *RA* Athenagoras first promises the most important thing: freedom. He moreover (*insuper*) offers a sum (grossly disproportionate to the circumstances) of (10,000) golden (!) sesterces, half of Archistratis' royal funeral treasure (25, RA 28-29). *RA* believes that the *sestertium* was a golden coin, and so he confines himself to this sum of money. *RB*, on the other hand, still has a vague notion of the *sestertius* as a silver coin: he consistently omits *auri*, cf. 25, RB 21-23 (comm.). But because the rest of the story (41,

RA 20) shows that Tarsia also possessed *aurei*, the sum had to be increased here to include *aurei*. It is unclear why he raises the 10,000 sesterces to the absurd sum of 200,000. It seems sensible not to make too much of this financial juggling with values unknown to the authors (cf. Schmeling [1988], p.72,28 on RB).

40, RA 36-38	Audiens haec puella constanter descendit in subsannio navis ad Apollonium et submissa voce salutavit eum dicens: 'When she heard this, the girl went down resolutely into the hold to Apollonius and greeted him quietly:'
40, RB 30-32	Puella audiens haec constanter accessit ad hominem et submissa voce salutavit eum dicens:

constanter (RA/RB): The most obvious translation is 'resolutely', cf. OLD, s.v. *constanter*. See also *HA* 13, RA 20 *constanter appropinquavit ad regem*/RB 16 *constanter accessit* (comm.).

in subsannio navis ad Apollonium (RA) ~ *ad hominem* (RB): For the elimination of and circumlocution for *subsannium*, cf. 38, RA 17 *subsannium*/RB *sentinam* (comm.).

submissa voce (RA/RB), cf. above *RA* 4/RB 3.

40, RA 38-40	"Salve, quicumque es, laetare: non enim aliqua ad te consolandum venit polluta, sed innocens virgo, quae virginitatem meam inter naufragium castitatis inviolabiliter servo." '"Greetings, whoever you are, and be cheerful. I am no fallen woman who has come to console you, but an innocent girl, who keeps her virginity intact in the midst of the shipwreck of chastity."'
40, RB 32-34	"Salve, quisquis es, iuvenis. Salve et laetare. Non enim aliquo polluta ad te consolandum adveni, sed innocens virgo, quae virginitatem meam inter naufragia castitatis inviolabiliter servo."

aliqua ‹…› **polluta** (RA) ~ *aliquo polluta* (RB): The text is hard to establish precisely, just as it is hard to choose between *venit* **P**, **Rα(φF)** and *adveni*

βM. cf. *veni* **Rα (L,G,Atr.**). The reading *aliqua* (RA) agrees with the lexicons. The reading *aliquo* **β** has been reluctantly retained (cf. ed. m. [1984]) on account of the meaning 'to a certain degree', cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v.; moreover, *ab ab* (sic) *aliquo* **M** suggests *aliquo* as an original starting-point. Finally, there is great confusion precisely with regard to indefinite pronouns, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.* § 289; *aliquo* may stand for classical *aliqua re*. Of course a classical reading requires *aliqua* here, an emendation which some editors therefore introduce (e.g. E. Baehrens [1871] 858, Riese, Schmeling). The meaningless *impolluta* **P** may be due to the proximity of *innocens* and should be replaced by *polluta* **Rα**.

inter naufragium (RA: *naufragia* RB) **castitatis**: Imagery centring on *naufragium, naufragus* and the verb *naufrago* was favoured by Romans from the earliest times, especially in relation to concepts like the state (cf. Cic., *Dom.* 129 *in illo rei publicae naufragio*) and *patrimonium* (Cic., *Phil.* 12,19 *ex naufragio luculenti patrimoni*; id., *Tusc.* 5,25 *naufragia fortunae*; id., *Sul.* 41, *ut aliquis patrimoni naufragus, inimicus oti*; Ov., *Ib.* 18 *naufragii tabulas pugnat habere mei*). In Christian Latin the image *naufragium castitatis* (Peters, p.152 'Schiffbruch der Ehrbarkeit') was extremely popular in Church Fathers, ecclesiastical writings and hagiography: (for the context of the following places, see ed. m. [1984] n.583) Hier., *Epist.* 14,62,2 (ed. J. Labourt, *Saint Jérôme,* Lettres II, Paris 1951, p.39,8-11) *ad pudicitiae perpetranda naufragia*; Rufin., *Orig. in Rom.* 10,3 (PG 14, p.1254[B]) *verendum namque est, ne forte* <...> *pariter subsequantur naufragia castitatis*; Ps. Aug., *Serm.* 64,2 (ed. A. Mai, *Nova patrum bibliotheca,* I, Romae 1844, p.131) *iubet* (sc. Cyprianus) *sacras virgines custodiri, ne esset in illis observatio caritatis, naufragium castitatis*; Val. Cem., *Hom.* 20,8 (PL 52, p.755[A]) *nullum patieris in corporis contaminatione naufragium*. The image is also found in lower literature, esp. Roman hagiography: Passio Seb. (PL 17, p.1116[D]) *ista enim vita fugitiva* <...> *naufragium pudoris* <...> *tradit*; Ps. Ambros., *Sermo* 48 (PL 57,615[C]) *in prostibulo turpitudinis* <...> *ubi semper naufragaverat castitas, illic coronata est virginitas* (sc. Agnetis). To get a proper idea of the popularity and scope of this τόπος, we would also have to examine related terms like *tabula*, cf. Hier., *Epist.* 130 *verum non ignoremus poenitentiam, ne facile peccemus. Illa quasi secunda post naufragium miseris tabula sit: in virgine integra servetur navis*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *naufragibilis, naufragium, tabula*. In any case it is clear that *naufragium castitatis* has a very specific function in the *HA*. It may be that *naufragium castitatis* should even be interpreted concretely as a euphemism for *lupanar*. *RB*'s change to pl. was probably based on reality: it is also used in the places cited. The image was probably introduced by **R(Gr)**. Greek also uses ναυάγιον 'shipwreck' figuratively (cf. 1 Tim. 1:19 περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἐναυήγησαν ~ *circa fidem naufragaverunt*), but a typically Christian image like *naufragium castitatis* is lacking,

cf. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. ναυάγιον. Perhaps we can compare Plut., *Phoc.* 1 p.741[E] Δημάδης μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἦν ναυάγιον τῆς πόλεως 'In fact, Demades himself was a shipwreck for the whole city.' The Greek Novel does not provide a useful starting-point either (cf. Charit. 2,4,4; 3,2,6). The actual source of such expressions, as critics observed long ago, are Late Greek historians and hagiographers, cf. Thurmayer (1910), pp.35-6 with quotations of seafaring images from various Late Greek authors (Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomenos, Theodoretus, Evagrios); Rydén (1970), with examples displaying a metaphorical use of θάλασσα 'sea' (p.108), λιμήν 'harbour' (p.70), ναυαγεῖν ἐν τῷ λιμένι 'to be shipwrecked' and ναυάγιον 'shipwreck). See also Rydén (1963), p.185; (1974) pp.49, 53, 70. Though direct parallels seem to be lacking here too (e.g. ναυάγιον ἁγνείας/σωφροσύνης), I believe the image is to be situated in this milieu. Changes, in both *RA* and *RB*, are ill-advised (cf. Schmeling [1988], p.32,17; id., Notes, p.153 [on ed. 32,17]; ibid., p.396 [on ed. 73,2]: [*iuvenis*]).

inviolabiliter (RA/RB): Cf. 27, RA 22 *omnes virgines inviolabiliter servabant castitatem* (RB *aliter*).

CHAPTER 41

41, RA 1	His carminibus coepit modulat<a> voce canere: 'In rhythmical recitation she began to sing these verses:'
41, RB 1	Et his carminibus modulata voce cantare exorsa est:

His (RA: *Et his* RB) *carminibus* (RA/RB): The next twelve lines are written in a popular, metrically irregular imitation of the classical dactylic hexameter, which is governed by strict rules. Tarsia's song consists of 6 pairs of 2 rhythmic hexameters. The number of syllables before the caesura is usually 7, after it 8 or 9; the total number of syllables is 16 on average. Metre and accent usually coincide, which makes for a pounding, hammering effect. Tarsia's song sins frequently against classical prosody: the rules of quantity (in my count of ll.2-14) are repeatedly violated (l.3 *rŏsa*; l.7 *nullā*; l.8 *prŏpagata*; esp. *ēt*, cf. l.6 *ēt lucti ēt*; l.8 *genere‿ēt*; l.9 *habeo‿ēt*; l.11 *oculos ēt*); elision is frequent (l.3 *rosa‿in*; l.6 *lucti‿et*; l.8 *genere‿ēt*; l.9 *contemptum‿habeo*; l.11 *caelo‿oculos*. A harsh hiatus is found in l.11 *animum* | *ad sidera*. The scansion of several verses cannot be established (l.4 *Piratae me rapuerunt*; l.5 *Lenoni nunc vendita*; l.13 *qui non sinit*). Moreover, **P**, together with related texts like **V**^{c} and **Rα**, is provided with glosses at crucial points: l.2 [*Media*] *per*; l.5 *vendita* [*sum, sed*]; l.6 *amissis* [*parentibus*]; l.8 *genere* [*orta*]. It is clear that these starting-points make textual criticism an almost impossible task: the lines often have to be accepted as transmitted. Also, later copyists (particularly within **π**) have tried to create order in this metrical chaos by means of ingenious 'emendations'. But it is fundamentally wrong to incorporate these 'corrections' in the text of *RA*, *RB* or *RC* (as Schmeling [1988], ad loc. does).

There have been doubts about authorship: can the song also be attributed to *RA*? As far as proof is possible, I believe that such doubts are unfounded. In terms of language Tarsia's song shows similarity to the *HA* (cf. l.2 *per sordes gradior* ~ 48, RA 28 *foedissima sorde*; l.6 *Ni fletus et lucti* ~ 41, RA 36/RB 35 *nisi flendi et lugendi*). In terms of content and import it clearly breathes an atmosphere of Christian resignation and hope, with an explicit reference to and endorsement of a Church Father like Ambrose (l.12 *Aderit ille deus creator omnium*, cf. comm.). On the other hand it is clear that the author has wanted to characterize Tarsia as a singer precisely through this freer, popular use of poetry: her song in this genre was required by the situation. At the same time the author demonstrates his masterly ability to write poetry both metrically (c.11) and in a looser genre, cf. W. Speyer,

Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Mittellateinischen Rythmik, Berlin 1905, II p.11: 'es herrschte damals Freude an der rythmischen Dichtung und die geschicktesten Dichter machten bald rythmische, bald quantitirende Verse.'

Because the identity of the author of *HA* and Tarsia's song has been established, we may now be able to determine the time of *HA* more precisely. Riese (1893), ad loc. already observed a close resemblance, as he calls it, to the *hexametri pessimi populares, quales fere conscripsit Commodianus*. Unfortunately, it is by no means certain in what period he was working. Estimations vary from the 3rd century AD to the middle of the 5th century. So for our investigation it is important to connect this time-marker to other linguistic data, cf. Introd. VI.1.4.

Of course we do not know whether Tarsia's song as a whole is an adaptation by *RA* or whether he is harking back to a Greek original **R(Gr)**, **HA(Gr)** or any Greek model at all. Examples of such θρῆνοι are found in both religious and profane Greek literature. This particularly applies to the Greek Novel, cf. K. Kérenyi, *Die griechisch-orientalische Romanliteratur in religions-geschichtlicher Beleuchtung*, Tübingen 1927 (repr. Darmstadt 1962), p.28: 'Der griechischen Roman widerhalt von θρῆνοι.' Compare Heliod. 3,2,4 εἶχε γὰρ ὧδέ πως ἡ ᾠδή 'The hymn went something like this', which is followed by 14 pentameters. The enumeration of miserable experiences (l.4 *piratae*; l.5 *leno*) is in the style of Xen. Eph., the great example for the **HA(Gr)**, cf. 1,6,1 Χρᾷ δὲ ὁ θεὸς κοινὰ ἀμφοτέροις τὰ μαντεύματα ἐμμέτρως. Τὰ <δ'> ἔπη τάδε 'The God gave the same oracle in verse to both. It went like this.' Nine hexameters follow, cf. id. 1,12,2; 3,2,13; 5,4,11. Such a *recapitulatio* is also found in other Greek novelists like Charit., Achill. Tat., Heliod., cf. Garbugino, p.167 n.61. So it is probably safe to assume that Tarsia's song was already present in **HA(Gr)**, cf. Garin, loc. cit., p.210, n.5. As far as I can see, the actual song itself does not contain any direct indications of an original Greek text.

For the sake of readability, Tarsia's song has been represented as simply as possible. The commentary on individual verses analyzes the manuscript reading in more detail (cf. ed. m. [1984], pp.374-5). (Klebs, pp.183-5 devotes a separate discussion to Tarsia's song; on p.184 lines 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11 [in my numbering] are said to be interpolated; on pp.217-8, p.223, the entire poem is said to be inauthentic. In terms of diction, form and metre, Garbugino, pp.79-81 proposes to attribute the song of Tarsia to an Irish centre in Bobbio, on account of the so-called *Aenigmata Bobbiensia*. But the linguistic reasons he gives are totally inadequate; the metrical similarity is not explained and corroborated with reference to any verses. Like Garbugino's other hypotheses on the textual genesis of the *HA*, this suggestion must be rejected, cf. 8, RA 2 (Christianization in South Gallia); c.11 (attributed to Isidore of Seville and his school); 42, RA 29 (regarding Anglo-Saxon adaptation within the riddles.)

For Commodianus, see:

E. Castorina, *La poesia di Commodiano nella storia della metrica latina*, Catania 1950.

Der Neue Pauly, Bnd 3, Verlag J.B. Metzler, Stuttgart-Weimar 1997, pp.102-3.

J. Durel, *Commodien. Recherches sur la doctrine, la langue et le vocabulaire du poète*, Paris 1912.

J. Martin, *Commodianea*, Sitzungsberichte d. kaiserl. Acad. d. Wissensch. in Wien, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Band 181, Abh. 6, Wien 1917.

C. Mohrmann, *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*, I Rome 1958, p.160 n.9: 'vers 450'.

E.H. Sturtevant, 'Commodian and medieval rhythmic verse', *Language* 2 (1926), pp.223-7.

K. Thraede, 'Beiträge zur Datierung Commodians', *Jahrb. f. Antike u. Christentum* II, 1959, pp.90-114.

For the transition from metrical to rhythmical poetry:

Der Neue Pauly, Bnd 8, 2000, s.v. Metrik, E. Rezeption, pp.128-9.

P.C. Knook, *De overgang van metriek tot rythmisch proza bij Cyprianus en Hieronymus*, Purmerend (J. Muusses) 1932.

W. Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rythmik*, I-II, Berlin 1905.

D. Norberg, *La poésie latine rythmique du haut moyen âge*, Stockholm 1953.

id., *Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale*, Stockholm 1958, p.69 ff.

H. Vroom, *De Commodiani metro et syntaxi annotationes*, Utrecht 1917 (diss.).

id., *Le psaume abécédaire de Saint Augustin et la poésie latine rhythmique*, Nimèque 1933.

coepit <...> **canere** (RA) ~ *cantare exorsa est* (RB): In line with the general tendency, *RA*'s unpretentious formulation *canere* is changed from a simple verb to an iterative-intensive, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 160: *iuvare* > *adiutare*; *iacĕre* > *iactare*; *nare* > *natare*; *torrere* > *tostare*. The change *canere/cantare* is very frequent in codd., e.g. Navig. Brend. 10,9; 11,65 *ceperunt cantare / canere ceperunt*; 15,35.36; 17,37; 17,42; 21,19.20. At the same time literary *exordior* (RB) is used instead of periphrastic *coepi* + inf., cf. OLD, s.v. *exordior* (2): 'to start, begin, embark on (esp. a speech, etc.)': Petron., 61,5 *talem fabulam exorsus est*; Apul., *Met.* 1,5 *quod inchoaveram porro exordiar*. Hagiography often has this *exorsus* (*-a*) *est*, e.g. Mombrit. II 98,45; 206,42; 222,46; 288,38; 303,37; 338,51.

modulata voce (RA/RB): An aptly chosen term for a rhythmic recitation, cf. 36, RA/RB 2 *modulanter* (comm.); ThLL VIII p.1248,71: '*fere* i.q. modulos servans, modulationis plenus: in musica *sim. fere* i.q. *ἐμμελής, ἔρρυθμος, ἔμμετρος*.'

41, RA/RB 2-3

"Per sordes gradior, sed (RA: RB et) sordis conscia non sum,
sicut rosa in spinis nescit compungi mucrone.
"'I am walking among corruption, but I am unaware of corruption,
just as a rose among thorns is not pricked by their spines.'

The leading codd. of *RA* (**Va**[c]**P**, **Rα (F)**) give *Media per*. *RB*, like other mss. of **Rα (LGAtr.**), reads *Per*, followed by editors: *Media* must be regarded as a gloss, specifying the subj. and the meaning of *per.* (A classical reading would have: *per medias sordes*.)

sordes (RA/RB): Refers to the stay in the *lupanar*, cf. OLD, s.v. *sordes* (1): 'dirt or filth of any kind' combined with (3.c): 'scum, dregs'. For the choice of word, cf. 48, RA 28 *foedissima sorde*. This is also the standard word in hagiography: Mombr. I 359,55; 451,32; II 139,26.31; 261,33; esp. in the *Passio Sebastiani*, Mombr. II 468,51.53.55.58; 469,2; 470,44. We should mention the variant reading of the Gesta Romanorum *Per scortes* (OK) *gradior* (Klebs, p.357,363), because this *scortes* (an alternative form of *scorta* 'prostitutes') has given rise to many amusing translations: 'ich wandele doer hoeren ende van ghenen boeve en ben ic besmet' (Dutch); 'je voys par les bordeaulx et toutesfois point n'en suis coupable' (Fr.), 'amongst the harlots foule I walke, yet harlot none am I' (Eng.), cf. Singer (1895), p.97.

sed (RA) ~ *et* (**β**): A significant change (*et tamen*), nullified by **Mπ**.

conscia non sum (RA/RB): Common language, cf. ThLL IV 370,69 ff. The intention is clear (Konstan: 'I have no complicity in it').

rosa in spinis (RA/RB): A very well-known image in Antiquity both in Latin and Greek and with variants according to varying circumstances, cf. Amm. Marcell. 16,7,4 *inter vepres rosae nascuntur*; Hegesipp., prol. 12 *tamquam in spinis rosam quaerentes*; Hier., *Vita Hil.* 1 *rosa, ut dicitur, de spinis floruit*, cf. *Epist.* 22 ad Eustachium 19.20 (p.102, 103); Greg. Magn., *Hom.* 38,7 *sicut flores inter spinas oriuntur et rosa, quae redolet, crescit cum spina, quae pungit*; cf. also A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*, Leipzig 1890, p.302; ALL 4 (1887), p.191; 8 (1895), p.409; 9 (1896), p.75; 13 (1904), p.397. In Latin hagiography: Mombr. II 18,9; 367,36; 634,12. For Greek, cf. Greg. Naz., *De virt.* 216 (Migne PG 37, p.696 A) ῥόδ' ἐξ ἀκανθῶν, ὡς λέγουσι, συλλέγων; Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου Δασίου, *AB* 16,1897, p.12 ὡς ῥόδον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν, καθὼς λέλεκται, ἀνεβλάστησεν 'as a rose from the midst of thorns, as is said, he arose'. (Schmeling, *Notes*,

p.153 [on ed. 32,21] argues for printing in *RA*: *rosa ĭn.*; ibid., pp.396-7 [on ed. 73,7] he argues for voor *sic* in *RB* on the basis of *RC* [!].)

nescit compungi mucrone (RA/RB): An elegant paraphrase for: *non potest compungi spinā*. For *nescio* + inf., cf. OLD, s.v. *nescio* (3) 'to be unable': Cic., *Verr.* 3,62 *tu nisi malo coactus recte facere nescis?*; Hor., *Ars* 390 *nescit vox missa reverti*; Liv. 22,51,44 *vincere scis, Hannibal*; *victoria uti, nescis*. Especially in Late and Christian Latin, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *nescio* (5), here *nescio* assumes the function of an auxiliary, i.q. *non compungitur mucrone*. This development runs parallel with οἶδα + inf., cf. LSJ, s.v. εἴδω B; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. οἶδα (3); Ljungvik (1926), pp.55-64. Even the Greek Novel offers examples: Achill. Tat. 7,4,4 ὀδόντι συός τις παταχθεὶς εὐθὺς μὲν ζητεῖ τὸ τραῦμα καὶ οὐκ οἶδεν εὑρεῖν 'a person slashed by a boar's tusk immediately looks for the wound but cannot find it.' Yet there is little reason to regard Tarsia's song as a translation from Greek on the basis of these few coincidences.

mucro (RA/RB): Mostly used as the 'point' of a sword or knife, cf. OLD, s.v. *mucro* (1), here obviously the 'point' of a thorn, a unique usage, cf. ThLL VIII 1555,55 ff.

41, RA 4	Piratae me rapuerunt gladio ferientes iniquo, 'Pirates seized me and struck me with hostile sword.'
41, RB 4	Piratae me rapuerunt gladio ferientis (**βMπ**) iniqui.

The text is uncertain as regards word shape, construction, and scansion (cf. ed. m. [1984], app. crit.). **Piratae** (RA/RB): alongside *Pirate* **P**, **Va**^{c} offers *pyrates* (ed. m. [1984], app. crit. requires correction), cf. 44,18 *pyrates* **A**: perhaps this spelling is authentic. This metaplasm (1st decl. to 2nd decl.) may also reveal something about the ideas of the scribes concerning the provenance of the *HA*.

rapuerunt (RA/RB): The reading *rapuerunt* **P** is uncertain, the more so because it is in correction (cf. Klebs, p.184 n.2); *rapuerunt* is supported by **Rα**.

gladio ferientes iniquo (RA) ~ *gladio ferientis iniqui* (RB): The reading *ferientes* **P**, **Rα (φ)** has been retained (in contrast to ed. m. [1984]), because Tarsia's primary reference will be to the kidnap as such: it goes without saying that this involved violence. The *HA* confirms this: 44, RA 19 *piratae. <...>, qui me vim* (i.q. vi) *auferunt*. The term *ferientes* should therefore be taken literally: 'striking', 'beating'. For the combination *gladius iniquus*,

cf. ThLL VII, p.1644 which quotes, among several examples of *iniquus* combined with concrete things: Boeth. *cons. 2 Carm.* 6,16 *iniquus additur saevo gladius veneno* (from 523-524). This *iniquus* often has the meaning *malus* in Late Latin, cf. Blatt, *Acta Andreae*, p.34. The *RB* reading is a typical product of afterthought: it assumes more detailed knowledge of what actually happened during Theophilus' (= *iniquus*) assassination attempt (32, RA 1-6), something which Tarsia could hardly point out at first to her father (and the reader). Moreover, *rapuerunt* would then have to be taken in the sense of *eripuerunt* + dat., a far from obvious construction. Despite the enthusiasm with which recent editors have embraced the *RB* reading and proposed to introduce it in *RA* too (Schmeling; Garbugino, p.79), this reading should be rejected as being too clever. The change to *ferientis* (**Rα[F,G]**; RB) is perhaps understandable from the perspective of hagiographical texts, which often talk about *ictus ferientis* (i.q. *percussoris*), cf. Mombr. II 91,42 *et protinus ictum ferientis excepit*, cf. ibid. 133,5; 198,4; 263,8.

41, RA/RB 5 Lenoni nunc vendita [sum sed] numquam violavi pudore<m> (RA: pudorem RB).
'Now I have been sold to a pimp, but I have never tarnished my honour.'

vendita (RA/RB): *RA* actually reads *vendita sum sed* **Va^{c}P**, **Rα**; *sum sed* as an old gloss (cf. 44, RA 20 *sum vendita*) was deleted almost from the outset (Riese [1893], Klebs, p.184). Curiously, the gloss is also found in *RB*. This early concurrence makes the conjecture by E. Dias (*Philol. Wochenschrift* 33, 1913, p.78) *vendita lenoni* highly improbable. The second hemistich obviously goes back to Verg., *Aen.* 4,27 *ante, pudor, quam te violo*, used very frequently in literature.

41, RA 6-7 Ni[si **Va^{c}P**] fletus et lucti et lacrimae de amissis [parentibus **Va^{c}P**] inessent,
nulla me melior, pater si nosset ubi essem.
'If it were not for weeping and grief and tears for my missing loved ones,
no woman would be better off than I, if my father knew where I am'

41, RB 6-7 <N>i fletus et lacrimae aut luctus de amissis inessent,
nulla me nobilior, pater si nosset, ubi essem.

Ni (RA/RB): the codd. read: *Nisi* **Va^{c}P** (RA) ~ *Si* (RB). The two recensions can help each other out: *Ni* in *RA* was rightly corrected by Riese, Klebs, p.184 for the transmitted *nisi* **Va^{c}P**; the longer form can easily arise from the common abbreviation $\overset{i}{n}$ = *nisi*, cf. 39, RA 30 $\overset{i}{n}$ *me* (= *nisi me*). Likewise a garbling of letters may have given rise to (an incorrect) *Si* from *Ni* in *RB*. For *ni*, cf. OLD, s.v. (6): 'if it were not *or* had not been that (with imp.)': Cic., *Ver.* 4,55 *haec non auderem proferre, ni vererer ne forte plura de isto ab aliis* <…> *vos audisse diceretis*; Catull. 14,1 *ni te plus oculis meis amarem, munere isto odissem te*.

fletus et lucti et lacrimae (RA) ~ *fletus et lacrimae aut luctus* (RB): In *RA fletus* is probably pl. too and the 3 almost synonymous terms are in the poetic plural, often used for emotions, cf. Austin on Verg., *Aen.* 4,197 *aggerat iras*. The combination *fletus* ~ *luctus* is fairly common (cf. Cic., *Verr.* 1,76 *quem fletum* (*putatis*) *totius Asiae fuisse, quem luctum* <…> *Lampsacenorum*); likewise the combination *lacrimae* ~ *luctus* (cf. Liv. 22,49,8 *lacrimarum satis luctusque est*); the cumulation of 3 or 4 synonyms is considerably rarer and *RA* was probably proud of it (cf. Cato apud Gell. 10,3 *Quantum luctum, quantum gemitum, quid lacrimarum, quantum fletum factum audivi?*; Cic., *Flacc.* 42,106 *Orat, ne suum luctum patris lacrimis, patris maerorem suo fletu augeatis*). Unfortunately *RA* commits a curious solecism: following ancient usage and probably on purpose he construes *luctus, -i* as a noun of the 2nd decl. (cf. OLD, s.v. *luctus*: 'luctus, -i: Acc., *Trag.* 491,519'). This metaplasm sometimes occurs elsewhere too (cf. CE 2042,3 *gaudia pro lucto referet letusque redibit*): *RB* hastens to normalize, as elsewhere, cf. Introd. III.1.

de amissis [*parentibus* Va^{c}P] (RA) ~ *de amissis* (RB): It is tragic irony that Tarsia sings this while her father is sitting/lying in front of her, cf. 41, RA/RB 15 *Erigens se*. For the combination, cf. Ov., *Met.* 13,578 *deam* <…> *luctus angit Memnonis amissi*. For *parentibus* as a gloss, cf. Riese (1893); Klebs, p.216 n.1; Schmeling, *Notes*, pp.153-154 (on ed. 32,24 = Garbugino, p.79).

nulla me melior (RA) ~ *nulla me nobilior* (RB): RA's intention is: 'no woman would be in a better position'; *RB* changes to *nobilior*, partly with a view to the actual situation: 'it would then be clear that no one is of higher nobility than I am.' *RB* defines the term *melior* more sharply elsewhere too (34, RA 23 *meliorem* ~ RB *animo meliorem*, cf. comm.). The quantities, defying all metrical technique (nullā, in actual fact nullă; pāter, in actual fact păter), could be left as they were (interpolated according to Klebs, p.184).

41, RA 8-9
Regio sum genere [orta **Va^{c}P**] et stirpe procreata p<r>iorum,
Sed contemptum habeo et iubeor adeoque laetari!
'I am of royal birth, born of an honourable line,
But now I endure contempt and yet I am told to rejoice!'

41, RB 8-9
Regio sum genere, stirpe procreata priorum.
Et deo iubente iubeor quandoque laetari!

Regio sum genere (RA/RB): The construction in *RA* is obscure: it could be construed (following Konstan, p.99) *sum propagata* with *regio genere et stirpe priorum* as an abl. of origin; but another possibility is *sum genere regio* as an abl. of quality and (*sum*) *propagata* with *stirpe* as an abl. of separation/origin. Perhaps the gloss *orta* is due to this obscurity: it was branded a glosse by Riese (1893), Klebs, p.184 and others, cf. 4, RA 5 *regio genere ortus*. By replacing *et* (RA) with a comma, RB smooths out the difficult construction.

stirpe procreată (RA/RB): For the image *stirpe (pro)creatus/propagatus* 'an offshoot from the stock', cf. Cic., *Phil.* 1,13 *L. Brutus* <…> *ad similem virtutem* <…> *stirpem iam prope in quingentesimum annum procreavit*; Curt. 10,3,12 *cum stirpem generis mei latius propagare cuperem*; Verg., *Aen.* 10,543 *Volcani stirpe creatus/Caeculus*.

p<r>iorum (RA) ~ *priorum* (RB): The *RA* reading is a conject. by Riese (1893) based on *RB*, against the codd. of *RA* (**Va^{c}P**, **Rα[φF]**). Though many defend the reading of the codd. (cf. ed. m. [1984]), the correction is preferable because we are not dealing here with a kind of 'Geblütsheiligkeit', but with *maiores*, *proceres*, cf. OLD, s.v. *prior* (3) 'predecessors or ancestors'. The prime example is Verg., *Aen.* 3,693 *nomen dixere priores | Ortygiam*. For the term 'Geblütsheiligkeit' (dynastic sanctity), cf. P. Lehmann, *Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 1941, p.181; K. Hauck, 'Geblütsheiligkeit', in: *Liber Floridus*, pp.187-240. Confusion with *pius* is easily explained in terms of palaeography ($\overset{i}{p}$- = *pri*-) and is in fact frequent, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4,464 *vatum praedicta priorum* (*piorum* **M**, Servius).

Sed contemptum habeo et iubeor adeoque laetari! (RA) ~ *Et deo iubente iubeor quandoque laetari!* (RB): The first hemistich in *RA* is peculiar but understandable: no parallel is offered by ThLL IV 661,45-662,22 for the expression *contemptum habeo* 'contempt is my lot'. (The conject. *contemptam habeo* [Schmeling, (ed. 33,1; *Notes*, p.154 = Garbugino, p.79] is inexplicable.) The textual development in the second hemistich is very confused, cf. app. crit. ad loc. I have opted for Riese's conjecture: *iubeor ade-*

oque (= *adeo, insuper*; for redundant *-que*, cf. 39, RA 3 [comm.]) *laetari!* Line 9 as a whole can be summarized (Riese's paraphrase): '*contemnor, sed insuper laetari iubeor*'. The pious expression *et deo iubente* (RB) goes back to a wrongly separated *adeoque* into *a/deo/que*. (For *quandoque* [RB], cf. 41, RA/RB 17 *quandoque*.) Perhaps this development was already discernible in his model, cf. **P**. This kind of 'pious' mistake occurs frequently in copyists (usually monks, after all), cf. R.M. Ogilvie, 'Monastic corruption', in: *Greece and Rome*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, XVIII, 1 April 1971, pp.32-4; Friedrich, p.339, 400; Vita Samsonis 2,4 (p.159): *ideo* (*in Deo* **γ**); Fulch. Carn., *Historia Hierosolymitana* (ed. Hagenmeyer), p.162: *adeo* (a Deo v.l.). Tarsia's genuine complaint about her situation (*contemptum habeo*) and role (*laetari* and *laetificare*) has disappeared.

41, RA 10-11	Fige modum lacrimis, curas resolve dolor<u>m, redde caelo oculos et animum ad sidera tolle! 'Restrain your tears, put an end to your sorrows and cares, return your eyes to heaven, raise your heart to the stars!'
41, RB 10-11	Fige modum lacrimis, curas resolve doloris, redde caelo faciem, animos ad sidera tolle!

Fige modum lacrimis (RA/RB): A stock expression, cf. ThLL VI,1 717,27: Hor., *Carm.* 3,15,2 *nequitiae modum*; Arnob., *Nat.* 1,10 *rebus luxuriantibus*, etc.

curas resolve (RA/RB): Likewise a stock expression, cf. ThLL IV 1473,24: Verg., *Georg.* 1,302 *invitat genialis hiems curasque resolvit*; Val. Fl. 4,703; Sen. *Oed.* 764, etc. The combination *cura* ~ *dolor* is of course very common, cf. ThLL IV 1470,22 ff.

redde celo oculos Va^{c}P: Riese's transposition (1893) *oculos caelo* makes the prosody smoother, like the substitution *faciem* (RB), cf. ThLL VI,1 47,22 ff. On account of the chiastic form in relation to *animum ad sidera*, I have nevertheless retained the **Va^{c}P** reading.

animum (RA) ~ *animos* (RB): *RB* is probably carried away by his literary erudition, cf. Verg., *Aen.* 9,637 *Teucri* <...> *animosque ad sidera tollunt* (this parallel was already adduced by Klebs, p.284 n.2, regrettably to argue the interpolation of *RA*). For the pl. *animos* as 'proud spirit', cf. Austin on Verg., *Aen.* 4,126 *supplex animos summitte amori*. By deleting *et* (RA), we get 4 imperatives in an asyndetic arrangement, of which the last two in chiasmus in relation to the rest of the sentence.

41, RA 14-15

Aderit ille deus creator omnium, auctor:
qui non sinit hos fletus casso dolore reli<n>qui!”
‘God the Creator and Maker of all things, He will be at hand:
He does not allow these tears to be shed in useless grief!”’

41, RB 12-13

Aderit <ille> deus, creator omnium et auctor,
non sinit hos fletus casso labore relinqui!”

ille Va^{c}P, Rα(φF) ~ (RB /): In my view a striking usage (‘He, the God’), cf. OLD, s.v. *ille* (4): ‘that famous, the wellknown (esp. in prayers, applied to Jupiter)’: Plaut., *Aul.* 704 *ego sum ille rex Philippus*; id., *Amph.* 461 *quod ille faxit Juppiter*. An interpretation of *ille* as definite article (Riese, 1893, index s.v. *ille* = Klebs, p.185 n.1) seems less plausible. The reading *tibi* **Rα (LGAtr.)** seems devised *pour besoin de la cause* (preferred by Klebs, p.185 n.1; p.217).

deus creator omnium (RA/RB): Most likely derived from Ambrose’s most famous hymn *Deus creator omnium polique rector* (ed. G.M. Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* 50, Leipzig 1907 [1961]) 13, no.7; for further commentary: F.A.S. Walpole, *Early Latin hyms*, Cambridge 1922 (repr. 1966), hymn. 5, p.46.

The combination *creator* <…> *auctor* (RA/RB) is overwhelmingly attested in the tradition, cf. ThLL IV 1114,70 ff.: Aug., *Civ.* 14,4 *cum sit eius* (sc. hominis) *auctor et creator deus*; Canon (Migne PL 56), p.879^{B} *creator omnium quae sunt et auctor*; Cassiod., *Var.* 9,18,9 *creatorem vitae* <…> *mortis auctorem*. For rare *omnicreator* **π**: Prosp. Aquit., *Epigr.* 2,1 *Aeternus vere est solus Deus omnicreator*; ibid. 51,7 *Qui Patris in Deitate manens, Deus omnicreator, verus de sacra Virgine natus homo est*, cf. Aug., *Conf.* 11,13 *Deum omnipotentem et omnicreantem*, cf. id., *Catech. rud.* 12,17. For the so-called *asyndeton bimembre*, cf. Zander, *Phaedrus solutus*, p.LXXXII.

qui non sinit (RA/**βM**): Since Riese (1893) criticasters (e.g. Klebs, p.185) have emphasized that *sinit* **Va^{c}P, Rα(F)** should actually be written *sinet* **π**.

casso dolore (RA) ~ *casso labore* (RB): *RA*’s reading seems to be a hapax legomenon, tailored to the situation, cf. ThLL III 522,7; *RB* generalizes, cf. ibid. 521,16-22 (exx. from Sil. Ital., Stat., Plin., Apul., but also from Church Fathers: Hier., Aug., and Late Latin authors: Sid. Apoll., Greg. Tur., Vig. Thaps.).

41, RA 14-15 Ad haec verba levavit caput Apollonius et vidit puellam, et ingemuit et ait: “O me miserum! Quamdiu contra pietatem luctor?” ‘At these words Apollonius raised his head and saw the girl. He groaned and said: “Alas! How long shall I struggle against pity?”’

41, RB 14 Ad haec Apollonius levavit caput et videns puellam ingemuit et ait: “Audi me miserum! Contra pietatem quamdiu luctabor?”

ingemuit et ait (RA/RB): See 29, RA 10/RB 9 (comm.).

O me miserum! (RA) ~ *Audi me miserum!* (RB): In *RA* (cf. 38, RA 15 *O me miserum*) Apollonius complains to himself, cf. OLD, s.v. *o* (2 b, with acc.): Cic., *Fam.* 14,4,3 *o me perditum, o adflictum!* Prop. 2,15,1 *o me felicem*. This complaint may derive directly from Greek. The Greek Novel abounds in exclamative ὦ (or ὤ) with various grammatical options (connected with nom., gen., acc.). Riese (1893), Index s.v. *miser* compares Xen. Eph. 2,1,2 ὦ κακοδαίμονες ἡμεῖς. Many other substrates are of course conceivable, e.g. οἴμοι, οὐαί μοι. In my view, *RB* offers a motive for Apollonius’ conduct: he seeks contact. The change is based on a certain similarity of sound: *au* sounds like *o*; we can think of *aurum* ~ or, *thesaurus* ~ trésor, *auriculus* ~ oreille, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 60.

contra pietatem luctor (RA) ~ *contra pietatem luctabor* (RB): The meaning of *pietas* is difficult to gauge: *pietas* towards the gods? *pietas* towards family members like wife and daughter? *pietas* in the sense of compassion towards Tarsia? Or *pietas* on the part of Tarsia towards Apollonius? (cf. Peters, p.153 ‘Wie lange suche ich gegen die Freundlichkeit anzukämpfen?’; Sandy, p.764 ‘How much longer can I resist her compassion?’ (Konstan, p.99,91: ‘human sympathy’)). The term has probably been kept vague on purpose (already in **HA(Gr)**?: εὐσέβεια/εὐλάβεια?). Apollonius’ complaint remains enigmatic in *RB* too. My translation ‘against pity’ opts deliberately for this ambiguity. As usual, *RB* has only rectified, in his view, the temporal aspect in *luctor* (RA), but has not addressed the curious construction *luctari contra*, normally *luctari* + dat. (cf. OLD, s.v. *luctor*) or with *cum*: 4, RB 14 *luctatur cum sapientia*. For the present construction, ThLL VII$^{\text{II}\,2}$ 1734,72-4 compares Sen., *Benef.* 7,15,2 *semper contra fortunam luctata virtus*. This corresponds to παλαίω πρός ‘to wrestle with’, cf. Lampe, *Patristic Lexicon*, s.v.: Cyrill. Hierosolymitanus († 386); *Catech.* 3,13 πρὸς τὰς ἀντικειμένας δυνάμεις παλαίειν <...> τὴν ἐξουσίαν ‘the force (of the Christians) to struggle against the opposed powers (of the devil)’. This could strengthen the hypothesis of a Christian

intermediate phase **R(Gr)**, cf. Introd. V.2. The Greek Novel uses προσπαλαίω τινί, cf. *Less.*, s.v.

41, RA 15-16 Erigens se ergo adsedit et ait ad eam: 'He got up and sat beside her, and said to her:'

41, RB 15-16 Et erigens se resedit et ait ad eam:

adsedit (RA) ~ *resedit* (RB): Probably a typical change by *RB*, cf. Introd. III.2. The reading (RA) is probably a faithful translation of (?) προσίζω 'to come and sit near'; παρακάθημαι 'to be seated beside' (cf. CGL VI 105, s.v.). For *RB* this is a 'dangerous' verb because it implies intimate proximity. Hence his change to the more neutral *resedit*, cf. OLD, s.v. resido 'to sit up'. Compare RB 29 *et descendens Tharsia sedit iuxta eum* (RA /).

41, RA 16-17 "Ago prudentiae et nobilitati tuae maximas gratias; consolationi tuae hanc vocem rependo, ut m<e>r<ito> tuo: '"I am very grateful for your intelligence and generosity. In return for your words of encouragement, I give this word in payment, just as you deserve:'

41, RB 16-17 "Ago prudentiae tuae et nobilitati tuae gratias, et consolationi tuae hanc vicem rependo, ut mereris:

prudentiae (RA) ~ *prudentiae tuae* (RB): Apart from the addition *tuae* and the omission of *maximas*, Apollonius' word of thanks is the same in RA/RB. Interpretation of the two nouns is dubious. They could be honorary terms of address, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *prudentia*: '(tit. honor.): Hier., *Epist.* 74,6 *prudentia tua*, cf. Aug., *Epist.* 57,1; 285,5; ibid., s.v. *nobilitas*: Aug., *Epist.* 133,1 *tua nobilitas.*' (Hence probably the addition *tuae* [RB]). Yet this seems too much honour. It is probably better to interpret: 'My (greatest) thanks for your insight and noble (uncommon) action'. But we should point out that both terms agree with Late Greek honorary titles of address, Gr. ἡ σὴ φρόνησις, cf. Sophocles, s.v.; Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. (3); ἡ εὐγένεια σου, cf. LSJ, s.v. (5); Lampe, s.v. (2).

hanc vocem rependo (**P**) ~ *hanc vicem rependo* (RB): The **P** reading has been retained against **Rα(φF)**/*RB*, cf. Konstan, p.99: 'if the text is sound, the meaning is "for your consolation (of me), I give you in return these words."' For *vox* as a prophetic word regarding the future, cf. OLD, s.v. *vox* (7) 'A spoken utterance': Liv. 5,51,7 *vox caelo emissa*; Vell. 1,10,5 *quae vox*

veluti oraculo emissa. We cannot rule out translation from (?) φωνή, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. φωνή (2.c): 'feierliche Ausspruch'. A possible substitute for *rependo* is (?) ἀμείβομαι, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀμείβω (B) (3) 'to repay, requite'; CGL II 172,30 *rependo tibi* ἀμείβομαί σε. *RB* normalizes: Prop. 4,4,58 *alterna lege repende vices!* (cf. M. Schuster, *Sex. Prop. Eleg. Libri IV*, Lipsiae 1954, ad loc.). This expression sometimes occurs in hagiography and in grammarians, cf. Mombr. II 215,35; 432,45; Maur. 371 *υ latina, quae vicem rependit interim vacantis υ* (i.e. upsilon). In later authors we often find the words contrasted or scribes have variant readings (cf. Sid. Apoll. 74,1 *mea quidem voce, sed vice tua*; Vita Samsonis, c.44 [p.140] *vicem* [*vocem* v.l.] *consuetam reddere*; Navig. Brend. 21,12 [Selmer p.96] *psallentes multis vicibus* [*vocibus* v.l.]).

ut m<e>r<ito> tuo (RA) ~ *ut mereris* (**π**): With some reluctance I have incorporated the conjecture by Ring, Peters, Heraeus, cf. OLD, s.v. *meritum* (2): 'esp. in phr. *meo* (*eius* etc.), as I deserve.' This comes closest to *mortuo* **P**; *merear* **βM**; *mereris* **π**. The **P** reading may derive from *mortuus* (i.q. moriturus), cf. Blatt, *Acta Andreae*, p.114,22; Svennung, *Wortstudien*, p.99. It was commonly believed that the dying possessed prophetic gifts, cf. Friedrich (on Catull. 64,190), p.361: Cic., *De div.* 1,63 (*animus*) *adpropinquante morte multo est divinior*. Within *RB*, *memor tui* **RErf.** would make good sense; I have adopted the conjecture by E. Baehrens, *Jahrbücher* 1871, p.858: 'Schreibe *ut mereris*'.

41, RA 17-19 quandoque, si laetari mihi licuerit et regni mei vires relevem, si<c> forsitan, ut dicis te regiis natalibus orta<m>, tuis te parentibus repraesento. 'At some time or other, if ever it will be allowed to me to be happy and to revive the resources of my kingdom, then perhaps, since you say you are of royal birth, I shall restore you to your parents.'

41, RB 17-19 quandoque, si mihi laetari licuerit, regni mei viribus <te> relevabo, et forsitan, ut dicis te regiis ortam parentibus ac natalibus, repraesentem.

quandoque (RA/RB): 'One day', as indef. adv. of time, cf. OLD, s.v. *quando* (4): Tac., *Ann.* 6,20 *et tu, Galba, quandoque degustabis imperium*.

regni mei vires (RA) ~ *regni mei viribus* (RB): This expression 'the financial resources of my reign' was discussed in 18, RA/RB 10 (comm.) as well

as the Greek parallel (?) τὰ κράτη τῆς βασιλείας. Perhaps we can adduce as a Greek parallel αἱ δυνάμεις τῆς ἐμῆς βασιλείας, cf. LSJ, s.v. δύναμις: I.3. 'forces', with reference to Hdt 7.9.a' χρημάτων δύναμιν 'our financial resources; CGL II, s.v. δύναμις vis'.

relevem (RA) ~ *relevabo* (RB): Cf. OLD, s.v. *relevo* (4) 'to raise from a fallen position'. Translation from (?) ἀείρω, ἐπαίρω is not impossible.

si<c> (RA) ~ (RB /): For recapitulatory *sic* we can perhaps compare (?) οὕτως/οὕτω, cf. LSJ, I.7: 'frequently introduces the apodosis after a protasis'.

forsitan <...> **repraesento** (RA) ~ *forsitan* <...> *repraesentem* (RB): Since Livy *forsitan* is taken as an adverb and does not influence the mode of the verb, cf. Krebs-Schmalz, *Antibarbarus*, s.v. *forsitan*. We find ind. elsewhere in the *HA* too, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. Only here does *RB*, following classical authors, prefer the subjunct., cf. Blaise, s.v. *forsitan*. Without influence on the verb we find in Greek ἴσως/εἰκότως 'probably' 'perhaps', used to soften or qualify a positive assertion, cf. LSJ, ss.vv.

natalibus orta<m> (RA) ~ *ortam parentibus ac natalibus* (RB): For *natalibus* 'lineage', cf. 12, RA 11 *non humilibus natalibus cognito* ~ RB 15 *non humilibus genito*. The combination with *ortus, -a* is stereotypical: Ambr., *Epist.* 1,1 *virgo Romae nobilibus orta natalibus*; Ennod., *Epist.* 5,20 *hunc* (sc. Bonifacium) *bonis ortum natalibus*; Ps. Ven. Fort. 6,16 *puella praeclaris orta natalibus*; Eugipp., *Sev.* 3,2 *Procula nobilissimis orta parentibus*.

repraesento (RA) ~ *repraesentem* (RB): This verb has the meaning 'to restore' here, a meaning for which we only have very late attestations, cf. Niermeyer, *Lexicon minus*, s.v. *repraesentare aliquem alicui* 'amener devant qqn': Greg. Tur., *Hist. Franc.* 2,28 *accipientes puellam regi* <...> *repraesentant*; Pass. Firmi (Mombr. I, 308) *Praecepit* <...> *ut ei sanctos martyres repraesentarent*; Pass. Georgii Spolet., *AB* 27, p.381 *Iussit* <...> *b. Georgium ante vestigia sua* (= coram) *repraesentari* (for *repraesentare* in the classical sense, see 25, RB 8 *defunctae repraesentavit effigiem*; for the simple verb *praesentare*, see Ind. verb., s.v. According to the testimony of the Glossaria (cf. CGL VII 200), *repraesento* often renders ἀποκαθίστημι 'to re-establish, restore'. This would make excellent sense, cf. LSJ, s.v. (1).

The long period in *RA* has been skilfully divided into two sentences by *RB*: *quandoque, si* <...> *licuerit,* <...> *relevabo*; *forsitan, ut dicis* <...>*, repraesentem*. In the process he has normalized *vires relevem* to *<te> relevabo*, cf. OLD, s.v. *relevo* (2.a) 'to relieve a person of <...> discomfort'. Likewise *forsitan* + indic. (moreover in present tense!) has been rectified to *forsitan* (with sub-

junct.) <…> *repraesentem*. The expansive final formulation *regiis natalibus, tuis* <…> *parentibus* (RA) has been elegantly condensed. The addition <*te*> (RB) was already suggested by Ring, Peters (p.179, at [41] 88,4), cf. *regni mei te viribus* **RErf. (q)**, *tuam paupertatem* **π**. Perhaps *te* can be supplied tacitly, cf. Konstan, p.99. (Klebs, p.222 deletes in *RA* [*regni mei vires relevem*] and [*ut dicis te regiis natalibus orta*], in RB [*regni mei viribus te relevabo*] and [*ortam parentibus ac natalibus*].)

41, RA 19-20	Nunc ergo accipe aureos ducentos et ac si in lucem produxeris me, gaude. 'But now take two hundred gold pieces; rejoice as if you had led me into the light.'
41, RB 19-20	Nunc accipe dúcentos aúreos (*t.*), ac si me in lucem perduceres: laéta discéde (*pl.*).

Minor changes in *RB* (*ergo RA* ~ RB /; *et RA* ~ RB /; *produxeris RA* ~ *perduceres* RB). For *ac si* (RA/RB), cf. 33, RA 14/RB 12 (comm.). For *gaude* (RA) ~ *laeta discede* (RB), see *RA* 21 *Vade* ~ RB /. The combination verb + adj. is poetic.

41, RA 21-22	Vade; et rogo, ulterius non me appelles: recentem enim mihi renovasti dolorem." 'Go away; and please, do not speak any more to me. For you have renewed my recent sorrow."'
41, RB 20-21	Nolo me ulterius appelles. Recenti enim <luc>tu ac renovata crudelitate tabesco."

Vade; et rogo <…> **non** (RA) ~ *Nolo* (RB): The language in *RA* is not purely grammatical, cf. OLD, s.v. *non* (3): '(in indirect command)' Papin., *Dig.* 31,67,5 *peto non fundus de familia exeat*. We often find *non* recorded with pres. subjunct. or with imper. in major authors too: Cic., *Cluent.* 155 *a legibus non recidamus*; Ov., *Ars* 3,129 *non caris aures onerate lapillis*. For more examples, cf. Friedrich (on Catull. 66,91), p.428; Linderbauer (on Reg. Ben., *prol.* 94 *non refugias*), p.144. For *RB*, cf. OLD, s.v. *nolo* (2 b): examples since earliest Latinity: Plaut., *Stich.* 734 *nolo optaedescat*; Cic., *Q. Rosc.* 9 *nolo vincat*. (Schmeling, *Notes*, p.154 [on ed. 33,13] normalizes: *ne*.)

recentem enim mihi renovasti dolorem (RA) ~ *Recenti enim luctu* <…> *tabesco* (RB): *RA* offers a very well-known borrowing from Verg., *Aen.* 2,3 *infandum, regina, iubes renovare dolorem*, cf. 16, RA/RB 4 *veteres ei renovasti dolores*. It is uncertain why *RB* changes so drastically. For *crudelitas* 'cruel

anguish' the lexicons do not provide suitable evidence, nor does ThLL IV 1229,13 ff. Heraeus notes CIL XIII 11032 (Bordeaux) *dismisit grande crudelitate uxori et filiis [s]ivis* (l. suis). Compare 'cruauté', 'crudeltà'.

41, RA 22-25 Et acceptis ducentis aureis abscessit de illo loco. Et ait ad eam Athenagoras: "Quo vadis, Tharsia? Sine effectu laborasti? Num potuimus facere misericordiam et subvenire homini interficienti se?" 'Tarsia took the two hundred gold pieces and went away from that place. Athenagoras said to her: "Where are you going, Tarsia? Have you failed in your work? Could we not do a good deed and help a man who is killing himself?"'

41, RB 22-24 Et acceptis ducentis aureis abire cupiebat. Et ait ad eam Athenagoras: "Quo vadis, Tharsia? Sine effectu laborasti? Non potuimus facere misericordiam et subvenire homini sé interficiénti (*v.*)?"

abscessit de illo loco (RA) ~ *abire cupiebat* (RB): A classical emendation by *RB*: he not only tackles the unavailing 'to wish to withdraw' but also *ille* as def. pron. Naturally *abire* implies *de nave*.

Sine effectu (RA/RB), cf. 34, RB 18 (comm.).

Num (RA) ~ *Non* (RB): *Num* has the classical meaning, where the answer 'no' is expected, cf. OLD, s.v. *num* (1). *RB* chooses the other possibility, cf. OLD, s.v. *non* (4): 'in questions, especially surprised or indignant, expecting a positive answer': Plaut., *Men.* 505 *tuum parasitum non novisti?*; Cic., *Fam.* 9,17,1 *non tu homo ridiculus es?* In deliberative questions too: Ter., *Eun.* 798 *quid tu tibi vis? ego non tangam meam?*

facere misericordiam (RA/RB): From the outset this expression, without further parallel in the *HA*, was interpreted in a Christian sense: 'to do a deed of mercy' 'Barmherzigkeit üben' (cf. Thielmann [1881] p.15; Riese [1893] index). Even Klebs, p.269 cannot deny the Christian character of this expression: 'sehr haüfig in der Vulgata'. But this is a blatant understatement: ThLL VIII 1125,68-1126,6 can quote only Christian authors for *misericordia* = *opus bonum*. There is probably no expression (Blatt, p.151 'Biblisches Sprachgut') in the *HA* which is so capable of underlining the Christian character of RA/RB. Klebs (p.225, 269) wants to

delete here of course, but it is patently obvious that the expression (and action) is so interwoven in the context that it makes such a procedure completely irresponsible and unfeasible. It is harder to determine whether this expression has been adopted from a Greek model. A likely candidate is ποιεῖν (τὸ) ἔλεος, cf. e.g. Vulg. Luke 1:27 *Ad faciendam misericordiam cum patribus nostris* ~ Gr. ποιῆσαι ἔλεος μετα τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν; ibid. 10:37 *Qui fecit misericordiam in illum* ~ ὁ ποιήσας τὸ ἔλεος μετ' αὐτοῦ. The expression does occur in secular Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἔλεος: Demosth. 24,111 ἔλεον (sic, from ἔλεος masc.) ποιήσασθαι ἐπί τινι, but is lacking in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. ἔλεος (itself very frequent). Perhaps *RA*/*RB* can be traced back here to **R(Gr)**, cf. Lampe, s.v. ἀγαπηῴ (E): '*act of love or charity*' 1. of good deeds in general *Apophth. Patr.* (105^{B}) ἐποίησα ἐμαυτῷ ἀγάπην 'as for me, I performed an act of charity'. (The later meaning ποίησον ἀγάπην 'please', as a polite formula, is left out of the discussion here, cf. Tabachovitz [1943], pp.3-5.)

subvenire (RA/RB): A striking phenomenon is the frequent combination, in texts too, of *misericordia* and *subvenire*, cf. Aug., *Civ.* 9,5 *quid est autem misericordia nisi alienae miseriae quaedam in nostro corde compassio, qua utique si possumus subvenire compellimur*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *misericordia* (1).

41, RA 25-27	Et ait ad eum Tharsia: "Omnia, quaecumque potui, feci, sed datis mihi CC aureis rogavit <ut, abscederem>, asserens renovato luctu dolore cruciari." 'Tarsia answered: "I have done all I could, but he gave me two hundred thousand gold sesterces and asked me to go away, declaring that the renewed grief and pain was a torture to him."'
41, RB 24-26	Et ait Tharsia: "Omnia, quae potui, feci, et datis mihi ducentis aureis rogavit, ut discederem, asserens se renovato dolóre torqúeri (*pl.*)."

asserens renovato luctu dolore cruciari (RA) ~ *asserens se renovato dolore torqueri* (RB): In *RA* reflexive *se* after *asserens* may have dropped out, but may just as easily be supplied, cf. Konstan 'asserting that he was being tormented'. Many changes with regard to *luctu* are possible too: *luctu et* Riese [1893], *luctus* Brakman. The various problems have been smoothed away by *RB*.

41, RA 27-28 Et ait ad eam Athenagoras: "Ego tibi modo CCCC aureos dabo; tantum descende ad eum: refunde ei hos CC, quos tibi dedit; provoca eum ad lumen exire, dicens ei: 'Athenagoras said to her: "I will give you four hundred gold pieces on the spot: just go down to him: give back the two hundred, which he gave you; make him come out into the light, say to him:'

41, RB 26-28 Et ait Athenagoras: "Ego tibi quadringentos aureos dabo; tantum descende et refunde ei hos ducentos, quos tibi dedit, et dic ei:

ad eam (RA): A common omission by *RB*.

modo (RA) ~ (RB /): For *modo*, cf. OLD, s.v. *modo* (5.b) 'just now': Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *modo* (1): 'à l'instant' (Peters, p.154 'auf der Stelle'). Omitted as superfluous by *RB*, or because *modo* can also refer to the immediate future, cf. OLD, s.v. *modo* (5.c): Plaut., *Cas.* 526 *ego ad forum modo ibo: iam hic ero*.

tantum descende (RA/RB): Cf. 31, RA 17 (comm.).

refunde (RA/RB), cf. 41, RA 34/RB 32: I.q. *redde*, cf. OLD, s.v. *refundo* (4): 'to give back, restore, refund': Marcel., *Dig.* 36,1,46 *illa* (sc. filia) *desiderat refundere me*; Ulp., *Dig.* 4,4,22 *pretia a minore refundenda non sunt*. Within these late legal texts we should point out that *refundere* = *reddere* occurs very often in Ambros., cf. Dreves, *Aurelius Ambrosius, der Vater des Kirchengesanges*, Freiburg 1893, Index.

provoca eum ad lumen exire, dicens ei (RA) ~ *et dic ei* (RB): *RB* is consistent in his elimination, cf. 40, RA 31 *eum provoces* ~ RB 26 (*exhorteris*): For a possible elimination of a Greek phrase, see comm. on 40, RA 31 (ἐκκαλέω; προ[σ]καλέω).

41, RA 29-32 "Ego non pecuniam, salutem tuam quaero." Et descendens Tharsia ad eum ait: "Iam si <in hoc> squalore permanere diffinisti, pro eo quod pecunia ingenti me honorasti, permitte me tecum in his tenebris miscere sermonem. '"I am not interested in your money, but in your well-being." So Tarsia went down to him and said: "If you've decided to stay forever in this squalor, allow me to exchange a few words with you here in the darkness in return for the large sum of money with which you've honoured me."'

41, RB 29-31 "Ego salutem tuam, non pecuniam quaero." Et descendens Tharsia sedit iuxta eum et ait: "Iam si in isto squalore permanere definisti, permitte me tecum vel in istis tenebris miscere sermonem.

<in hoc> squalore (RA) ~ *in isto squalore* (RB): The addition *in hoc* is based on **Rα**(**φ**, **LG**)/RB; obviously *in* (Riese [1893]) would have sufficed. The word *squalor* is a standard formulation in hagiography for prison etc.: Greg. Tur., *Lib. de Mirac. B. Andreae* (ed. Bonnet) p.827,29 *de squalore carceris*; Mombr. II 466,57 (Sebastianus) *Denique omnes qui vincti fuerant ac de carceris squalore educti, animae sexdecim*; Martyrium b. Petri (ed. Salonius) p.24,13 (sc. Nero) *artari eum et in custodia squalidissima compedibus vinciri iussit*.

diffinisti P ~ *definisti* (RB): From Sen. onwards the spelling *diffinio* or *difinio* occurs mainly in Late Latin and Christian authors, so that we should question to what extent it is authentic. The construction *definio* + infin. is common in Late Latin, cf. ThLL V,1 347,34 ff.

pro eo quod <…> **honorasti** (RA) ~ (RB /): I.q. *propter id, quod*, cf. 40, RA 15 (comm.): very common in Late Latin, cf. Greg. Tur., *Hist. Franc.*, p.207,19; Salonius, *Vit. Patr.*, p.344 (Klebs, p.267 deletes [*pro eo* <…> *quod*]).

pecuniā … honorasti (RA) ~ (RB /): Colourful Late Latin, cf. ThLL VI,2 2945,17-28: Quintil., *Decl.* 278 p.134,27 *pecunia honorare*; Hier., *Hom. Orig. in Luc.* 34, p.204,23 R (*Samaritanus*) *tollit duos denarios et honorat* (*onerat* edd. vet.) *stabularium* (Vulg. Luke 10:35 *dedit stabulario*). (This also shows the confusion between *honorare* and *onerare*, not indicated in the text.) A term like τιμᾶν χρήμασιν seems not far off, cf. LSJ, s.v. τιμάω 'reward'.

in his tenebris (RA) ~ *vel in istis tenebris* (RB): Two changes, two improvements. For *vel*, cf. OLD, s.v. *vel* (5): ‘introducing what might be thought an extreme or unlikely possibility’ ‘even’, cf. Plaut., *Per.* 396 *cum hac dote poteris vel mendico nubere*. For *his* (RA) ~ *istis* RB, cf. 7, RA/RB 8; 45, RA 6 *haec* (*civitas*) ~ RB 8 *ista*.

sermonem miscere (RA/RB): High-flown literary language, cf. ThLL 1085,23-26; first recorded place in Sen., *Nat. quaest.* 4, praef. 20 *tecum miscebo sermones*.

41, RA 32-34 Si enim parabolarum mearum nodos absolveris, vadam; sin aliter, refundam tibi pecuniam, quam mihi dedisti, et abscedam.” ‘If you can unravel the knot of my riddles, I will go; if not, I will give you back the money that you gave me, and leave.”’

41, RB 32-33 Si enim parabolarum mearum nodos absolveris, vadam; sin aliud, refundo tibi pecuniam tuam et abscedam.”

parabolarum <…> nodos absolveris (RA/RB): Roughly from here to 42, RA 10 in particular, there are active reminiscences of the ‘historical’ riddle contest between Solomon, king of Jerusalem, and Hiram, king of Tyre, in terms of both content and wording. The Greek source is Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.*(ed. H.St.J. Thackeray and R. Marcus, Josephus V, *Jewish Antiquities Books V-VIII*, London-Cambridge [LCL] 1934 [repr. 1935, 1950] 8,143.146.148.149, repeated in *Contra Ap.* (ed. C. Boysen, *Flavii Iosephi Opera, pars VI. De Iudaeorum vetustate sive contra Apionem libri II* (CSEL 37). Vindobonae 1898 (Johnson Repreting Corporation 1964) 1,17 (111, 113-115), 18 (120). The parallel was probably introduced by **R(Gr)**, cf. Introd. V.2.3. No doubt the expression itself was understood by Roman readers. Yet it is extremely rare: *parabola* must have the meaning ‘riddle’, cf. ThLL X,1,1 289,63-75. The more normal meaning ‘word’, crucial to the Romance languages (Fr. parole, parler; It. parola, parlare; Sp. palabra, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 166), is much less appropriate here, cf. Löfstedt, *Late Latin* pp.81-84 (against Klebs, p.270, who [naturally] deletes the expression). The origin must rather be sought in the Greco-Latin translation milieu, cf. Introd. IV.2.1. Thus the Latin translation (ed. Harvey, p.176,14) of Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* 1,19,2: *absolutiones parabolarum* ~ Gr. τὰς ἐπιλύσεις τῶν παραβολῶν; p.347,19 *Quo modo oportet parabolas absolvi*, cf. pp.348-349. For the combination of παραβολή ‘riddle’ ~ αἴνιγμα ‘enigma’ ~ πρόβλημα ‘riddle’, cf. Lampe, *Patristic Lexicon*, ss.vv.

παραβολή, πρόβλημα. An exact parallel for *parabola* 'riddle' ~ παραβολή 'riddle' (cf. Lampe, *Patristic Lexicon*, s.v. [6]) is found in the *Martyrium Theodotii* I, 31 (ed. P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *ST* 6, Roma 1901, p.82,18) ἢ ὄντως παραβολὰς φθέγγεσθε καταγελῶντες τῆς ἀγροικίας μου; 'or do you really speak riddles jeering at my rusticity?' Because this Martyrium takes place in Ancyra, a town in Mysia (Asia Minor) (cf. tit., p.61,2), the interpretation παραβολή 'riddle' is an important marker of provenance, certainly for **R(Gr)**, cf. Introd. V.2. The Latin riddles of Symphosius are probably a substitute (introduced by RA/RB) for a number of Greek παραβολαί 'riddles', introduced by **R(Gr)**. For a further discussion, see c.42.

(For the reference to Joseph., *Antiq Jud.*, compare Garbugino, p.145 n.83. I did not see his reference until the final stage [2006] of this work, cf. ed. m. [2004], pp. 50-51 with a more detailed comparison with **H(Gr)**. For the meaning of *parabola* as 'riddle' which I mentioned there, Garbugino, p.114 n.121 refers to C. Braidotti, 'Quaestiones' e 'parabolae': gli indovinelli nella ‹Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri›, in *Scho(l)ia* (Rivista quadrimestrale), Anno IV - N.3 - 2002, pp.9-19 [but without drawing further conclusions from this].)

nodos (RA/RB): This *nodus* is probably based on a Greek substrate ἅμμα 'knot', cf. 1, RA 15/RB 14 ἅμμα παρθενίας (comm.). On the other hand the parallel expression 36, RB 4 *quoscumque nodos quaestionum proposuerint* should be traced back to Aug., *Bapt.* 2,1,1 *quando in aliquem nodum quaestionis inciderit* (comm.).

absolvere (RA/RB): Obviously a precise equivalent for *absolvere* cannot be given: alongside the simple verb *λύω*, various compound verbs are eligible, like ἀναλύω (cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀναλύω [II.9]; Lampe, s.v. ἀνάλυσις 'resolution') / ἐπιλύω (cf. LSJ, s.v. (2) 'to solve, explain'; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, ss.vv. ἐπίλυσις, ἐπιλύω). The entire phrase could go back to (?) Εἰ τὰ ἅμματα τὰ τῶν ἐμῶν παραβολῶν ἀνέλυσας 'If you will have unravelled the knots of my riddles'.

sin aliter (RA) ~ *sin aliud* (RB): The most common elliptical expression *sin aliter* (Gr. [?] εἰ δὲ μή) was soon joined by several variants, like *sin minus*, *sin secus*, cf. OLD, s.v. *sin* (b): 'but if it is otherwise'. There is hardly any appreciable difference in meaning, cf. 5, RB *sin alias* (**b**: *autem* **βπ**), *legem agnosces*; 31, RA 17/RB 12 *sin alias*.

refundam (RA: *refundo* RB) **tibi pecuniam et abscedam**: See Introd V.2 for a more detailed explanation of Tarsia's assurance 'et abscedam', which she does not in fact do (cf. 42, RA/RB 6 comm.).

quam mihi dedisti (RA) ~ *tuam* (RB): Removal of epic diction.

41, RA 34-36 At ille, ne videretur pecuniam recipere, simul et cupiens a prudenti puella audire sermonem, ait: 'So as not to appear to be taking his money back, and at the same time because he also wanted to hear what the clever girl had to say, Apollonius said:'

41, RB 33-34 Apollonius, ne pecuniam repétere viderétur (*v.*), et cupiens a prudenti puella audire, ait:

recipere (RA) ~ *repetere* (RB): Perhaps *RB* is less non-committal, but there was probably little difference between the two verbs, cf. 42, RB 15 *Tamen ne ideo tacere videar, ut pecuniam recipiam*.

audire sermonem (RA) ~ *audire* (RB): *Audire* often occurs without an object, cf. OLD, s.v. *audio*, Forms: 'normally with acc. or abs.', cf. Cic., *Fin.* 2,1 *iubere dicere, qua de re quis vellet audire*; Plin., *Epist.* 3,20,6 *audiebat senatus gravitate censoria*; *Per.* 46,1 *qui volunt audire de plebe* (sc. sermonem sacerdotis) *omnes intrant et sedent*, cf. Aug., *Civ.* 2,4.

41, RA 36-39 "Licet in malis meis nulla mihi cura suppetit nisi flendi et lugendi, tamen – ut hortamento laetitiae caream – dic, quod in<ter>rogatura es, et abscede. Deprecor, ut fletibus meis spatium tribuas." '"Although in my troubles I am not interested in anything whatsoever except weeping and grieving, nevertheless speak what you have to speak, provided that I will be spared any incitement to rejoice, and then, go forth. Please allow me time for my tears."'

41, RB 34-37 "Licet in malis meis nulla mihi cura suppetit nisi flendi et lugendi, tamen – ut careat ornamento laetitiae – dic, quod interrogatura es et abscede. Peto enim, ut fletibus meis spatium tribuas."

Licet <…> **cura suppetit** (RA/RB), cf. Ind. verb., s.v.: Classical Latin prefers the subjunct. after *licet*, cf. OLD, s.v. *licet* (1.c); *licet* + ind. is not impossible, cf. OLD, s.v. *licet* (4.b): Apul., *Met.* 2,6 *licet salutare non erit, Photis illa temptetur*; in Late Latin the indic. prevails, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v.

licet; Linderbauer, p.300. The collocation *cura suppetit* does not occur, cf. ThLL IV 1458,69 ff. Compare also LSJ, s.v. φροντίζω + gen. 'to take thought for' (μηδενὸς ἄλλου φρ., πλὴν ὅπως) / φροντίς + gen. 'care, attention'. For *flendi et lugendi*, cf. 41, RA/RB 6.

ut hortamento laetitiae caream (RA) ~ *ut careat ornamento laetitiae* (RB): For *RA*, cf. 43, RA 24-25 *ne ulterius me ad laetandum provoces*. The conjunction *ut* probably has the value of *dummodo* 'if only (not)', from Gr. (?) ὅπως <...> μὴ, cf. LSJ, s.v. ὅπως: 'in such manner as' (A.I.b). The phrase *hortamentum laetitiae* itself is fairly common in Latin, cf. ThLL VI,2 3003,1-10 (with references to Liv., Tac., Gell., Don., Apul.). Translation from (?) παράκλησις, cf. Lampe, *Patristic Lexicon*, s.v. παράκλησις (B): 'exhortation to'. *RB*'s change reveals the sophisticated language specialist and the purpose of riddles which he envisages. The alteration has been achieved with a minimum of change in the letters used: *careat* (sc. sermo tuus): for the change from *hortamento* to *ornamento* within codd., cf. ThLL VI,2 3002,28.30.37; 3003,7.12.17.

fletibus meis spatium tribuas (RA/RB), cf. 50, RA 30/RB 27 *nisi <...> horarum <...> spatia* (RA: *spatium* RB) *tribuisset* (comm.): The usual expression is *spatium dare* (both literally and figuratively), e.g. Verg., *Aen.* 12,696 *discessere omnes medii spatiumque dedere*; Curt. 7,4,35 (*acies utraeque*) *recesserunt dato libero spatio*; Plaut., *Aul.* 806 *Interim spatium ei dabo exquirendi meum factum*; Iuv. 10,188 *da spatium vitae, multos da, Iuppiter, annos*; (regarding emotions): Sen., *Dial.* 5,39,2 *surda est et amens* (prima ira): *dabimus illi spatium*; Liv. 8,32 *irae suae spatium et consilio tempus dare*; the poetic phrase with *tribuere* seems to be mainly confined to Church Latin, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *tribuo*: 'freq. dans les oraisons lit.'; Introd. II.2. With others Klebs, p.270 n.2 refers to Vulg., Judg. 16:16 *spatium ad quietem non tribuens* (Gr. παρηνώχλησεν αὐτόν 'she [sc. Delilah] caused him [sc. Samson] much annoyance: ἐστενοχώρησεν αὐτόν 'she pressed him closely' v.l.). *fletus* (pl.) also points to biblical language, cf. Concordans (Jdt. 7:22; Esth. 14:2; Isa. 22:5). Naturally the exact reading of **R(Gr)** and possibly **HA(Gr)** is purely a matter of speculation. Greek and the Greek Novel have several parallels, e.g. τόπον διδόναι, cf. LSJ, s.v. τόπος (III) 'opening, occasion, opportunity; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. (2 c.); Achill. Tat. 7,1,2 δοὺς δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ σχολὴν εἰς τὴν διάκρισιν 'after giving himself time to judge'; Heliod. 9,21,4 χώραν ἀπολογίας 'room for defence' (Klebs, p.269: 'später überarbeitet').

CHAPTER 42

In order to comfort her father and at the same time to test him in his kingship (as Solomon, king of Jerusalem once did to Hiram, king of Tyre, cf. Introd. V.2.3.), Tarsia sets riddles in dactylic hexameters, 10 in *RA*, 7 in *RB*, divided over **cc.42-43**, cf. Introd. III.5. They come from a large collection (almost a hundred riddles in all, but several of them inauthentic), extremely popular, under the name of Symphosius, or as some would have it, Symposius, since these are poems proper to a συμπόσιον 'drinking-party, symposium'. For the spelling Symphosius used here, see Garbugino, p.67 n.1. They have been selected by *RA* without correspondence to the present numbering, usually with a view to Apollonius' past experiences and with a certain link to Apollonius' present situation. The following riddles are successively presented (ch. 42; the numbering added between brackets under B. is that of Shackleton Bailey, cf. below editions):

Aen. 12	*Flumen et piscis* (RA/RB) (The river is regarded as the sea here);
Aen. 2	*Harundo* (only RA) (The reed, combined with its product, the panpipe; refused by *RB*, apparently because alien to Apollonius' situation);
Aen. 13	*Navis* (RA/RB);
Aen. 90 (B.89)	*Balneum* (RA/RB) in accordance with c.13, RA/RB, where Apollonius performs one of his top acts, *balneator* 'bath attendant';
Aen. 61	*Ancora* (RA): apparently refused by *RB* because less correct in relation to a position on shore (c.38, RA/RB);
Aen. 63	*Spongia* (RA/RB): again in accordance with the bath scene (c.13).

In ch. 43 we hear about:

Aen. 59	*Pila* (RA/RB): the solution refers directly to the ball game in Pentapolis/Cyrene (c.13, RA/RB);
Aen. 69	*Speculum* (RA/RB): without any evident connection with the *HA*: was *RA* thinking of a famous genre, the *speculum humanae vitae*?;
Aen. 79 (B.77)	*Rotae* (RA): perhaps chosen with a view to *Rota Fortunae* 'The wheel of fortune', in this sense understandably excluded by *RB*, cf. Introd. III.3;

Aen. 78 *Scalae* (RA/RB): perhaps (from a Christian perspective) chosen in connection with Jacob's ladder (cf. Gen. 28:12), which leads all of us to heaven and to heavenly comfort: obviously a hint to Apollonius, after all the purely pagan *aenigmata*.

From this point of view the choice of riddles, which may seem a little puerile at first sight, is in fact well-considered. Moreover, *RA* has done his best via interventions and adjustments to embed some riddles more firmly in Apollonius' situation (Aen. 13 *navis*; Aen. 89 *balneum*, geared specifically to Tarsia; Aen. 78 *scalae*, geared specifically to the pursuit of heaven; stylistic changes in Aen. 63 *spongia* and Aen. 77 *rotae*). In his view, this approach authorized *RB*, within his endeavour to abbreviate, not only to exclude those riddles which were extraneous to the strict contents of the *HA* (Aen. 2 *harundo*; Aen. 61 *ancora*; Aen. 77 *rotae*); he also introduced changes in the riddles of Symph. (Aen. 78 *scalae*), all this from his explicit point of view: no belles-lettres, but (41, RB 41) '*careat ornamento laetitiae*'; he had underlined the importance of the riddles as such in 36, RB 8 *quaestiones sibi promebat et solvebat*. Moreover, *RB*'s critical abridgements are based on a different, more precise class of manuscripts (*Recensio D)* than *RA*, who falls back on *Recensio B*. (For an enumeration of the respective codices, see Garbugino, p.77 with n.39). To make the matter even more complicated, *RA* seems to have followed a tradition of his own for certain riddles, different from *Recensio B*, cf. Garbugino, p.77 n.40. The consequences are obvious: even more than in Tarsia's song (c.41), we are dealing here with a tangled series of emendations and modifications, in the riddles themselves as well as in the solutions, both of which are quoted and emended freely via the numerous versions of Symph. We are left with a crazy patchwork (cf. ed. m. [1984], pp.378-89).

To give the reader some insight into the actual text, I have thought it necessary to pursue maximum simplicity: what seems to be a later explanation or addition has been relegated to the app. crit. The reader, interested in the development of Symphosius' riddles, should consult the app. crit. of both this edition and that of Symph., available in various modern editions (see below).

A thorny question in the textual genesis of the *HA* is to what extent these riddles of Symph. are a Latin adaptatation of **HA(Gr)** or **R(Gr)**, cf. E. Wolff, 'Le rôle de l'énigme dans *l'Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*', *RPh* 73,2 (1999) p.282. As I suggested in the previous chapter 41 (RA 33-34/RB 31-32), this chapter provides support for the view that something similar existed in the Greek versions (see 42, RA/RB 5-6 [comm.]; *RA* 9-10; *RA* 27). Most likely **R(Gr)**, in introducing Apollonius' kingship, incorporated similar riddles/aphorisms in his epitome, allowing him to draw a parallel

with the famous riddle contest between Solomon, king of Jerusalem, and Hiram, king of Tyre. The same matters may have been dealt with in Greek as they are now in Symphosius' riddles. This may have taken a very simple form, e.g. τί ἐστιν, ὃ 'what is it that', with answers given in terms like ἰχθῦς/θάλασσα 'fish and sea', λύρα 'lyre', ναῦς 'ship', ἄγκυρα 'anchor', etc. Obviously no strict correlation between **R(Gr)** and *RA* is necessary: *RA* merely offers a continued adaptation following the course plotted by **R(Gr)**. The original reading of **HA(Gr)** is impossible to establish: perhaps it originally devoted space to a series of Greek topics, either riddles or aphorisms, proverbs, parables, etc. On the other hand it must have contained a chilling description of a daughter's sexual advances towards her own father. Critics have rightly noted that Tarsia did not board the ship to present riddles. To eliminate this painful aspect, the introduction of riddles, in whatever form, in Greek too, seems an appropriate strategy. (Klebs, pp.38, 178-183, 223-5 naturally regards cc.42-43 as an interpolation in **Hi**.; The original text is said to have contained a καταστροφή 'dénouement', 'reversal', caused by a *deus ex machina*.)

For those interested in knowing more about this subject, a short survey of editions relevant to Symphosius as well as a few articles may be useful.

Editions

E. Baehrens, *Poetae latini minores* (4), Leipzig (Teubner), 1882, no. XII, p.637 ff.

A. Riese, *Anthologia Latina sive poesis latinae supplementum*, pars prior, fasc. 1, Leipzig (Teubner) 1894

R.T. Ohl, *The Enigmas of Symphosius*, Philadelphia 1928

F. Glorie, *Tatuini opera omnia, variae collectiones aenigmatum merovingicae aetatis, pars altera*, Turnholti 1968, p.611 ff.

D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *Anthologia Latina* I, fasc. 1, Stutgard 1982, p.203 ff.

Articles

G. Carbugino, *Enigmi della Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* (Testi e manuali per l'insegnamento universitario del Latino, no.87), Bologna 2004, pp.67-89 (with an extensive bibliography)

C.F. Georg Heinrici, *Zur patristischen Aporienliteratur*, Abh. d. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Klasse 27 (1909), p.847 ff.

E. Klebs, *Die Erzählung von Apollonius aus Tyrus*, Berlin 1899, pp.178-86

C.W. Müller, *Der Romanheld als Rätsellöser in der Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, loc. cit., p.273

M.J. Muñoz Jiménez, 'Algunos aspectos de los "Aenigmata Symphosii"', *Emerita* 55 (1987), pp.307-12

F. Murru, 'Aenigmata Symphosii ou Aenigmata Symposii', *Eos* 68 (1980), pp.155-8

S. Panagiotakis, *Ἡ ἱστορία τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου Βασιλιᾶ τῆς Τύρου*, loc. cit., pp.103-24

Der Neue Pauly, Enzyklopädie der Antike, Bnd 5, Stuttgart 1998, cols.635-6 (contribution by M. Fusillo, T. Heinze)

K. Smolak in: R. Herzog ~ P. Lebrecht Schmidt (edd.), *Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike*, Bnd 5 (München 1989), pp.249-52

E. Wolff, Le rôle de l'énigme dans *l'Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, *RPh* 1999, LXXIII,2 pp.279-88

42, RA/RB 1-4 Et ait ad eum Tharsia (RA: Et ait Tharsia RB): "Est domus in terris, clara quae voce resultat (RA: resultans RB).
Ipsa domus resonat, tacitus sed non sonat hospes.
Ambo tamen currunt, <hospes simul et domus RB> una.

"'Tarsia said to him: 'There is a house which resounds loudly all over the earth. / The house itself is full of sound, but the silent inhabitant makes none. / But both move swiftly, inhabitant and house together."'
RA could take this riddle unchanged from Symph. (ed. Shackleton Bailey), Aen. 12 *Flumen et piscis: Est domus in terris clara quae voce resultat. / Ipsa domus resonat, tacitus sed non sonat hospes. / Ambo tamen currunt, hospes simul et domus una.*

1. **in terris clara quae** (RA/RB): The *HA* contrasts *in terris* with the sea, *in undis*, cf. 38, RA 18/RB 15. For *RA* the contrast is not so much *Flumen et piscis* (Symph.) as *mare et piscis*, cf. Ps. 8:9 *pisces maris, qui perambulant semitas maris*.

   resultat (RA) ~ *resultans* (RB): A standard expression, cf. OLD, s.v. *resulto* (3.b): 'to throw back a sound' Lucil. 1290 *resultabant aedesque lacusque*; Plin., *Paneg.* 73,1 *inde resultantia vocibus tecta*. The $\boldsymbol{\beta}^{\mathbf{II}}\boldsymbol{\pi}$ reading could be a hanging participle.

2. **tacitus** <...> **hospes** (RA/RB), cf. Hor., *Carm.* 4,3,19 *O mutis quoque piscibus / donatura Cycni, si libeat, sonum.*

3. **hospes simul et domus** (RB) ~ (**P** /): Cf. Ven. Fort., *Vita Mart.* 1,175 *erigitur iacens pariter domus et suus hospes*, an interesting coincidence because Ven. Fort. shows familiarity with the *HA* elsewhere too (*Carm.* 7,97-98, cf. ed. m. [1984], nn.551-2).

unā (RB) ~ *in domo una* (**P**): Perhaps the confusion in **P** results from a failure to recognize *unā* 'together'.

42, RA 5-6	Si ergo, ut adseris, rex es – in mea patria nihil enim regi prudentius esse convenit –, solve mihi quaestionem et vadam." 'Now if, as you claim, you are a king – for in my country it is proper for a king that nobody be cleverer than he – answer this riddle and I will go."'
42, RB 5-6	Et ait ad eum: "Si rex es, ut asseris, in patria tua, – regi enim nihil convenit esse prudentius – solve mihi quaestionem, et vadam."

rex – in mea patria (RA) ~ *rex in patria tua* (RB): Probably a direct borrowing from the riddle contest between Εἴρωμος (Hiram), king of Tyre, and Solomon, king of Jerusalem, cf. 41, RA 32-34 ~ RB 32-33 (comm.). The OT talks about negotiations between Solomon and Hiram (cf. 1 Kgs. 5; 3 Kgs. 5:1-12), but not about riddles or an exchange of letters. Riddles are only mentioned in the contact between Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, 1 Kgs. 10:1; 3 Kgs. 10:1. So the elements of *Apollonius rex* and his skill at solving riddles must have been introduced by **R(Gr)** in his epitome on the basis of his Greek spokesman Josephus, cf. Introd. V.2.3. Via **R(Gr)** the term *rex* also (sporadically) entered RA/RB, cf. Introd. V.2.1. The shift from *in mea patria* (RA) to *in patria tua* (RB) with linkage to Apollonius seems a logical change, appropriate to *RB*.

nihil <...> **regi prudentius esse convenit** (RA) ~ *regi* (**β** [ante corr.], **Mπ**) <...> *nihil convenit esse prudentius* (RB). The reading *regi* is not only overwhelmingly represented in *RA* and *RB*, but also in the secondary recension *RC*, cf. Schmeling, p.123,8 *regi enim convenit nihil esse prudentius*. Because this makes good sense in translation: 'it is proper for a king that nothing (= no creature) be more clever (than he)', the transmitted text has been retained. Greek also leaves ample scope for this option, cf. LSJ, s.v. μηδείς (2); Bauer, Wörterb., s.v. οὐδείς (2 b); Blaß ~ Debrunner § 131. The standard translation of *convenit* is προσήκει, cf. CGL II 106,30; 115,48; 421,26. For the construction in question, cf. LSJ, s.v. προσήκει (II.2.b): 'c. dat. pers. + inf. "it beseems"'. (Of course other constructions are conceivable too, e.g. πρέπει οὐδὲν εἶναι τοῦ βασιλέως σοφώτερον.) Since Ring, Riese (1893) editors have preferred *rege* as an abl. of comp. with *prudentius* (cf. ed. m. [1984], ad loc.). (Schmeling, *Notes*, p.154 [on ed. 34,9] argues for *regi*, but regards it as 'almost surely corrupt'; ibid., p.397 [on ed. 74,21] he insists on *regi* within *RB*.)

nihil prudentius esse (RA/RB): Both Latin and Greek often use neut. where masc. is required, cf. LSJ, s.v. οὐδείς (II.2): 'in neut. of persons'; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. οὐδείς (β); Blaß-Debrunner, § 151. See also 1, RA 4 *nisi quod mortale* (*mortalem* RB) *statuerat* (comm.). In the Glossaria (cf. CGL VII 152) *prudens* is given as the standard equivalent of ἔμπειρος, προνοητικός, σοφός, συνετός, φρόνιμος/φρονῶν. (Klebs, p.222 deletes this passus on account of the term '*rex*'.)

solve mihi quaestionem et vadam (RA/RB): The text-critical status of *vadam* is firmly established both for RA/RB and for RC (cf. Schmeling [1988], p.123,9). Yet the statement is very strange, because Tarsia has no intention to leave. Since Welser editors have therefore tended to delete. Riese (1893) deletes *et vadam* in RA, not in RB; Schmeling (1988) deletes both times (cf. p.34,10 and p.74,22), not in RC. (See also *Notes*, p.397). In my view, *et vadam* should be retained: it comes from the story in Josephus (cf. above 41, RA 32-34), where one of the two parties will go away. **R(Gr)** has carelessly adopted this detail without adaptation. It probably comes directly from Gr. (?) ἀπελεύσομαι/ἄπειμι, cf. Hofmann, *Beiträge*, p.95. For *vado* in competition with *eo, ire*, see 12, RA 20/RB 23 (comm.).

42, RA 6-9 Et agitans caput Apollonius ait: "Vt scias me non esse mentitum: domus, quae in terris resonat, unda est: hospes huius domus tacitus piscis est, qui simul cum domo currit." 'Apollonius shook his head heavily, again and again, and said: "So that you know that I was not lying: the house which resounds over the earth is the sea: the silent inhabitant of this house is the fish, which moves swiftly with the house."'

42, RB 6-9 Apollonius caput agitans ait: "Vt scias me non esse mentitum: domus, quae in terris resonat, unda est; hospes huius domus tacitus piscis est, qui cum domo sua currit."

agitans caput (RA/RB), cf. 42, RA 21: As early as Hom. this is regarded as a sign of displeasure, cf. *Od.* 5,285 κινήσας δὲ κάρη; Verg., *Aen.* 7,292 *tum quassans caput*. There are various possible translations. We could compare κινεῖν τὴν κεφαλήν 'to shake one's head', cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. κινέω: 'den Kopf schütteln, hin- und herwiegen als Zeichen des Geringschätzung und des Hohn', e.g. Matt. 27:39 *moventes capita sua* ~ κινοῦντες τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν, cf. Mark 15:29; 1 Clem. 16:16 ἐκίνησαν

κεφαλήν. See also Acta Andreae [55,5] (ed. MacDonald), p.416 καὶ γὰρ κρεμάμενος ἐκίνει αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν μειδιῶν 'for even while hanging (upon a cross) he shook his head and smiled.' Another possible substrate is of course (ἐπι-)σείω κεφαλήν, cf. Achill. Tat. 1,7,2; Heliod. 1,21,3; 4,5,4; Pall. *Hist. Laus.*, c.2, l.36. (An explanation in terms of animation [cf. ThLL 1 1333,33] seems far-fetched; 'nodded' (Archibald, Konstan) seems too weak.)

ait (RA/RB): *agit* **β** may result from an identical pronunciation to *ait* (cf. ThLL I 1452,51; Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 95) or from the influence of the preceding *agitans*.

mentitum (RA/**βM**): *ignarum* **π**: The construction with abl. (cf. app. crit.) is not recorded until very late, cf. ThLL VII 274,18 (Cassian., Ven. Fort.).

cum domo (RA) ~ *cum domo sua* (RB): We can probably conclude from the reading *sua* that Alcuin in his *Disputatio regalis et nobilissimi iuvenis Pippini cum Albino Scholastico* (Migne, P.L. 101, cols.978^D^-980^A^) goes back to an RB text [cod. **b** probably comes from Tours, cf. ed. m. [1984] pp.37-41]: *Vidi hospitem currentem cum domo sua, et ille tacebat et domus sonabat* (quotation col.979^A^).

currit (RA/RB): The addition *·i· unda* **P** (i.q.: id est unda) seems a gloss and is eliminated as such by edd. For the symbol, cf. Cappelli, p.409 and Riese (1893), p.18,3.

42, RA 9-10 Admirat<ur> puella hinc in explanatione magna vere regem esse et acrioribus eum quaestionibus pulsat et ait: 'Hereupon the girl was impressed by this marvelous interpretation which showed that he really was a king, and she pressed him with more difficult riddles. She said:'

In my view, this sentence in *RA* (**P**) clearly bears a Greek stamp.

Admirat P: *Ammirata* Va^c^, Rα: The active form is rare. ThLL I 740,45-52 records e.g.: Vet. Lat. Mark 7:37 (cod. Rehdig.) *admirabant* ~ Vulg. *admirabantur* (Gr. ἐξεπλήσσοντο 'they were amazed'); Greg. Tur., *Hist. Franc.* 7,22 *admirabam*. In view of *RA*'s language level the text has been normalized. But it may be that a Graecism was thus eliminated, e.g. θαυμάζει as active. A similar construction and meaning to *admirari* here ('to admire'

and also 'to conclude') is found with θαυμάζω too, cf. LSJ, s.v. θαυμάζω (6.b): '(sometimes c. inf.)' Hom., *Il.* 5,601 θαυμάζομεν Ἕκτορα δῖον αἰχμητὴν ἔμεναι 'we marvelled at the radiant Hector, that he was so brave a warrior'.

hinc Va^c P: Following Riese (1893), ad loc., editors suspect that we should read *hunc*. But it may be that *hinc* translates ἐκεῖθεν/ἐντεῦθεν 'henceforth'. Another possibility is *hic*: these words are often garbled in codd. Konstan, p.100 remarks: 'the Latin is awkward here but the sense is clear'. For *hinc* ἐντεῦθεν, cf. CGL II 68,45; 300,31.

in explanatione magna (**Va^c**; *-tionem -gnam* **P**) (RA): The term *explanatio*, used for the solution of a riddle, is rare in Latin (ThLL V, 2 1709,9 records only this place); cf. *Vita Samsonis*, p.92 *De explanatione eiusdem questionis celitus missa*. The underlying Greek term is uncertain: (?) ἐξήγησις, cf. LSJ, s.v. (II): 'explanation, interpretation; Bauer, Wörterb., s.v. (2). Common terminology is: ἀπορίαι ~ λύσεις; ἐρωτήσεις ~ ἀποκρίσεις alongside variants like πεύσεις, ζητήσεις, προβλήματα ~ ἐρωταποκρίσεις. The combination *explanatio magna* can perhaps be compared with μέγας similarly used, cf. LSJ, s.v. μέγας (II.4): 'Plat., *Euth.* 275^d μέγα ἐρώτημα "a big, i.e. difficult question"', cf. *Hipp. Ma.* 287^b.'

vere regem esse (RA): A direct translation of **R(Gr)** ἀληθῶς βασιλέα εἶναι 'in reality to be a king', in response to 42, RA 5 *Si* <...> *rex es* from **R(Gr)** Εἰ βασιλεὺς <...> εἶ 'If you are king'.

acrioribus eum questionibus pulsat (RA): In classical Latin *pulsare* often has a pejorative meaning, cf. OLD, s.v. (5): Verg., *Aen.* 5,460 *densis ictibus heros creber utraque manu pulsat versatque Dareta*; Petr. 95,4 (Eumolpus) *os hominis palma pulsat*; this pejorative sense disappears in Church Latin, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *pulso* (3): Cass., *Psal. 47 concl.: ut ab omni parte pulsati* (par ces paroles) *ad rectam semitam mereamur adduci*. Perhaps the present place is based not so much on κινέω 'to incite' 'to stir' (often used in this way in Socratic dialectics [cf. LSJ, s.v. κινέω (II)]) as on κρούω, cf. ibid., s.v. κρούω (4) 'to examine, try, prove', cf. CGL II 355,48; III 76,38. Though this sentence (RA) is central to the argument, *RB* omits it, probably as superfluous. (For Klebs, p.222 the sentence is obviously an interpolation revolving around the term *rex*.)

42, RA 11-13

"Dulcis amica ripae, semper vicina profundis,
suave canens Musis, nigro perfusa colore,
nuntia sum linguae, digitis signata magistri."

'"The sweet friend of the bank, always close to deep waters, / Singing sweetly to the Muses, dyed black, / I am the messenger of the tongue, sealed by the master's fingers."'

RA has taken this second riddle with some minor changes from Symph. (ed. Shackleton Bailey), *Aen.* 2 *Harundo: Dulcis amica dei, semper vicina profundis, / suave canens Musis, nigro perfusa colore / nuntia sum linguae digitis signata magistri*. This riddle refers to the reed (*[h]arundo, calamus*) growing along the bank. It could grow very tall to around 4 m. It provides the material for the panpipe (σῦριγξ), used especially by herdsmen. *RB* has probably left it out on account of the theme and the tenuous connection with Apollonius.

1. **(amica) ripae**: Introduced by *RA* instead of *dei* (Symph.), so that the pagan element (Pan) is excluded and the riddle is adapted to Apollonius' situation. For the 'romance' between Pan and the nymph Syrinx, see Ov., *Met.* 1,690 ff. (The nymph runs away from Pan and hides in a reed-bed.) Though the word *rīpa* dies not fit metrically into the line *dūlcĭs ămīcă rĭpae*, this does not bother *RA*. The same *ripa* is found in Rec. D. by Symph. (*dulcis amica dei, ripae vicina profundae*).

   vicina profundis: Cf. the answer l.15 *quia iuxta aquas sedes collocatas habet*. For such reed-beds, cf. Hom. *Il.* 18,576.

2. **suave canens Musis**: The panpipe was regarded as a symbol of bucolic poetry, cf. Verg., *Ecl.* 1,2; Cat., *Dist.* 1,27 *Fistula dulce canit*; Auson., *Idyll.* 20,4 *dulciloquos calamos Euterpe flatibus urget*.

   nigro perfusa colore: The usually 7 reed-pipes, with varying lengths to produce various tones, were painted (to increase sturdiness too) and bound together, cf. *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, s.v. Music (9.II). Compare the description in Ovid., *Met.* 2,682 *dispar septenis fistula cannis*.

3. **nuntia sum linguae**: Cf. Ov., *Trist.* 5,13,29 *Sic ferat ac referat tacitas nunc littera voces, et peragant linguae charta manusque vices*.

   magistri P, **Rα (ΦF)** ~ *magistris* **Rα (L.G.Atr.)**: Late Latin can use *magister* as an adjective, cf. ThLL VIII 88,60 Ennod. *epist.* 1,4,1, p.716 *manus magistra*; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *magister*.

42, RA 14-16

Et ait ad eam Apollonius: “Dulcis amica dei, quae c<antu>s suos mittit ad caelum, / canna est, ripae semper vicina, quia iuxta aquas sedes collocatas habet. / Haec nigro perfusa colore, nuntia <est> linguae.” ‘Apollonius said to her: “God’s sweet friend who sends its songs up to heaven is the reed, / always close to the bank, because it makes its home next to the water. / When dyed black, it is the messenger of the tongue.”’

dei: The original version by Symph. This word raises problems: is it a remnant of the old version or was it reintroduced?

cantus RSt, Riese, Klebs, p.180 n.1: *centros* **Va^{c}P, Rα** (?) ‘watercircles’. Despite many investigations no record of this form has been found. Given the large measure of agreement, it must be a very early mistake. Corruption from *centra*, deformed via metaplasm to *centros*, is hardly plausible. Can we assume corruption from *circulos* ‘water circle’?, cf. ThLL III, s.v. circulus 1108,26-31 citing Vitr. 5,3,6 *innumerabiles undarum circuli, crescentes a centro.*

canna: A vulgar word, used specifically for the panpipe, cf. OLD, s.v. *canna*: Col. 7,9,7 *degeneris harundinis, quam vulgus cannam vocant*; Ov., *Met.* 2,682 *septenis fistula cannis*.

iuxta aquas sedes collocatas habet (RA): Biblical diction, cf. Ex. 15:27 *et castra metati sunt iuxta aquas* (Gr. παρὰ τὰ ὕδατα); Ezek. 31:7 *erat enim radix illius* (sc. cedri) *iuxta aquas multas*, cf. Isa. 44:4 *iuxta praeterfluentes aquas*; Eccl. 24:19 *quasi platanus exaltata sum iuxta aquam*. For *sedes collocatas*, ThLL III 1638,34 quotes only Suet., *Tib.* 9 *(dediticios) iuxta ripam Rheni sedibus assignatis collocavit*.

nuntia <**est**>: *nuntia sunt* **Va^{c}P, Rα(φF)**; perhaps *nuntia* was interpreted as neut. pl., cf. 37, RA 16 *istud nuntium* / RB 18 *tale nuntium* (comm.).

(linguae) ex ea natum quod per eam transit Va^{c}P: Deleted as a gloss Ring, Riese; this is probably right, since the typical language of glosses needs suppletion in two places: *ex ea* (sc. interpretatione) *natum, quod* (sc. vox) *per eam transit* (for this *transire*, cf. Ov., *Met.* 4,70 [Pyramus and Thisbe] *per illud / murmure blanditiae minimo transire solebant*). Moreover, the remark does not link up grammatically (*aliter* Schmeling, p.34, 20-21).

42, RA 17-20

Item ait ad eum puella:
“Longa fero<r> velox, formosa filia silvae,
in<num>era pariter comit<um> stipata caterva.
Curro vias multas, vestigia nulla relinquo.”
‘Next the girl said to him: “Long lovely daughter of the forest, I travel fast, / crowded round by an innumerable throng of companions. / I run over many roads, yet I leave no tracks.”’

42, RB 10-13

Et ait Tharsia: “Longa feror velox, formosae filia silvae, / innumeris pariter comitum stipata catervis. / Curro vias multas, vestigia nulla relinquo.”

Item (RA) ~ (RB /): As here, *RB* consistently omits or changes to *iterum* elsewhere in cc.42-43, cf. 35, RA 9 (comm.).

RA has adopted the third riddle with some insignificant changes from Symph. (ed. Shackleton Bailey), *Aen.* 13 *Navis: Longa feror velox, formosae filiae silvae, / innumeris pariter comitum stipata catervis. / Curro vias multas, vestigia nulla relinquens*. *RB* has incorporated the riddle in a more authentic form.

1. **velox**: Cf. Catull. 4,1 *Phasellus ille, quem videtis, hospites, ait fuisse navium celerrimus*; id. 63,1 *super alta vectus Attis celeri rate maria*.

   formosa (RA: *-ae* RB) **filiae silvae**: Cf. Hor., *Carm.* 1,14,11 *Quamvis Pontica pinus, silvae filia nobilis*; Catull. 4,10 *ubi iste post phasellus antea fuit comata silva*. *RA* and *RB* remain consistent in the answer too: *RA* 24 *formosa* ~ RB 17 *-ae*.

2. **in<num>era** <…> **caterva** (RA) ~ *innumeris* <…> *catervis* (RB): A correction after Symph. **P** has badly garbled the reading here: *inmunera turba pariter comito*, in which *inmunera* can be regarded as a metathesis, *turba* as a gloss on *caterva*, which is often pejorative, and *comito* a mutilation (*comitor*?) of *comitum*.

   comitum (RA/RB): Although the answer, too, does not immediately reveal who or what is meant by *comes*, the primary reference to fish is clear to Antiquity, cf. Ov., *Hal.* 100 *tuque, comes ratium* <…> *pompile* (i.e. pilot-fish), *qui semper spumas sequeris* <…> *nitentes*; Plin., *Nat.* 32,153 *pompilum, qui* <…> *comitetur navium cursus*, cf. 42, RB 18 (*catervis*) *piscium* **β**^{II} (*aliter* Ohl, pp.46-47).

stipata (RA/RB): Cf. Verg., *Aen.* 1,497 *Dido / incessit magna stipante caterva*; ibid., 4,136 *tandem progreditur magna stipante caterva*, cf. 48, RA 19 *stipata catervis* (RB 12 *constipata catervis*).

3. **relinquo** (RA/RB): *relinquens* Symph.: Elsewhere, too, RA/RB use the first person in riddles.

42, RA 21-24 Item agitans caput Apollonius ait ad eam: "O, si liceret mihi lo<n>gum deponere luctum, ostenderem tibi, quae ignoras. Tamen respondeo quaestionibus tuis; miror enim te <in> tam tenera aetate talem prudentiam habere. 'Shaking his head again and again Apollonius said to her: "If only I could put aside my long-lasting grief, I could show you many things of which you are ignorant. However, I will answer your riddles; it amazes me that you are so clever at such a tender age.'

42, RB 14-17 Apollonius ait: "O, si laetum me esse liceret, ostenderem tibi, quae ignoras. Tamen ne ideo tacere videar, ut pecuniam recipiam, respondebo quaestioni tuae: miror enim te tam tenerae aetatis huius ésse prudéntiae (*t*).

agitans caput (RA) ~ (RB /), cf. 42, RA 6/RB 7.

longum deponere luctum (RA) ~ *laetum me esse* (RB): For the combination *longus luctus*, cf. Verg., *Aen.* 2,26 *omnis longo solvit se Teucria luctu*; ibid. 11,214 *longi pars maxima luctus*, cf. Stat., *Theb.* 2,440; for *luctum deponere*, cf. below 42, RA 31/RB 24 and ThLL VII,2 1741,56. The phrase is deliberately metrical. The expression corresponds to the situation of 14 years' mourning, cf. 28, RA/RB 18. *RB* likes to express himself positively, cf. 40, RA 25-26 ~ RB 23 (comm.), at the expense of a very realistic, poetic remark by *RA*.

ostenderem tibi, quae ignoras (RA/RB): The meaning is probably: 'I would explain to you in detail what you fail to grasp. But to return now to this specific question', cf. 16, RA 20 (RB *aliter*).

Tamen respondeo quaestionibus tuis (RA) ~ *tamen, ne ideo tacere videar, ut pecuniam recipiam, respondebo quaestioni tuae* (RB): For the motivation added by *RB*, cf. 41, RA 34-35/RB 33. The other changes are typical of *RB*: Apollonius will for now answer one, i.e. the present, riddle!

miror <…> **te** <**in**> <…> **aetate talem prudentiam habere** (RA) ~ *miror* <…> *te* <…> *tenerae aetatis* <…> *huius ésse prudéntiae* (*t.*) (RB): Hagiographical texts often use the phrase *miror te*: e.g. Mombr. I 38,23 *Agatha respondit: Miror te virum prudentem ad tantam stultitiam devolutum, ut illos deos tuos dicas*, cf. 44,54; 105,13; 105,49; II 6,12; 179,21; 179,40; 242,34 *Miror prudentiam tuam*; 342,49; 409,11; 430,38; 525,48; 527,24; 527,44; 605,13; 623,41 *Miror te magistrum prudentem non advertisse* <…>. The change to a double gen. of quality, rhythmical to boot, must have sounded pleasant to Roman ears as well. For such a gen., cf. Adams (1976), p.56. In view of the riddler's youth, we can perhaps compare the 'historical' son of Abdemon, who once used his riddles to help Hiram against Solomon, cf. Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* 8,146 (quoted in Introd. V.2.3).

42, RA 24-26 Nam longa, quae fertur, arbor est navis, formosa filia silvae; fertur velox vento repellente, stipata catervis; currit vias multas, sed vestigia nulla relinquit." 'In fact, the long tree which travels, the lovely daughter of the forest, is a ship. It travels fast by a driving wind, in a crowd of companions. It travels along many roads, but leaves no tracks."'

42, RB 17-19 Nam longa arbor est <navis>, formosae filia silvae; fertur velox vento pellente, stipata catervis; vias multas currit undarum, vestigia nulla relinquit."

quae fertur Va^{c}P ~ (RB /): Epic prolixity (Peters, p.157 'Der lange Baum, der dahineilt').

formosa (RA) ~ *formosae* (RB): In conformity with the riddle.

repellente Va^{c}P ~ *pellente* (RB): We should probably interpret *repellere* here as *pellere*: in Late Latin *re-* loses its force, cf. 24, RA 28 *remittis* ~ RB 27 *dimittis*. For the phenomenon in a broader context, cf. Svennung, *Untersuchungen zu Palladius*, p.602.

catervis (RA/RB): We should mention the addition *piscium* β^{II}, cf. above 42, RA 19/RB 12 *comitum* (comm.).

42, RA 26-30 Item puella inflammata prudenti<a> quaestionum ait ad eum:
Per totas sedes innoxius introit ignis:
circumdata flammis, hinc inde vallata, <nec uror>;
nuda domus est et nudus ibi convenit hospes."
'Excited by her knowledge of riddles, the girl asked again: "Fire goes through the whole house without harm: surrounded by flames, enclosed on every side, I do not burn; the house is naked, and naked is the guest who arrives there.'

42, RB 20-23 Puella inflammata prudentia solutionum ait: / "Per totas aedes <…> intro per ignes: / circumdata flammis, hinc inde vallata, nec uror; / nuda domus <est et> nudus ibi convenit hospes."

inflammata prudenti<a> quaestionum (RA) ~ *inflammata prudentia solutionum* (RB): No doubt Romans understood the image *inflammata prudentia*, cf. LSJ, s.v. *inflammo* (2): '(fig., esp. w. abl.) excite, inflame': Cic., *Verr.* 5,106 *procedit iste inflammatus scelere, furore, crudelitate*; Liv. 2,6,7 *inflammatus ira*; Val. Max 6,2,10 *libertate inflammatus animus*. The problems start with *questionum* (**Va^{c}P, Rα**), where we would expect *solutionum* (**β**). Many critics (Riese, Hunt, Schmeling) have therefore introduced this reading in *RA*, cf. 42, RA 27 (ed. m. [2004]), app. crit. Nonetheless *RA* is very plausible. Just as Abdemon (cf. Introd. V.2.3) kept on presenting new riddles, so Tarsia produces ever more difficult questions from her arsenal of riddles, cf. 42, RA 10: she plays her role with relish. (For *quaestio* in the sense of 'riddle', cf. 41, RA 32-34 [comm.]) Underlying the phrase is probably a Greek substrate. A suitable translation is hard to establish. CGL VI 573 gives six possible substrate texts for *inflammatus*. But none of these equivalents qualifies in terms of either construction or meaning. With many reservations we can point to ἐκκαίω, 'to inflame', cf. LSJ, s.v.: Plut, *Tib. Gracch.* 13 ὁ δῆμος ἐξεκάετο; Lucian., *Cal.* 3 οὕτως ἐξεκαύθη. Steph. Byz., s.v. ἐκκαίω offers a good parallel: Aelian., *De natura animalium* (epil.): 'Ερὼς με σοφίας <…> ἐξέκαυσεν 'love for wisdom inflamed me'. *RB* has the *lectio facilior*: naturally Tarsia will be inflamed by Apollonius' wise answers.

This fourth riddle is based on Symph. (ed. Shackleton Bailey), *Aen.* 89 *Balneum: Per totas aedes innoxius introit ignis. / Est calor in medio magnus, quem nemo veretur. / Nuda <tamen> domus est et nudus convenit hospes*. It is an almost complete reformulation because the words are put in Tarsia's mouth in *RA*. *RB* partly goes back to Symph. and partly goes further than *RA*: Tarsia

speaks in verse 1 too (RB *intro*). Again, question and answer do not entirely mesh here. It is virtually impossible to establish the text critically (cf. ed. m. [1984], pp.382-383). (Garbugino, pp.80-81 goes far to far by stating that the introduction of Tarsia in a speaking role is the work of 'uno degli amanuensi dotti, cui verosimilmente risale, in ultima analisi, il processo di cristianizzazione della HA'. This should be sought in an 'ambito insulare <…> particolarmente favorevole alla fioritura del genere enimografico'. All this without any further proof. It seems much more likely to me that this speaking part of Tarsia was incorporated from the outset in order to adapt the riddles as far as possible to Apollonius' present situation and previous adventures. Any possible reaction and recognition could therefore be more readily evoked. It is clear that Tarsia identifies here herself with Apollonius as bathing servant, cf. 13, RA 20-22/RB 16-18. Garbugino's suggestion should therefore be rejected and added to the other suggestions regarding the textual genesis of *HA*, cf. 41, RA/RB 2-13 [comm.])

1. **sedes** (RA) ~ *aedes* (RB), Symph.: The *RA* reading, though inferior to *RB*, is understandable because the actual focus is on the *sedilia*. For *totas* (RA/RB) = *omnes* (likewise 42, RA 44/RB 29), cf. 39, RB 13 (comm.). The term *aedes* (Symph.) is more accurate inasmuch as a Roman/Greek bath-house consisted of a complex of rooms for hot-water baths (*tepidaria, caldaria*) and vapour baths (*sudatoria, Laconia* 'Spartan bath'). They were heated by an underground system (*hypocaustum*): hot water could be transported via a double floor (*suspensura*) and double walls, by means of an ingenious system of *tubi* (pipes made of lead or earthenware). The temperature depended on the intensity of the fire, the dimension of the pipes and the distance to the source of heat. There are several descriptions in classical authors (Vitr. 5,10; Plin., *Epist.* 2,17,11; Sen., *Epist.* 90,25). Our knowledge has been much increased by archaeological finds close to home (Bath, Heerlen) and further abroad (Rome, Carthage, Asia Minor).

   innoxius (RA), Symph.: Used actively here, cf. OLD, s.v. *innoxius* (3) 'not injurious, harmless'. *RB* has not supplied a corresponding term, perhaps because *innoxia* (cf. OLD, s.v. (4) 'unharmed'), connected with Tarsia, is extrametrical. The same objection applies to *innocens* (cf. below 42, RA 32/RB 24), *innocua*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *innocuus* (2).

   introit ignis Va^{c}Rα (G.Atr.), Riese: *currit ignis* **P**: The text is uncertain. As regards *ignis* (RA/RB): this strong word is often used in connection with a *balneum*, cf. Stat., *Silv.* 1,5,58-59 *ut languidus ignis inerrat / aedibus et tenuem volvunt hypocausta vaporem*; Vitr. 5,10,2 *ita flamma facilius pervagabitur sub suspensione*; Auson., *Most.* 337-340.

2. **circumdata <…> <nec uror>**: Tarsia is introduced as speaker, cf. *supra*. The eliminated line *Est calor in medio magnus quem nemo veretur* is restored in **Rα (LGAtr.)** and **M**. For *circumdata <…> vallata,* cf. Sen., *Epist.* 90,25 *ut suspensuras balneorum et inpressos parietibus tubos, per quos circumfundetur calor, qui ima simul ac summa foveret aequaliter*. An explanation like that offered by Konstan, p.101: 'the fire surrounds (*circumdat*) the walled area (*vallata,* neutr. plur.)' seems hard to accept. For *<nec uror>*, cf. the next line (30).

3. **nuda domus** (RA/RB) 'bare of furnishing' (Konstan) ~ *Nuda <tamen> domus* (ed. Shackleton Bailey). But the codd. of Symph. have: *Non est nuda domus* (cf. Glorie, ad loc.). *RA/RB* thus go directly against Symph., in the answer too: *nuda domus, quia nihil intus habet praeter sedilia*. After *domus est,* **P** has *nec ibi uror neque consumor*; *nec uror* **Va, Rα(φF)** has been added from here in the previous line (29).

nudus <…> hospes (RA/RB): People undressed in the *apodyterium* / ἀποδυτήριον 'changing room'. Note the remark *ibi nullus convenit hospes* **π**!

42, RA 31-34

Ait ad eam Apollonius: "Ego si istum luctum possem deponere, innocens intrarem per istum ignem. Intrarem enim balneum, ubi hinc inde flammae per tubulos surgunt; ubi nuda domus est, quia nihil intus habet praeter sedilia; ubi nudus sine vestibus ingreditur hospes." 'Apollonius said to her: "If only I could give up this mourning, I would go in through that fire unharmed. For I would go into a bath, where flames rise through pipes on every side; where the house is naked, because it has nothing in it but benches; where the guest goes in naked, without clothes."'

42, RB 24-26

Apollonius ait: "Ego si luctum deponerem, innocens intrarem in ignes. Intrarem enim in balneum, ubi hinc inde flammae per tubulos surgunt. Nuda domus, quia nihil intus nisi sedile, ubi nudus hospes sudabit."

A series of minor 'corrections': *istum luctum* (RA) ~ *luctum* (RB); *possem deponere* (RA) ~ *deponerem* (RB); *per istum ignem* (RA) (masc.) ~ *in ignes* (RB). These do not go beyond the ordinary.

innocens Va^{c}P/β: This must have the meaning 'unharmed' here, cf. Klebs, pp.181, 225 (Peters, p.157 'ohne Schaden zu nehmen'; Waiblinger, p.99 'ohne Schaden'; Sandy, p.766 'unscathed'). For this peculiar meaning, cf. 6, RA 10 *Pervenit innocens tandem Apollonius* (comm.; RB *aliter*) and OLD, s.v. (2): 'without damage, harmlessly' Plin., *Nat. Hist.* 18,321 *omnia, quae caeduntur, innocentius decrescente luna quam crescente fiunt*, cf. id. 22,4. In classical and Late Latin this passive aspect is rendered by *innocuus*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *innocuus* (2): 'non endommagé, non atteint': Cassian., *Incarn.* 7,1,4 *innocuas manus mittere*: hence *innocuus* **π**. Editors often change (Riese [1893] (RB) *innocentes* <…> *ignes*; Schmeling [1988] *innoxius*).

Intrarem <…> **balneum** (RA) ~ *Intrarem* <…> *in balneum* (RB): Both constructions are possible. For *intro* with acc., cf. OLD, s.v. *intro* (a): Caes., *Civ.* 1,65,4 *hos montis intrare cupiebant*; Nep., *Char.* 4,2 *portum intrare*; Verg., *Aen.* 3,501 *arva intravero*; Liv. 4,43,2 *ut* <…> *urbem intraret*; for *intrare in*, cf. ibid., Cic., *Tusc.* 1,57 *antequam in corpus intravisset* (*animus*); Ov., *Met.* 14,656 *cultos intravit in hortos*, etc. (Schmeling, *Notes*, p.397 [on ed. 75,8]: [*in*] RB.)

per tubulos (RA/RB): Cf. OLD, s.v. *tubulus*: 'a small pipe, tube; especially one of earthenware for conveying water' Proc., *Dig. quidam* <…> *balnearia fecit secundum parietem communem*: *non licet autem tubulos habere admotos ad parietem communem*. Curiously, the form *turbulus* prevails in both recensions (**Va^{c}P/βMπ**), perhaps through confusion with *turbula* 'a small company', or a false etymology with *turbare* in the sense of '(to cause) to bubble'. The emendation *tubulos* (cf. P.W.G. von Boltenstern, *De rebus scenicis romanis quaestiones selectae. Dissertatio inauguralis Stralesundiae* [= Greifswald] 1875, p.40) has been generally accepted since Riese (1888). The fact that cod. G (early 15th c., cf. ed. m. [1984], p.36) also has *tubulos* proves only the humanistic slant of this codex, not that it bears any relation to *HA* (RA/RB). (Schmeling, ad loc. *aliter*.)

sedilia (RA) ~ *sedile* (RB): A long bench rather than separate seats.

nudus sine vestibus (RA) ~ *nudus* (RB): *Nudus* need not necessarily mean 'stark naked': the addition *sine vestibus* may well be authentic, cf. Lucr. 5,1426 *frigus nudos sine pellibus excruciabat terrigenas*; Juv. 3,210 *nudum et frusta rogantem nemo* <…> *hospitio* <…> *iuvabit*; Verg., *Georg.* 1,299 *nudus ara, sere nudus*; Ov., *Pont.* 3,1,12 *messorum corpora nuda*. For this meaning, cf. LSJ, s.v. (5): 'lightly clad, i.e. in the undergarment only'. Specification as here is not superfluous. (Schmeling, *Notes*, p.386 [on ed. 35,14]: [*sine vestibus*].)

ingreditur (RA) ~ *sudabit* (RB): A pedantic 'correction' in terms of both tense and place (*sudatorium*).

42, RA 34-38

Item ait ad eum puella:
"Mucro mihi geminus ferro coniungitur uno.
Cum vento lucto<r>, cum gurgite pugno profundo.
Scrutor aquas medias, imas quoque mordeo terras."
'Next the girl said to him: "I have a double point, joined in one piece of iron. / I struggle with the wind, I fight with the deep whirlpool. / I explore the waters in the middle of the sea, even the deepest earth I bite."'

Apart from a minor change (*ipsas* Symph. ~ *imas* RA), *RA* has adopted this fifth riddle directly from Symph. (ed. Shackleton Bailey), *Aen.* 61, *Ancora*: *Mucro mihi geminus ferro coniungitur* (conting- v.l.) *uno* (unco v.l.). / *Cum vento luctor, cum gurgite pugno profundo. / Scrutor aquas medias, ipsas quoque mordeo terras*. Excluded by *RB*, but added later, within this recension, by **π** (cf. app. crit. 42, RB 26).

1. **mucro**: For this shift from 'swordpoint' to point of an anchor, cf. OLD, s.v. *mucro* (2) 'the point' (of other implements). The round arm of the anchor had to be as heavy as possible on account of its function. The stock could be made of wood or lead. The curved bills were designed to grip into the sand, cf. Casson, *Ship and Seamanship*, p.253 n.114.

   coniungitur Va^{c}P, Rα(LGAtr.) agrees with Symph.; the inferior reading *contingitur* **Rα (φF)** (cf. below RA, 40) occurs as v.l. Symph. too. (Confusion between *i* and *t* is very frequent.)

   uno Va^{c}P, Rα(LGAtr.) also agrees with Symph.; the reading *unco* **Rα (φF)**, also a v.l. in Symph., probably derives from Verg., *Aen.* 1,169 *unco non alligat ancora morsu* (sc. naves).

2. **lucto**<**r**> <…> **pugno**: Symph. transfers terms, otherwise used for wind and ships, to the anchor, cf. Verg., *Aen.* 1,53 *luctantes ventos*; Hor., *Carm.* 1,15 *luctantem Icariis fluctibus Africum*; Prop. 4,1,147 *nunc tua vel mediis puppis luctetur in undis*. As regards form, *lucto* is found in **Va^{c}P** (in the answer l.41 *luctatur*); this form is theoretically possible, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 294. On account of the parallel place 1, RA/RB 9 *luctatur* and the answer l.41 I have preferred to normalize. (Compare Klebs, p.257 n.1.)

3. **scrutor**: A very effective image: Lucr. 6,809 *ubi argenti venas* <…> *sequuntur, terrai penitus scrutantes abdita ferro*; Manil. 4,513 (of scouts)

iuvat ignotas semper transire per urbes scrutarique novum pelagus. It is probably used here for the testing of anchorage: Caes., *Gall.* 4,23,4 *ad horam nonam in ancoris expectavit*; ibid. 5,9,1 *in litore molli* <…> *deligatas ad ancoram (naves) relinquebat*; Liv. 25,25,11 *qua stare ad ancoram in salo* <…> *classis non posset*, cf. 37,13,8.

medias: Probably between ship and seabed.

mordeo: The flukes of an anchor are often compared to teeth: Verg., *Aen.* 1,169 *unco* <…> *morsu* (see above for full quotation); id. 6,3 *dente tenaci ancora fundabat navis*; Sid. Apoll. 8,6,15 *mordaces anchoras*.

imas (RA) ~ *ipsas* Symph.: A very minor change in *RA*, repeated in the answer.

42, RA 39-42

Respondit ei Apollonius: "Quae te sedentem in hac nave continet, ancora est, quae mucrone gemino ferro con<iun>gitur uno; quae cum vento luctatur et cum gurgite profundo; quae aquas medias scrutatur, imas quoque morsu tenens terras." 'Apollonius answered her: "It is the anchor, which holds you still as you sit in this ship. It has two points joined in one piece of iron. It struggles with the wind and with the deep whirlpool. It explores the middle of the sea, and bites even the remotest depths."'

continet (RA): Cf. OLD, s.v. *contineo* (2): 'to hold in position, fasten, secure'. For the procedure of anchoring, cf. 39, RA 13 (comm.). After *anchora*, **P** (supported by **Va**^{c}) reads *Est calor in meio* (**P**: *medio* **Va**^{c}) *magnus, quem nemo videt* (**P**: *vydetur* **Va**^{c}). *Nuda domus, set nudus convenit hospes* (P: *-pis* **Va**^{c}). This errant verse, deriving from the riddle Symph. 89,2, was probably annotated in the margin as the original verse over against the adaptation of *RA* 42, RA 27 *circumdata flammis, hinc inde vallata* <*nec uror*>. Though the form *meio* is harsh, it is not without parallels, cf. ThLL 580,78 *meia* < *media, meianus* < *medianus*.

con<iun>gitur: A correction for *contingitur* **Va**^{c}**P, Rα (φF)**, cf. above RA, 36: riddle and answer are at odds.

morsu tenens (RA): A slight variation on l.38 *mordeo*, cf. Verg., *Aen.* 1,169 *unco* <…> *morsu*.

42, RA 42-45 Item ait ad eum puella:
"Ipsa gravis non sum, sed lympha mihi pondus inhaeret.
Viscera tota tument, patulis diffusa cavernis.
Intus lympha latet, sed non se sponte profundit."
'Next the girl said to him: "I am not heavy myself, but a weight of water clings to me. / All my inward parts are swollen, extended in deep cavities. / The liquid lurks within, but does not flow out spontaneously."'

42, RB 27-30 Et ait iterum Tharsia: "Ipsa gravis non sum, sed aquae mihi pondus adhaesit. / Viscera tota tument patulis diffusa cavernis. / Intus lympha latet, quae se non sponte profundit."

Except for some minimal changes, *RA/RB* have taken this sixth riddle directly from Symph. (ed. Shackleton Bailey), *Aen.* 63 *spongia*: *Ipsa gravis non sum, sed aquae mihi pondus inheret. / Viscera tota tument patulis diffusa cavernis. / Intus lympha latet, sed non se sponte profundit.*

Spongia: A object used for many purposes in Antiquity: for cleaning the house and the body, for the writing table, also for medical purposes. Described countless times, sometimes in great detail, on account of its curious absorbent powers (Plin., *Nat. Hist.* 31,123-131).

1. **lymphā mihi pondus inhaeret** (RA) ~ *aquae mihi pondus adhaesit* (RB): The reading *lymphā R*A seems to be prompted by Symph. (3) *lymphā*], a highly poetic word. *RB*'s reading appears to draw on Symphosius' formulation. The perfect is typical of *RB*: both want to describe the curious phenomenon as accurately as possible.

2. **Viscera tota tument** (RA/RB): This is naturally found in all descriptions: Lucr. 4,6,8 *plenam spongiam aquai*; Mart. 13,47,2 *levis acceptā spongea turget aquā*; 14,144 *tergendis spongia mensis / utilis, expresso cum levis imbre tumet*. For *toti* (= *omnes*), cf. 39, RB 13 (comm.).

   patulis diffusă cavernis (RA/RB): An apposition to *viscera* (in the solution l.46 diffusā (sc. aquā). For the image, cf. Cic., *De Orat.* 1,28 *platanus* <…> *patulis est diffusa ramis*.

42, RA 46-47 Respondit ei Apollonius: “Spongia, cum sit levis, aqua gravata tumet patulis diffusa cavernis, quae se non sponte profundit.” ‘To her Apollonius replied: “Although a sponge is light, it swells when heavy with water which is extended in deep cavities, and the water does not flow out spontaneously.”’

42, RB 31-33 Apollonius ait: “Spongia licet sit levis, visceribus tota tumet aqua gravata patulis diffusa cavernis, infra quas lympha latet, quae se non sponte profu<n>dit.”

cum sit levis (RA) ~ *licet sit levis* (RB): Concessive *cum* is used sparingly, while *cum* + subjunct. can easily assume a temporal meaning, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. II *cum*; *licet* (RB) removes any uncertainty, cf. 15, RA 12/RB 11 *Licet* <…> *sit*.

spongia <…> **aquā gravatā** <…> **diffusā cavernis** (RA/RB): In the riddle of Symph. *diffusā* must be connected with *viscera*, but in *RA/RB* with *aquā*. In the rest of his formulation *RB* is as precise as possible: in relation to *RA* he adds (to *spongia*) *visceribus tota* and (to *cavernis*) *infra quas lympha latet*. For *infra* **βM** in the sense of *intra*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *infra* (1): Hadr. I p.568 *infra civitatem Ravennantium*; Simpl., *Epist.* 4,184 *infra ecclesiam Dei*; Anton., *Itin.* 15 *infra oratorium*; LHS II, p.231; Westerbergh, p.256; Uddholm, *Formulae Marculfi*, p.126; Adams (1976), p.22.

CHAPTER 43

43, RA 1-4	Item ait ad eum puella: "Non sum compta comis et non sum compta capillis intus enim mihi crines sunt, quas non vidit ullus. Meque manibus mittunt manibusque remittor in auras." 'Then the girl said to him: "I am not adorned with tresses nor arranged with hair. / But inside me there is hair which no one has seen. / They throw me with hands, and by hands I am tossed back in the air."'
43, RB 1-4	Et ait iterum Tharsia: "Non sum cincta comis et non sum compta capillis. / Intus enim crines mihi sunt, quos non videt ullus. / Meque manus mittunt manibusque remittor in auras."

Non sum compta (RA: *cincta* RB) **comis** (RA/RB): RA/RB have taken this seventh riddle from Symph. with some small stylistic changes (ed. Shackleton Bailey), *Aen.* 59; *Pila*: *Non sum compta comis* (*cincta capillis* v.l.) *et non sum nuda capillis*; / *intus enim crines mihi* (*mihi crines* v.l.) *sunt, quos non videt* (*vidit* v.l.) *ullus*. / *Meque manus mittunt manibusque remittor in auras*. *RB* seems to have modified the riddle on the basis of a sharper recension: (2) *videt* (RA *vidit*); (3) *meque manus* (RA *Meque manibus*). Ball games were extremely popular in Antiquity. There are countless references in literature and representations on vases, walls, floors. Even seriously minded people like Mucius Scaevola, Cato Uticensis, Julius Caesar, Augustus, Maecenas, Marcus Aurelius were ardent players. Hence the riddle here, in connection with c.13. There were many kinds of ball games, cf. Isid., *Etym.* 18,69,2. The best-known is *trigon* (Gr. τρίγων), with players arranged in a triangle, cf. Hor., *Sat.* 1,6,126 *fugio campum* (sc. Martium) *lusumque trigonem*. See also Oxford Classical Dict., s.v. ball games; Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. *pila*.

A Middle High German translation of this riddle is offered by Stuttg. *Hist. fol. 411*, fol. 245^{v}, in the version of (mainly) *RB*. For a transcription and literature, see ed. m. [1984], pp.55-56 (nn. 397-408), esp. n.403.

1. **Non sum compta** (RA: *cincta* RB) *comis et non sum compta capillis* (RA/RB): These words are put into the mouth of the ordinary *pila*, made of pieces of leather stitched together, filled with down, hair or feathers (*pila trigonalis*, cf. Mart. 14,46). The ball was smooth on the outside; all the material was in the ball. So the two hemistichs are not at odds; the poet repeats his idea with a different set of words: *comae, capilli, crines*, and the verbs *como, cingo*; this is continued in the answer *vincio, non nudo*. This procedure led to endless variations: not only were *compta/cincta* and *comae/capilli* shifted around, *et non*, interpreted as *sed non*, was also tampered with. As a result, the confusion in the mss. of Symph. is equalled by that in the codd. of the *HA*, cf. Ohl, pp.90-1.

   crines, quas A ~ *crines, quos* **P, Rα, RB** (Symph.): For *crinis* fem., cf. ThLL IV 1201,75-78: Prisc. *Gramm. II* 169,11 *vetustissimi dixerunt: hic et haec crinis*, recorded in Plaut., *Mostell.* 226; for Late Latin: Victorin., *Macc.* 52 *crine soluta*. Uncertainty may also have played a role in Late Latin, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 230. *RB*'s reading is probably a deliberate correction, cf. Introd. III.1.

2. **vidit AP** ~ *videt* **Rα (F.L.Gr.)**/RB: *RA*'s reading can be defended on the basis of the Symphosius' tradition, content, and perhaps pronunciation; *RB* seems an intentional correction.

3. **meque manibus mittunt** (RA) ~ *Meque manus mittunt* (RB): The *RA* reading could be authentic and *RB* a reaction to it: for *meque*, see below 43, RA 7 *manibusque* and 39, RA 3 (comm.) '*que abundans*'; the subject of *mittunt* is left unspecified (sc. the players, 'they'); *manus* as pl. is relevant, because *trigon* was played with both hands (with two balls). *RB* seems a deliberate metrical and syntactic correction.

43, RA 5-8 Apollonius ait: "Hanc ego Pentapoli naufragus habui ducem, ut regi amicus efficerer. Nam sphaera est, quae non est vincta comis et non est nudata capillis, quia intus plena est; haec manibus missa manibusque remittitur." 'Apollonius said: "I had this for a guide when I was shipwrecked at Pentapolis, so that I became the king's friend. It is a ball, which is not covered with hair, and is not devoid of hair: for it is full of hair inside. It is thrown by hands and returned by hands."'

43, RB 5-7 Apollonius ait: "Hanc ego in Pentapolim habui ducem, ut fierem regi amicus. Nam sphaera non est cincta comis, sed intus plena capillis; manibus missa manibusque remittitur."

Pentapoli A (*Pentapolim* **P**) ~ *in Pentapolim* (RB): The **A** reading has been retained as a locative, cf. (an analogous case) Cic., *Rab. Post.* 26 *non in hortis suis, sed Neapoli, in celeberrimo oppido*. The locat. disappears and is replaced by a fossilized acc., like *Pentapolim* **P** here, cf. Norberg, *Beiträge*, pp.52-53; Westerbergh, p.253; Adams (1976), pp.57-8. This form proves inadequate too: *in Pentapolim* (RB) after the example of *in* + abl., cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 243.

naufragus (RA) ~ (RB /): It is hard to give a reason for this elimination.

ut regi amícus effícerer (*t.*) (RA) ~ *ut fierem* (**βπ**: *fierer* **M**) *régi amícus* (*pl.*) (RB): Late and Christian Latin use *efficior* (pass.) as a fuller form where classical Latin would have confined itself to *fio*, cf. ThLL V.2 164,29-30; ibid., VI.1 84,21-39; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *efficio* (4) (including exx. from authors like Cypr., Aug., Paul. Nol.). *RB*'s correction therefore follows the classical standard and is moreover rhythmical, cf. Introd. III.1. As regards *fierer* **M**, passive forms also occur in classical Latin, cf. ThLL VI.1 84,80 ff.; OLD, s.v. *fio* (forms), very frequent in Late and Christian Latin, including major authors, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *fio*.

sphaera: *RA* actually reads: *spera* **AP, Rα,** as does *RB* **(βπ)**. This form may be authentic, cf. OLD, s.v. *sphaera*; Norberg, *Manuel*, p.52; medieval sources also like to use *spera*, cf. Niermeyer, s.v. *spera*; Latham, s.v. *sphera*, cf. *spirula* (pl.), a type of bowls.

43, RA 8-11

Item ait ad eum puella:
“Nulla mihi certa est, nulla est peregrina figura.
Fulgor inest intus radianti luce coruscus,
qui nihil ostendit, nisi <si> quid viderit ante.”

‘Then the girl said to him: “I have no fixed shape, no foreign shape. / There is a radiance in me, flashing with bright light, / But it shows nothing except what it has seen before.”’

43, RB 7-10

Et ait iterum Tharsia: “Nulla mihi certa est, nulla peregrina figura. / Fulgor inest intus, radiata luce coruscans, / qui nihil ostendit, nisi in se quod viderit ante”.

speculum: *RA/RB* have adopted the eighth riddle more or less unchanged from Symph., *Aen.* 69 *Speculum: Nulla mihi certa est, nulla est* (*om.* v.l.) *peregrina figura. / Fulgor inest intus radianti* (*radiata* v.l.) *luce coruscus* (*coruscans* v.l.), */ qui nihil ostendit nisi* (*ni, ni si, nisi si* v.l.) *quid* (*quidquid, quod* v.l.) *viderit ante*. The variant readings in Symph. equal those in the *HA*. The image itself is very popular, not least among Christians owing to its use by Paul, 1 Cor. 13:12 (cf. A. Hugedé, *La métaphore du miroir dans les Epîtres de Saint Paul aux Corinthiens*, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1957). This riddle, too, has a Middle High German translation in Stuttg., *Hist. Fol.* 411 (fol. 245^{v}), cf. 43, RA 1-4 (*pila*).

1. **certa** (sc. figura) (RA/RB): It has the meaning ‘fixed’, ‘determinate’ here, cf. OLD, s.v. *certus* (1), in line with how it is used in *HA* 25, RA 8 *certum iter*.

2. **Fulgor** (RA/RB): This word almost automatically evokes *fulgur* **Rα**.

   radianti luce coruscus (RA) ~ *radiata luce coruscans* (RB): *RA* is identical to Venant. Fort., *Carm.* 8,3,141 *radianti luce coruscum*. Whatever the further relationship Symph. ~ *HA* ~ Venant. Fort. may be, this coincidence establishes *RA*’s priority over *RB*. It is unclear why *RB* changes *radianti* to *radiata* and *choruscus* **A** to *coruscans*. (For the spelling *chor*(*r*)–, cf. ThLL IV 1076,26 ff.) A gloss has insinuated itself into both *RA* and *RB*, cf. *Fulgur inest intus divini sideris instar* **Rα (LGAtr.)**; in *RB* still in its original form: *radiata* (**β**: *radiante* **M**) *luce coruscans, divini sideris instar* **βπ**. This gloss comes from Symph., *Aen.* 67,2 (*lanterna*) *lumen habens intus divini sideris instar*. It is deleted as a gloss by Riese (1893), *Praef.*, p.VII n.1 and by Klebs, p.183 n.1, cf. ed. m. [1984], pp.386-387.

3. **nisi ‹si› quid** (**AP**: *quod* **Va**^{c}) **viderit ante** (RA) ~ *nisi in se quod viderit ante* (RB): *RA*'s actual text is dubious: the simplest solution seems the addition of *si*. Also, *ante* can be interpreted both temporally (= *antea*) and locally (cf. *RA* 13 *contra se*). *RB* skilfully make both meanings explicit.

43, RA 12-14 Respondens Apollonius ait: "Nulla certa ‹figura› est speculo, quia mutatur aspectu; nulla peregrina figura, quia hoc ostendit, quod contra se habet." 'Apollonius answered: "There is no fixed shape in a mirror, for it changes in appearance; there is no foreign shape, because it shows what is facing it."'

43, RB 11-12 Apollonius ait: "Nulla certa figura speculo inest, quia mentitur aspectu; nulla peregrina figura, quia, quod contra se habuerit, ostendit."

speculo (RA/RB): The solution *speculum* is adroitly woven into the answer, following *mihi* in the riddle.

mutatur (RA) ~ *mentitur* (RB): A skilful and erudite emendation by *RB*; the word form is almost retained, cf. Introd. III.5. For *mentiri* in the sense of *simulare, imitari*, cf. ThLL VIII 780,20-781,66: Verg., *Ecl.* 4,42 *nec varios discet mentiri lana colores, ipse sed ‹…› aries ‹…› murice mutabit vellera*; Ov., *Met.* 11,253 *nec te* (sc. Peleum) *decipiat centum mentita figuras* (sc. Thetis); Petron. 129,9 *nec speculum mihi nec fama mentitur*. The verbs are often interchanged in codd., cf. ThLL VIII 1731,37-9.

hoc (RA) ~ (RB /): The antecedent is dispensable.

habet (RA) ~ *habuerit* (RB): Both mode and tense (perf. fut.) are adjusted to the classical standard.

43, RA 14-17 Item ait puella ad eum:
"Quatuor aequales currunt ex arte sorores
sic, quasi certantes, cum sit labor omnibus unus,
et, prope cum sint pariter, non se pertingere possunt."
'Next the girl said to him: "Four identical sisters run skilfully / As if racing, although they all share the same work, / And even though they are close together, they cannot touch."'

The ninth riddle has been literally adopted by *RA* (with only one serious intervention [l.3]) from Symph., *Aen.* 77, *Rotae: Quattuor aequales currunt ex arte sorores / sic quasi certantes, cum sit labor omnibus unus; / et prope sunt pariter nec se contingere possunt*. Because the riddle is so straightforward, there are few variant readings. It is excluded by *RB*, probably owing to the connotation with '*Rota Fortunae*', cf. Introd. III.3.

1. **aequales**, i.e. in form and appearance, as the answer (l.18 *forma et habitu*) explains. The usual sense in the *HA* of *habitus* = *vestis* (cf. Ind. verb., s.v.) is not in question here.

   ex arte: As a result of the chariot-maker's art (Peters, p.160 goes too far: 'im Kunstlauf'). (The spelling *arce* **P** is probably due to the similarity of the letters *c* and *t*.)

2. **quasi** <…> **cum**: 'as it were <…> although': for concessive *cum*, see 42, RA 46 *cum sit levis* / RB 31 *licet sit levis*, and l.3 *cum sint*. The phrase *cum sit labor omnibus unus* (RA), Symph., is probably a direct borrowing from Verg., *Georg.* 4,184: *omnibus una quies operum, labor omnibus idem* (said of bees).

3. **prope cum sint pariter** (RA): 'though they are close together at the same distance from each other'. By changing Symph. *et prope sunt pariter*, *RA* creates a contrast with *pertingere* (Symph. *contingere*). Thielmann and Weyman propose less plausibly to connect *pariter* with what follows, cf. Thielmann, *ALL* 7 (1890), p.385; Weyman, *Wochenschr. f. kl. Phil.* 10 (1893), col.578.

43, RA 18-20

Et ait ad eam Apollonius: "Quatuor similes sorores forma et habitu rotae sunt, quae ex arte currunt, quasi certantes; et, cum sint sibi prope, nulla nullam potest contingere." 'And Apollonius said to her: "The four sisters identical in shape and appearance are wheels, which run skilfully as if racing; and although they are close together, none of them can touch another one."'

nulla nullam (RA): Popular parataxis of pronouns for greater emphasis, instead of *se* in the riddle, cf. Plaut., *Stich.* 731 *neuter neutri invidet*. Classical Latin would have preferred: *nulla alteram*, possibly *alia aliam non*. For the phenomenon in a broader context, cf. G. Landgraf, *Substantivische*

Parataxen, *ALL* 5 (1888), p.170. See also 25, RA 10/RB 7 *puella puellam* (comm.).

contingere (RA), Symph.: Over against *pertingere* in the riddle (3), probably without much difference, cf. OLD, s.v. *contingo* (2) 'to touch'.

43, RA 20-23	Item ait ad eum puella: "Nos sumus ad caelum, quae scandit alta petentes, concordi fabrica, quas unus conserit ordo. Quicumque alta petunt, per nos comitantur ad auras." 'The girl said to him: "We are the one who seeks the heights, climbing to the sky, / We are of matching workmanship, one sequence links us. / Whoever seeks the heights, we accompany him aloft."'
43, RB 13-16	Et ait iterum Tharsia: / "Nos sumus, ad caelum qui tendimus alta petentes. / Omnibus aequalis mansio, omnes unus conserit ordo. / Alta quicumque petunt, per nos comitantur ad auras."

RA/RB have taken the tenth riddle, with radical changes, from Symph., *Aen.* 78: *Nos sumus ad coelum, quae scandimus* (*tendimus* v.l.), *alta petentes, / concordi fabrica quas unus continet ordo, / ut simul haerentes per nos* (codd.; *pronos* Shackleton Bailey) *comitentur* (codd.: *comitemur Shackleton Bailey) ad auras*. The Symph.-HA textual traditions differ greatly, partly because two terms are mixed up in Symph., sc. *gradus scalae* 'rungs' and *scala/scalae* (sing./plur.) 'ladder', partly through a spiritual application. The reference is probably to Jacob's ladder (Gen. 28:12 *viditque in somnis scalam stantem super terram et cacumen illius tangens caelum angelos quoque Dei ascendentes et descendentes per eam*: following Vulg., Jacob's ladder is usually in sing. (Cypr., *test.* 2,16; Hier., *Epist.* 3,4; 108,13)). This theme was popular with August. and Gregorius Magnus (both wrote *libri de gradibus caeli*, see Bischoff, *Sacris Erudiri* VI,1 [1954], p.232). The catacombs in Rome, Via Latina, have a representation from the 4th century, cf. J. Timmers, *Christelijke Symboliek en Iconographie*, Bussum 1981[4], p.67 (under no. 136). This popularity continued far into the Middle Ages and Renaissance, cf. C.A. Patrides, 'Renaissance interpretations of Jacob's ladder', *Theolog. Zeitschrift* 18, 1962, pp.411-418.

1. *Nos* (RA/RB): The speaker is both *scala* (*scalae*) and *gradus scalae*.

   quae (RA) ~ *qui* (RB): *RA* is supported by Symph. *quae scandimus*, namely *scalae* (cf. 43, RA 25). On the other hand *qui* (RB) refers to *gradus (scalae)*.

   scandit AP ~ *tendimus* **Va**[c]**/RB**: The reading *scandit* has been retained because *scala* can be sing. in classical Latin, if only rarely (cf. OLD, s.v. *scalae*), while it is often so in Christian and Late Latin, cf. below 43, RA 25. *Scandere* is the verb for *scala, tendere* for *gradus (scalae)*.

2. **concordi fabrica** (RA/RB): 'with harmonious workmanship' (Konstan), cf. Apul., *Met.* 5,2 *horrea sublimi fabrica perfecta*. The verb *conserit* (RA/RB), over against Symph. *continet*, expresses much more the succession of steps, and is used in this way in the answer too (RA 26; RB 17). For *continet* Symph., cf. id., *Aen.* 64 *Tridens: Tres mihi sunt dentes, unus quos continet ordo*.

3. **Quicumque alta petunt** (RA) / *Alta quicumque petunt* (RB): A drastic intervention in relation to *simul haerentes per nos* Symph. The last phrase probably means: 'via us (i.e. the rungs), firmly connected, without becoming detached', cf. Cic., *Fam.* 6,7,3 *Quem ad modum igitur, scalarum gradus si alios tollas, alios incidas, nonnullos male haerentes relinquas, ruinae periculum struas, non ascensum pares* (quotation Ohl, p.109). For this meaning of *haerere*, cf. e.g. Verg., *Aen.* 2,442 *haerent parietibus scalae*; id. 10,31 *haeret pede pes, densus viro vir*; Lucr. 3,3,25 *communibus inter se radicibus haerent*.

   per nos comitantur ad auras (RA/RB): Again a drastic intervention in comp. with *ut* <...> *comitentur* Symph. In *HA comito* is active, cf. OLD, s.v. *comito* (1): Ov., *Pont.* 2,3,43 *Pirithoum Theseus Stygias comitavit ad undas*; *Epist.* 3,29 *per quos (Aiacem, Phoenicem, Ulixem) comitata / redirem*. The indic. represents positive certainty. On the other hand Symph. probably has the subjunct. of *comitor*. (Shackleton Bailey's conjecture *pronos* is probably based on *comito* act. too, but *haerentes* [sc. scalis] is interpreted as those who are climbing the ladder, cf. id., *Towards a Text of Anthologia Latina*, Cantabrigiae 1979, p.39.)

43, RA 24-27 Et ait ad eam: “Per deum te ob<tes>tor, ne ulterius me ad laetandum provoces, ne videa<r> insultare mortuis meis. Nam gradus scalae alta petentes, aequales mansione manentes, uno ordine conseruntur; et alta quicumque petunt, per eos comitantur ad auras.” ‘Apollonius answered: “I beg you in God’s name not to rouse me further to be cheerful, in case I seem disrespectful to my dead. The rungs of a ladder seek the heights, remaining equal in their positioning and linked in a single sequence. Whoever seeks the heights is accompanied aloft by them.”’

43, RB 17-19 Apollonius ait: “Grandes ad au<ra>s scalae gradus sunt; uno conserti ordine aequali mansione manent; alta qu<i>cumque petunt, per eos comitantur ad auras.”

Per deum te ob<tes>tor, ne <...> **mortuis meis** (RA) ~ (RB /): To conclude the ‘riddles’ insertion, *RA* harks back to 41, RA 37-38 with the same two conditions *ut hortamento laetitiae caream* and *fletibus spatium*. The grave formula *Per deum te obtestor* ‘beseech’ is appropriate to Apollonius’ situation, cf. Aug., *Serm.* 216,6 *obtestato nomine Salvatoris* (Klebs, p.218 deletes *Per deum te obtestor*).

mortui mei (RA), cf. 44, RA 2 *ut memoriam mortuorum meorum defleam* ~ (RB /). A striking use of words, rightly pointed out by Riese (1893) in Index, s.v. *mortui mei*. One would expect *mortuae meae* (Archistratis, Tarsia). This phenomenon is very rare and goes against Latin usage, according to Augustine. Compare ThLL VIII 1496,32, which cites: Vet. Lat. Gen. 23:3 (Aug., *loc. hept.* 1,74 p.518,22) *surrexit Abraham a mortuo suo* (sc. Sara) ~ Vulg. *cumque surrexisset ab officio funeris* ~ Gr. καὶ ἀνέστη Αβρααμ ἀπὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ αὐτοῦ. Augustin. notes loc. cit.: *non dixit ‘a mortua sua’*; slightly further on even the Vulg. follows suit: Vulg. Gen. 23:4 (= Vet. Latin., Aug., loc. cit., l.24) *sepeliam mortuum meum* (sc. Saram) *in eo* (sc. agro) ~ Gr. καὶ θάψω τὸν νεκρόν μου (for another reference, cf. ThLL, loc. cit.). The usage here can probably be explained by the prevalence of the masculine, cf. OLD, s.v. *mortuus* (1.b) ‘especially as regarded as existing after death’. (For the same interpretation, cf. 25, RA 21/RB 16 [comm.].) Perhaps, in combination with 44, RA 2 (where the Greek substrate text is probably taken up again), we should consider Greek influence (οἱ νεκροί, οἱ τεθνηκότες, οἱ θανόντες).

alta petentes (RA) ~ *Grandes ad au<ra>s* (**M**: *aules* **β**) (RB): The *RA* reading is effectively a repetition of the riddle (l.1 *alta petentes*; l.3 *alta petunt*). *RB*, by contrast, specifies. The reading *aulas* **RE** is probably to be preferred (cf. ed. m. [1984], p.389), since *aula* is used specially for the court of heaven, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *aula*: Prud., *Perist.* 14,62 *primum* <...> *Agnes hunc habuit gradum caelestis aulae* 'ce fut son premier pas vers le ciel'; Tert., *Test. an.* 6 (*omnis anima*) *stabit ante aulam Dei die iudicii*; August., *Trin.* 3,4,9 *invisibili atque intelligibili aula summi Imperatoris*. *Grandis*, too, is most often used figuratively, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *grandis* 'important'.

aequales mansione manentes (RA) 'abiding alike in their station' (Konstan) (RA) ~ *aequali mansione manent* (RB): An etymological figure. The meaning of *mansio* 'positioning' is rare, cf. ThLL VIII 323,57-61, cf. Introd. II.1.

per eos (RA/RB), sc. *gradus*: Against the unanimous reading of all the recensions, Schmeling (1988, p.37,10; p.76,14; p.126,5) wrongly changes *eos* to *eas*; for his motivation, see Schmeling, *Notes*, p.386 (on ed. 37,10); ibid., p.397 (on ed. 76,13-14).

CHAPTER 44

44, RA 1 Et his dictis ait: 'After this he said:'

44, RB 1-2 Et his dictis misit caput super Apollonium et strictis manibus complexa dixit: 'When Apollonius had said this, Tarsia leaned her head over him and embracing him tightly she said:'

This chapter has resonated strongly in world literature. In connection with this recognition scene in the version of Shakespeare's Pericles, T.S. Eliot wrote one of his most beautiful poems 'Marina' (she who was born from the sea = the name of Tarsia in Shakespeare). He described the recognition scene between Tarsia and her father as "the greatest among the recognition scenes ever written". Source: Garbugino, pp.187-8. For an edition of 'Marina', see e.g. T.S. Eliot, *Collected Poems 1909-1962,* Faber and Faber Limited, London, pp.115-6. An extensive bibliography is provided by P. Boitani, *The Bible and its Rewritings*, Oxford 199, pp.218-9.

his dictis ait (RA) ~ *his dictis* <…> *dixit* (RB): There is no real link with the previous chapters. Even the connection between kingship and the solving of riddles (42, RA/RB 5) is ignored. A statement like 44, RA/RB 3 *tantae prudentiae virum* does not really move the discussion forward. It would seem that *RA*, after inserting the riddles, takes up the text of his epitome **R(Gr)** with all its defects.

misit caput super Apollonium (RB): This could easily happen from *RB*'s point of view, cf. 41, RB 29 *sedit* (sc. Tharsia) *iuxta eum* (*RA aliter*, cf. comm.). *Mittere* becomes a generally used verb in Late and Christian Latin, even preferred to *ponere*, cf. 44, RA 12 *deposita (in loculum)* ~ RB 13 *demissa est*. The character of *mittere* at this stage was vulgar, cf. Vet. Lat., Gen. 48:14 (Ottob.) *dextram misit* (Vulg. *posuit*, Gr. ἐπέβαλεν) *super caput Efrem*. As *RB* and his level of style show, this vulgar association has completely disappeared. For practical examples, see Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *mitto* (5) and for the phenomenon as such, Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 207; Salonius, *Vit. Patr.* p.413 ff.; Hofmann, *Beiträge*, p.119.

strictis manibus complexa (RB) 'holding his head firmly enclosed within her arms': Though the phrase *stricta manus* sometimes has a different meaning in classical Latin (cf. Ov., *Am.* 1,6,14 *non timeo strictas in mea fata manus* (sc. telo armatas)), the meaning required here (i.q. manibus passis,

porrectis) is evident, cf. Catull. 35,8 *Quamvis candida milies puella / euntem revocet manusque collo / ambas iniciens roget morari*; Prop. 1,13,15 *vidi ego te <…> flere <…> iniectis manibus*. For the meaning *manus = bracchium*, cf. *HA* 51, RA 9/RB 8 (comm.) and ThLL VIII 343,3. The reason why *RB* inserts this parenthesis (together with other changes) is probably because he thought *RA*'s account too simplistic, too cold: by means of both this gesture and an urgent appeal (cf. 44, RB 2-6) Tarsia was to deter Apollonius from comitting suicide. In view of the other material concerning *RB* (cf. Introd. VII.2), there is no need to assume that *RB* is going directly back to a Greek model here: the adjustment may be due to his wide reading in general, perhaps even in the genre.

44, RA 1-4 "Ecce habes alios centum aureos, et recede a me, (2) ut memoriam mortuorum meorum defleam." At vero puella dolens (3) tantae prudentiae virum mori velle – nefarium est – refund<it> aureos in (4) sinum '"Here, take another hundred gold pieces but go away, so that I can weep over the memory of my dead." But the girl was sad that such a clever man wanted to die – in fact, an impious act –. She poured the gold pieces back into his lap.'

44, RB 2-6 "Quid te tantis malis affligis? Exaudi vocem meam et (3) deprecantem respice virginem, quia tantae prudentiae virum mori (4) v<ell>e nefarium est. Si coniugem desideras, deus restituet; si filiam, (5) salvam et incolumem invenies. Et praesta petenti, quod te precibus (6) rogo." '"Why do you torment yourself with such great afflictions? Listen to my words, consider the prayer of a virgin, because it is prohibited by divine and human law that such a clever man should want to die. If you long for your wife, God will restore her; if you long for your daughter, you will find her safe and sound. Grant this request for which I am asking and praying."'

RB's correction extends over an unusually long piece of text, cf. Introd. III.6. At first sight the two versions seem far apart. In my view, however, there is a distinct, ascertainable relation between the two, a relation *RA* → *RB*.

ecce habes (RA): For this formulation, see 8, RA 23/RB 27 and 34, RA 12/RB 11.

alios <...> **aureos** (RA): The use of *alius* ('another'; 'andere hundert Goldgulden', Peters, p.161) with a purely enumerative value (without any reference to such a sum in the past), corresponds to ἄλλος with numerals, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἄλλος (7) 'still, further'; Bauer, s.v. ἄλλος (2) 'ein weiterer'.
aureos (RA): voor *aureus* = χρυσοῦς, cf. 10, RA 9/RB 8 (comm.). The passing of money to and fro between Apollonius and his daughter already come up a few times, cf. 40, RA 36/RB 29; 41, RA 26-27/RB 25-27. So a direct translation from (?) ἰδοῦ, ἔχεις ἄλλους ἑκατὸν χρυσοῦς is certainly possible.

mortuorum meorum defleam (RA): For this argument and Latinity, cf. 43, RA 25 (comm.) ~ (RB /).

– nefarium est – (RA): Both argument (unlawfulness of suicide) and formulation agree with antique notions and the formulation in the Greek Novel ἀθέμιτον γάρ ἐστι. For suicide in the Ancient World, cf. e.g. Heliod. 2,29,5 ἐμαυτὸν μὲν οὐκ ἐξάγω τοῦ βίου τοῖς θεολογοῦσιν ὡς ἀθέμιτον τὸ πρᾶγμα πειθόμενος 'but I did not put an end to my life, for religious teachers had convinced me that such an act is sinful' (cf. J. Maillon, *Héliodore, Les Éthiopiques*, Paris 1960[2], p.85 n.3); A.J.L. van Hooff, *From Autothanasia to Suicide*, London 1990; S. MacAlister, *Dreams and Suicides. The Greek Novel from Antiquity to the Byzantine Empire*, London-New York 1996. For *nefarium est* ~ ἀθέμιτον ἐστί, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀθέμιστος/ἀθέμιτος (II): 'unlawful' 'frequently in neutr.' and *Less.*, s.v. ἀθέμιτόν ἐστι: Heliod. 5,20,2; 7,26,3; 10,40,1. Plato, too, often uses the term οὐ θεμιτόν in connection with suicide, cf. *Phaedo* 61[c,d,e]. For the stylistic procedure of an addition put between brackets and as such to be attributed to the Greek original (**R(Gr)** or perhaps even **HA(Gr)**), cf. 25, RA (*Non fuit mortua, sed quasi mortua*) (RB /), cf. comm. (In my view, Archibald's translation, p.167: 'it was shocking', should be rejected.)

The authenticity of *RA* has thus been sufficiently borne out by evidence. But questions remain about the chain of events: why does Apollonius offer such a 'small' sum of money at the close, where just before double such sums were passed to and fro (41, RA 26-27/RB 25-27)? Also, why not an ultimate, all-out attempt to stop someone from committing suicide? These kinds of questions probably led *RB* to change the text of *RA* radically (RB 2-6):

1. Apollonius' request and money gift have dropped out completely;
2. Tarsia's gesture of returning the money '*refundens aureos in sinum*' ('lap') (cf. 37, RB 2 *in sinu lenonis*) is also omitted;

3. An urgent appeal by Tarsia to her father – in a solemn, adjuratory style – is inserted;
4. *RA*'s argument regarding suicide (*nefarium est*) is woven into Tarsia's reaction in an adjusted form according to *RB*'s familiar procedures.

Quid te tantis malis affligis? (RB): Both here and in 37, RB 6, *RB* prefers the classical form *Quid*. The more popular form *Ut quid* occurs only in 37, RA 14 (see comm.). In my view, there is no need to change *RB* (cf. app. crit., ad loc.).

te malis affligis (RB): The reflexive form occurs in higher literature: Front., *Aurel.* 2. p.6 (225 N) *tu Lorii te fame et siti et negotiis agendis affligere nequibas?* There seems to be no serious reason for following Riese (1893), Praef. XII in preferring Welser's codex: *me affligis*. The same goes for the combination *affligere malis*, cf. ThLL I 1234,62 ff.: Cic., *Sulla* 91 *non patitur hominem calamitosum uno malo adflictum uno in luctu perire* (other places quoted: Sen., *Ag.* 274; Tac., *Ann.* 13,57; Amm. 30,2,7; Hier., *Epist.* 140,19; Vulg., Prov. 11:15; Aug., *Civ.* 18,54).

Exaudi vocem meam et deprecantem respice virginem (RB): The reference has been taken from probably the most famous lamentation of the *Psalterium*, Vulg., Ps. 129 *De profundis clamavi ad te, Domine*, (2): *Domine, exaudi vocem meam, / fiant aures tuae intendentes ad vocem deprecationis meae*. *RB* probably added this Bible verse independently, since the original Greek text is different (Gr. κύριε, εἰσάκουσον τῆς φωνῆς μου 'Lord, listen to my voice'). It may be that *RB* is not referring to this Psalm directly but indirectly: the Bible has this kind of utterance *passim*, esp. in the *Psalt. iuxta Hebr.*, 27,2 (= 139,7) *Exaudi, Domine, vocem deprecationis meae*, cf. 12,4; 17,7. (Klebs, p.273 deletes *Exaudi vocem meam*.)

v<ell>e (RB): A correction of *valde* **βπ** on the basis of *velle* **M** urges itself.

si coniugem desideras, deus restituet (RB): *RB* has probably added this sentence independently too, since *restituo* is the technical term (over against *reddere* as the secular term), cf. OLD, s.v. *restituo* (8) 'to give back unharmed': Plaut., *Capt.* 588 *illum restituam huic, hic autem* <...> *me meo patri*; Terent., *An.* 570; Liv. 8,39,13. For technical terms in the legal sphere in *RB*, cf. Introd. VI.2. (Klebs, p.219 deletes *Deus restituet*.)

salvam et incolumen invenies (RB): Probably a direct, extra-contextual borrowing from Vulg., Tob. (codd. Sφc) 8 :15 *repperitque eos salvos et incolomes*. *RB* is likely to have inserted this phrase independently too, since the original Greek text is totally different (Rahlfs, I, p.1024: version S, c.9,13

εὗρεν αὐτοὺς καθεύδοντας καὶ ὑπνοῦντας κοινῶς 'She found them sleeping and dreaming conjointly'). The expression itself occurs frequently throughout Latinity, if sparingly, cf. ThLL VII 978,70 ff.; Garbugino, p.100 with n.29. It is somewhat solemn in character and therefore occurs in prayers, cf. Liv. 29,27,3 (in prayer style) *salvos incolumesque ‹…› victores ‹…› reduces sistatis milites*; 41,28,8 *tabula in aede Matris Matutae cum indice hoc posita est: ‹…› exercitum salvum atque incolumem plenissimam praeda domum reportavit* (sc. Tib. Sempr. Gracchus). The expression could thus be either a biblical or a literary reminiscence, skilfully applied.

Et praesta petenti, quod te precibus rogo (RB): Prayer style with strong alliteration, in the manner of Roman liturgy, the so-called *orationes*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *praesto* (II.2): 'accorder' 'donner' (references to the *Sacramentarium Gregorianum* and *Leonianum*), cf. H.A. Wilson, *A Classified Index to the Leonian, Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries*, 1892.

44, RA 4-5 et adprehendens lugubrem vestem eius ad lucem conabatur trahere. 'She took hold of his mourning clothes and tried to drag him into the light.'

44, RB 6 Et tenens lugubrem eius manum ad lumen conábatur adtráhere (*t.*).

lugubris vestis (RA): This expression is very frequent, cf. OLD, s.v. *lugubris* (1) 'mourning garments': Terent., *Haut.* 286 *vestitam veste lugubri*; Tac., *Ann.* 13,32 *cultu lugubri*. For the gesture, common among Greeks and Romans, cf. e.g. Heliod. 4,6,5 ἐπιλαβόμενος οὖν τῆς χλαμύδος 'grabbing his cloak'. *RB* pursues a stronger effect: the combination *lugubris manus* is rare, cf. ThLL VIII 350,18 *indicatur conditio eius, cuius manus est*: Ov., *Am.* 1,14,36 *maesta manu*; *Fast.* 4,54 *feriunt maestae pectora nuda manus* (cf. 34, RB 17 [comm.]); Petron. 3,9,2 *omnibus obscuras inicit* (sc. mors) *manus*.

et ad lucem AP: *et* has often been deleted, cf. ed. m. (1984), app. crit. ad loc. But perhaps it should be retained, cf. 40, RA 26 (comm.).

trahere (RA) ~ *adtrahere* (RB): A difference in shade of meaning which is hard to gauge, perhaps *rhythmi causa.*

44, RA 5 At ille impellens eam con‹r›uere fecit. 'But he pushed her so that she fell down.'

44, RB 7 Tunc Apollonius in iracundia versus surrexit et calce eam percussit, 'Then Apollonius became angry: he got up and kicked her with his heel,'

impellens eam con<r>uere fecit (RA): *RA* provides no details of the event, probably because such information is negligible in an epitome. We should presumably imagine Tarsia in the ancient position of a supplicant, clasping her father's knees, cf. Hom., *Il.* 24,357 γούνων ἁψάμενοι λιτανεύσομεν αἴ κ'ἐλεήσῃ 'grasping his knees we will beseech him to show compassion.' With a brusque push (from [?] ἀπωθέω 'to thrust away', cf. LSJ, s.v.) he shoves her aside, so that she is thrown to the ground. This makes the rest of the scene all the more painful.

impellens (RA) ~ 44, RB 7 *impulsa virgo*: For this first recognition scene, between father and daughter, two parallel scenes are especially relevant: Heliod. 7,7,6 and *Clementina* VII,21,1-23,2 (= *Homilies* XII,21,6-23,3), cf. Boulhol (1996), pp.170-1. For the second recognition scene, between Apollonius/daughter and Archistratis, (49, RA 1-2/RB 1-3) the same two places come into play, particularly in the *RB* version. Because the latter probably contains a reminiscence of the *Recognitiones* in the Latin translation by Rufinus (the so-called *Homilies*), it seems better to postpone a more detailed discussion of the two parallel places until 49, RA 1-2 (comm.).

con<r>uere: The codd. read *consuere* **A**, *consurgere et cadere* **P**. Correction is possible via *conruere* (*corr-*) **Rα**. The **A** reading is palaeographically interesting on account of the *s/r* confusion (cf. 43, RA *videas* **AP** < *videar*), an error which must have crept in at an early stage, witness the form of emendation in **P**. This may point to a Longobardic script, cf. Helm (ed. Apul., *Florida*), p.XLV; for **A**, cf. ed. m. [1984], pp.24-9; for **P**, cf. ed. m. [1984], pp.31-4. Moreover, the paraphrase with *facere* is striking (cf. 32, RA 50 *quam* <...> *sepelire fecimus*), where classical Latin would have simply had *corruit* (tr.), cf. ThLL IV 1061,3-13; 11, RB 17 (app. crit.); for the phenomenon, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 326.

calce eam percussit (RB): *RB* provides an almost psychological series of details: Apollonius becomes angry, jumps to his feet and kicks Tarsia, who is sitting next to him in *RB* (cf. 41, RB 29 *descendens Tharsia sedit iuxta eum*), so hard with his heel that she falls off her seat. Of course this kind of brutality occurs in both Greek and Latin literature, cf. LSJ, s.v. λάξ 'with the foot'; OLD, s.v. *calx*: Plaut., *Poen.* 819 *incursat pugnis, calcibus*; Lucil. 1064 *calce omnis excutiamus*; Cic., *Verr.* 3,56 *cum pugnis et calcibus concisus esse*; Tac., *Ann.* 16,6 *a quo* (sc. Nerone) *gravida* (sc. Poppaea) *ictu calcis adflicta est*. Within the Novel a striking parallel is found in Charit.

1,4,12, where Chaireas, in an outburst of anger, kicks his pregnant wife in the stomach: κρατούμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς ἐλάκτισε προσιοῦσαν 'overcome by his anger he kicked her as she ran to him', cf. Heliod. 1,10,4. One might think that *RB*, in view of the explicit motivation in both texts, was familiar with the parallel. It seems more likely that his account was suggested by wide reading in general and psychological insight. Other Greek novels also have these fits of anger, cf. S. Stephans, *Ancient Greek Novels, The Fragments* (1995), p.267 (*Kalligone*). The change in relation to *RA* seems mainly prompted by the 'correction' which now follows *(sanguis) de naribus* (RA) ~ *de genu* (RB).

44, RA 5-6	Quae cum cecidisset, de naribus eius sanguis coepit egredi, 'When she fell, blood streamed from her nose'
44, RB 7	et inpulsa virgo cecidit. Et de genu eius coepit sánguis efflúere (*t.*), 'and the maiden kicked fell down. Blood flowed from her knee.'

cum cecidisset (RA) ~ *cecidit* (RB): If a parallel is necessary, cf. Charit. 1,8,3 τότ' οὖν ἀνεμήσθη τοῦ λακτίσματος καὶ τοῦ δι' ἐκεῖνο πτώματος 'So then she remembered the kick and how it had made her fall.'

de naribus eius (RA) ~ *de genu eius* (RB): A remarkable difference, priority clearly lying with *RA*: the Greek Novel, like realistic prose, both Latin and Greek, loves to treat the reader to such details, cf. Achill. Tat. 8,1,3 οἱ δὲ τῶν ῥινῶν αἵματος ἔρρεον κρουνοί 'Gushes of blood spurted out of my nose', cf. Long. 2,18,1; Lucian., *Dial. meretr.* 15,1 αἷμά τε γὰρ ἐρρύη πολὺ ἀπὸ τῶν ῥινῶν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ὅλον ἐξῴδηκεν αὐτοῦ καὶ πελιδνόν ἐστιν. Even hagiography indulges (with phraseology strikingly similar to that of *RB*): Passio S. Anastasiae, c.31 (ed. Delehaye, *Le légendier romain*, p.244) *coepit de naribus eius sanguis infinitus effluere*. The reading *genu* (RB) is intended to remove the painful detail, as was already noted by C. Sittl, *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer*, Leipzig 1890, p.107 n.1 in connection with Riese's first edition (1873). For *RB*'s delicacy in a larger context, cf. Introd. III.2. The failure of this 'emendation' to get across to the reader is proved by *sanguis* **π**, a return to the reading *genu* **βM**. (Obviously this reading should not be incorporated in the text of *RB*, as Schmeling [1988], p.76,23 does, cf. his highly curious argumentation – *sit venia verbo* –, *Notes*, pp.397-8 [on ed. 76,23].)

coepit egredi (RA) ~ *coepit ‹...› effluere* (RB): Probably a good example of how periphrastic *coepi* is used without any real meaning: it is hardly likely

that the blood starts to flow slowly, cf. 1, RA 17 *coepit celare* (comm.). *egredi* (RA) may go back to Greek usage, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ἐξέρχομαι (2): (v. Sachen) 'hervortreten, ausfließen von Flussigkeit': John 19:34 καὶ ἐξῆλθεν εὐθὺς αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ ~ Vulg. *et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua*; Rev. 14:20 καὶ ἐξῆλθεν αἷμα ἐκ τῆς ληνοῦ ~ Vulg. *exivit sanguis de lacu*. As well as for rhythmical reasons, *effluere* results from normalization of the wording, cf. *Passio S. Anastasiae* (quoted above); Aug., Psalm. 140,4 *de toto corpore sanguinis effluxio*.

The *Nachleben* has baulked at this grisly detail. The RA/Rα version is rare: Klebs, p.382 refers to the *Gesta Romanorum* (Archibald, pp.190-191); id., p.386 on *Libro de Apolonio* (Archibald, p.189). Most mss., versions, editions etc. prefer *RB* in a more or less adapted form. Some references: G.A. Barker, 'Themes and Variations in Shakespeare's *Pericles*', *English Studies* 44 (1963), (pp.401-414), p.407; Nilsson (1949), p.87; Singer, *Anglia* Beiblatt X, 1900, p.106; A. Smyth (1898), pp.72-73.

44, RA 6-7 et sedens puella coepit flere et cum magno maerore dicere: 'The girl sat down and began to cry and said in deep sorrow:'

44, RB 8 et sedens puella coepit flere et dicere:

sedens (RA/RB): *resedens* **Va**, with inexorable logic, cf. 41, RB 29 (wrongly excluded from the text by Schmeling [1988], p.126,14).

cum magno maerore (RA) ~ (RB /): The use of *cum* with abl. of manner is very common, esp. in Christian Latin, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *cum* (3); ThLL VIII 43,61. In her pain and grief Tarsia tells the story of her life, upon which Apollonius recognizes her as his daughter. A similar arrangement of motifs occurred in Euripides' *Alcmaeon in Psophis* (cf. C. Austin, *Nova fragmenta Euripidea in papyris reperta*, Berlin 1968, no.150, p.83), as various scholars have pointed out, cf. c.33 (introd.).

44, RA 7-8/RB 9-11 "O ardua potestas caelorum, quae me pateris innocentem tantis calamitatibus ab ipsis cunabulis (RA: nativitatis meae exortibus RB) fatigari! '"Relentless heavenly power, who allows me, an innocent girl, to be harassed from the cradle by such great disasters!'

ardua potestas caelorum (RA/RB): An exact meaning is difficult to establish, cf. OLD, s.v. *arduus* (1): 'high, towering'; (5): 'difficult to follow';

the phrase is difficult for interpreters and translators too: *id est alta vel grande* **Va**^{c}; Peters (1904), p.161 / Waiblinger (1978), p.103 'O ihr hohen Himmelsmächte; Sandy (1989), p.44 'O hard-hearted powers of heaven'; Archibald (1991) (see translation above). The combination itself is lacking in ThLL I 492,38 ff. Perhaps we can compare Sulp. Sev. 1,17,8 *arduum imperium*. The Glossaria leave a blank as well, cf. CGL VI 91: δυσέφικτος 'hard to understand'; προσαντής 'adverse', 'hostile'; ὑψηλός 'high', 'lofty'. It would be convenient to know what **R(Gr)** read, since the adjective is so closely connected with the astrological, fatalistic background of **HA(Gr)**, cf. Introd. VI.

caelorum: The pl. can probably be traced back to *caeli, -orum*, typical of Christians, cf. ThLL III 79,20-39.

ab ipsis cunabulis (RA) ~ *ab ipsis nativitatis meae exortibus* (**β**^{1}**M**): Just as Greeks often used the phrase ἐκ (πρώτων) σπαργάνων (from the swaddling-clothes = from the cradle, from infancy' [cf. LSJ, s.v.σπάργανα; Lampe]), so Romans (Hieronym., *Praef.* Vulg. *Iob* 1 '*detriti sumus*') had the expression *ab ipsis cunabulis*, cf. ThLL IV 1389,10-19. Hagiography is overrun with it (e.g. Mombr. I 355,4; 427,18; 557,44; 564,21; II 11,40; 76,18; 82,46; 94,57; 134,21). Perhaps *RB* changed, thinking of *cunabula* in the proper sense, i.e. *cunae*, perhaps he wanted something more elegant. His substitute expression *ab ipsis nativitatis exortibus* is very rarely recorded and only very late, cf. ThLL V,2 1592, l.23 (Fulg. Rusp. [468-533]); l.35 (Ps. Aug., *serm.*); l.48 (again Fulg. Rusp.) (moreover these parallels are in sing). This unusual, almost solemn locution in **β**^{1}**M** was normalized to *exordiis* **β**^{2}**π**, owing to the influence of the more common *primordia*. All in all this place constitutes a useful *indicium* for the style and period of *RB*.

fatigari (RA/RB): A synonym of *vexari*, cf. 12, RB 4 *fatigatus* (comm.).

44, RA 8-19 / RB 10-18: This is an accurate summary (in almost the same words) of the events which took place around Tarsia. Its function as a means of recognition between father and daughter is obvious, cf. 48, RA 24-42/RB 17-33 (recognition between husband – wife – daughter). For the role of such recapitulations in the Greek Novel, cf. Billault (1991), pp.87-98. In language and style *RA* accords with the rest; *RA* moreover contains some probable 'Graecisms' (cf. *RA* 8, 9, 16). *RB* displays the normal picture of abridgement and correction. The last lines of *RB* are remarkable. In my view, they have been added in order to mention characters by name, necessary for the *recognitio*.

44, RA 8-9 / RB 11 Nam statim ut nata sum in mari inter fluctus et (RA: flu<ctus et> RB) procellas, 'For as soon as I was born at sea, amidst waves and storms,'

statim ut nata sum (RA/RB): For the content (RA 8-13; RB 11-14), cf. c.25. Despite the fact that *statim* actually goes with *RA* 11/RB 12 *mortua est*, we can perhaps compare (?) εὐθύς, cf. LSJ, s.v. εὐθύς (B.II), often used in this way and connected with a participle: Thuc. 2,39 εὐθὺς νέοι ὄντες 'even from youth'; Xen., *Anab.* 4,7,2 εὐθὺς ἥκων 'immediately after arriving'; Plato, *Theaith.* 186^{b} εὐθὺς γενομένοις 'at the moment of birth'; in Late Greek: Synes., *Provid.* (ed. Terzaghi) 1, Migne 66, Petavius 90^{A}. εὐθύς τε γεινομένων (Kräbinger 'sogleich nach ihrer Geburt').
inter fluctus et procellas (RA): *inter fluentes procellas* (RB): Though correction of RB/RE is suggested by *RA* and groups related to *RB* (cf. app. crit. RB 11-12), the *RB* reading as such is understandsble, cf. OLD, s.v. *fluo* (3); ThLL VI,1 970,72-82: Vitr. 5,3,6 *vox est spiritus fluens aeris*; Sen., *Oed.* 887 *modice fluens aura*; Lucr., 4,71 *in solam Calpen fluit umidus aer*. Esp. in hagiography: e.g. Passio Petri et Pauli (ed. Bonnet-Lipsius), c.12 (p.232) *inter procellas fluctuantes gentilium*; Mombr. I 410,15 *concussis fluentis ventorum flaminibus*, cf. 'flying tempest'.

44, RA 9-10 parturiens me mater mea secundis ad stomachum redeuntibus coagulato sanguine 'my mother giving birth to me, as the afterbirth went back into her stomach and her blood clotted'

44, RB 12 mater mea secundis ad stomachum redeuntibus

parturiens me mater mea (RA) ~ *mater mea* (RB): In view of the context (cf. c.25) *parturiens* must be taken at its full value here as pres. part. 'giving birth to me', translating [?] τικτοῦσα. In itself *RA* could also be seen as a direct translation of ἡ τεκοῦσα (aor. part.), a general term for 'the mother', cf. LSJ, s.v. τίκτω 'to generate' (5^{b}): Aesch., *Theb.* 926 ἁ τεκοῦσα 'the mother', cf. Choeph. 133; Her. 1,116 ἡ τεκοῦσα αὐτόν 'his mother'; alongside Soph., *Oed. Tyr.* 1247 ἡ τικτοῦσα, cf. Electr. 342. This usage runs parallel with οἱ τεκόντες 'the parents', ὁ τεκών 'the father'. The Greek Novel has this usage too, cf. *Less.*, s.v. τίκτω: Hel. 2,31,1 ἡ τεκοῦσα, cf. Long., 3,13,1. It is unclear why *RB* deletes *parturiens*, like *coagulato sanguine* (cf. 25, RA 11/RB 8). For *secundis ad stomachum redeuntibus* (RA/RB), cf. 25, RA 10/RB 8 (comm.).

44, RA 11 mortua est et sepultura ei terrae denegata est. ‘she died: a burial on land was denied to her.’

44, RB 12 mortua est, et sepultur<a> terrae negata.

mortua A, P, Rα: In actual fact the letter *m* has been erased in **A**. This probably has to do with the name *Lucina*, given to the anonymous daughter of the king, cf. 25, RA 10 (comm.).; was *orta* the idea?

(sepultura) ei terrę denegata est A: *terre ei denegata est* **Va**^{c}: *ei denegata est terre* **P**: A good example to illustrate interchange in codd., where placement was not immediately clear to the scribes. The reading *sepulturae*, **βMπ** is probably due to the influence of *terrae* and easy to restore.

sepultura <…> **terrae** (RA/RB): letterlijk ‘a burial of earth’ (epexegetical gen.): I have not been able to find a parallel for this expression. By way of comparison we can perhaps adduce ταφή ‘burial place’ following CGL VII, 258, cf. LSJ, s.v. (2); Suppl. (2); Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. (2): ‘Begräbnis, Grab.’ Though the parallel is not complete, we can perhaps compare Herodot. 1,24 ‘Ὡς ἂν ταφῆς ἐν γῇ τύχῃ ‘so that he would have a burial on land’.

44, RA 11-13 Quae tamen ornata a patre meo regalibus ornamentis et deposita in loculum cum viginti sestertios auri Neptuno est tradita. ‘But my father adorned her with royal finery, placed her in a coffin with twenty thousand gold sesterces, and committed her to the sea.’

44, RB 13-14 Ornata a patre meo demissa est in loculum cum XX sestertiis, Neptuno est tradita.

A drastic retrenchment by *RB* (*tamen* /; *regalibus ornamentis* /, cf. RB 15 *ornamentis* [see final remark at 44, RB 17-19]; *auri* /, cf. 25, RA 29 *XX sestertia auri* ~ RB 23 *viginti sestertia* (comm.))

deposita (RA) ~ *demissa (est)* (RB): For *RB*’s preference for *mittere* above *ponere*, cf. above 44, RB 1 *misit caput super Apollonium* (comm.).

cum <…> **sestertios A** (ex *-tiis*); *cum XXVI tertiis* **P** ~ *cum XX sestertiis* (RB): An illustrative example of the disappearance of knowledge regarding strict grammar (*cum* + acc.) and names of coins (*sestertius auri*; *sestertium*, alongside total mutilation, both in **P** and in *sexterciis* **M** [cf. ed. m. [1984], p.50]). Compare also *cum* <…> *sextertias* **Va**; *auri* add. **Va**^{c} (Schmeling,

p.126,19 app. crit.). The reading of the codd. has been respected. The story obviously requires *cum viginti milibus sestertium (sestertiorum)*, cf. 25, RA 29 (comm.). The construction *cum* + acc. is very common in Late and Christian Latin, cf. ThLL IV p.1342,61 (a long list of authors); for the *HA*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. cum (*praep.*) + acc.; for the phenomenon itself, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 247.

Neptuno est tradita (RA/RB): An adaptation to Latin usage: for *Neptunus* = *mare*, cf. OLD, s.v. Neptunus (2): Plaut., *Rud.* 2,6,2 *credere se Neptuno*, cf. 2,3,42; Lucr. 2,472 *Neptuni corpus acerbum*; Verg., *Georg.* 4,29 *(si) praeceps Neptuno immerserit Eurus*; Hor., *Ep.* 17,55 *Neptunus alto tundit hibernus salo*. The Greek Novel does not have this kind of usage with Ποσειδῶν, but in theory it is possible, cf. Herod. 1,193 κάρπος Δήμητρος.

44, RA 13-15	Me namque in cunabulis posita, Stranguilioni impio et Dionysiadi eius coniugi a patre meo sum tradita cum ornamentis et vestibus regalibus, 'As for me, I was put in a cradle, and handed over by my father to wicked Stranguillio and his wife Dionysias, along with jewels and splendid, royal clothes.'
44, RB 14-15	Post haec ego Stranguilioni et Dionysiadi inpiis a patre tradita cum ornamentis et vestibus

Me namque in cunabulis positā (RA) ~ *Post haec* (RB): For the content (RA 13-15; RB 14-15), cf. c.28. *RA* shows careless usage in two respects:

1. *Me* <…> *positā* is meant to function as an abl. abs. though Tarsia is also the subject of the main clause *sum tradita*;
2. *namque* could be interpreted as resumptive, taking up the story of Tarsia's own misery (Konstan). But it seems better to take *namque* in an adversative sense, like *nam* and *enim*, and to translate 'however' (= *vero*), cf. 39, RA 32 *nam non mihi* (comm.). This usage becomes current from the 5th c. onwards, cf. Blaise, s.v. *namque* (2): 'mais, d'autre part'; Salonius, *Vit. Patr.*, pp.341-2. In translations it corresponds to δέ: Carm. adv. Marc. (late 4th c.) *tertia namque* (Gr. δὲ) *die subiens cum corpore victor*; Philo, *Vit. contempl.* 1 12 *ad vota namque religionis commeantes* (Gr. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ θεραπείαν ἰόντες); Cass., *Hist.* 7,2,7 *incumbere namque significat* (Gr. Socr. 3,23 τὸ δὲ ἐπιθέσθαι σημαίνει).

In terms of content *in cunabulis* does not agree with c.28. The recapitulation *Post haec* (RB) is therefore very apt, like the addition *ego*, the change *impio* (RA) to *impiis* (RB), the omission of *meo* (RA) and *sum*, so that the sentence structure is much improved, anticipating other stylistic interventions.

vestibus P, RB: *vestis* **AVa**[c] is probably due to the influence of *ornamentis*: mutilation of the ending by metaplasm is unlikely.

44, RA 15-17	pro quibus usque ad necis veni perfidiam et iussa sum puniri a servo uno infamiae, nomine Theophil<o>. 'Because of these I nearly became the victim of a treacherous murder and a disreputable servant, called Theophilus, was ordered to kill me."
44, RB 15-16	usque ad necem veni, perfidiā huius iussa puniri a servo eius. 'I was nearly murdered, ordered through the perfidious behaviour of this woman to be killed by his slave.'

pro quibus (RA) ~ (RB /): For *pro* = *propter*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. For the content of the story (RA 15-17; RB 15-16), cf. cc.30-31.

ad necis <...> **perfidiam** (RA) ~ *ad necem* <...>, *perfidiā huius* (RB): An elegant expression in *RA* 'the perfidy of a murder' = 'a perfidious murder' (explicative gen.) is changed at a logical level by RB in a different context 'through her perfidy'. *RA* is probably a rendering of ἀπιστία 'faithlessness', cf. CGL VII, 70 s.v.

puniri (RA/RB): A euphemistic expression for *morte puniri* = *occidi*, cf. Heraeus, *Philol.* 59 (Neue Folge 13), 1900, p.437; Löfstedt, *Late Latin*, Oslo 1959, pp.187-8 n.1. This euphemism is often found in hagiography dealing with martyrs, sometimes specified by *capite/gladio punire*, cf. Mombr. I 251,27; 337,12; 339,11; 340,19; 347,24.38; 373,2.18 etc.; II 45,46; 241,14; 342,33; 354,17; 411,41; 492,5 etc. It may be that the euphemism goes back to a similar Greek phrase: CGL VII 161, s.v. *puniri* κολάζεσθαι; for this κολάζεσθαι, cf. LSJ, s.v. κολάζω 'to punish': Eurip., *Hel.* 1172 κολάζω θανάτῳ, cf. Lys. 28,3. As such it is also found in Greek hagiography, cf. *Martyrium Ptolemaei et Lucii* (= Justin., *Apol.* 2,2; ed. Knopf-Krüger, p.15, l.14) καὶ ἄλλος δὲ τρίτος ἐπελθὼν κολασθῆναι προσετιμήθη 'and another third man arrived, and he too was condemned to be punished'. This usage probably goes back to everyday language: Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. κολάζω refers to Charit. 4,2,7 οἱ κολάζοντες 'the men executing the sentence' 'die Exekutoren'. Compare also Lampe, s.v. κόλασις (g.3): Euseb., *Hist. eccl.* 5,21,4 (Migne 20, p.488[B]) κεφαλικὴ κόλασις 'capital punishment, execution'.

a servo uno infamiae (*infamie* **A**: om. **P**) (RA) ~ *a servo eius* (RB). The *RA* reading (*in casu* **A**) has prompted criticism from the earliest to the most recent editions. Thus E. Baehrens, *Jahrbücher f. cl. Ph.* 17, 1871, p.838 decrees 'schreibe *infami*'; Klebs, p.261 deletes the entire expression *uno infamiae*, followed by Schmeling (1988), ad loc. In my view, however, the transmitted text should be retained, cf. Introd. II.1.

For the meaning of *unus* 'a certain', cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *unus* (4): 'classique *aliquis, quidam* (ou valeur de simple article indéfini)'; Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 263, refers to e.g. Vulg., Matt. 26:69 *accessit ad eum una ancilla* (Gr. προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ μία παιδίσκη).

For the phrase itself, cf. 46, RA 8 *de uno infamiae* (-ie, **A**: -e **P**). This has a biblical flavour and can be defended from both a Greek and Latin point of view. In Latin we can refer to e.g. 2 Thess. 2:3 *homo peccati, filius perditionis* (Gr. ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας [ἁμαρτίας v.l.], ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας). Thus Sid. Apoll., *Epist.* 4,24,6 talks about a *vir caritatis*; Greg. Tur., *Conf.* 108, p.817 *vir vitae*. Hagiography offers many examples: Mombr. I 456,3 *operarius iniquitatis*; 548,21 *praeses iniquitatis*; II 82,3 *viri misericordiae*; in particular the combination with *ministri* is popular: Mombr. I 152,34 *iniquitatis ministri*; 455,39.40 *ministri diaboli*; 548,50 *crudelitatis ministri*; II 123,4 *recedentibus* <...> *ministris nequam*; 351,26 *ministri confusionis*; 386,39 *scelerum ministri*. The occurrence of such a phrase in *RA* is far from surprising, cf. Schrijnen-Mohrmann (1936), p.85; LHS II, p.64[1].

In Greek we can particularly refer to combinations with δοῦλος in both a biblical context and elsewhere, cf. Bauer, s.v. δοῦλος: John 8:34 δοῦλος τῆς ἁμαρτίας (Vulg. *servus est peccati*), cf. Rom. 6:17, 20; Eurip. *Hec.* 865 ἢ χρημάτων γὰρ δοῦλος ἔστιν ἢ τύχης (for other examples from secular literature, see there; cf. LSJ, s.v. αἰσχύνη 'shame', 'dishonour' (I.3): 'concrete, of a person': Aeschin. 3,241 ἄνθρωπος αἰσχύνη τῆς πόλεως γεγονώς 'a man, a disgrace to his city'). Such a phrase would also be quite possible in **R(Gr)**, cf. Introd. V.2. Of course we can only conjeecture what the Greek had in this place (?): δοῦλος τῆς ἀτιμίας is the term in the Glossaria for the translation of *infamia* and vice versa, cf. ThLL VII 1337,29; LSJ (Suppl.), s.v. ἀτιμία. Also possible is a combination like δοῦλος τῆς ἀδικίας, cf. Luke 16:8 καὶ ἐπῄνεσεν ὁ κύριος τὸν οἰκονόμον τῆς ἀδικίας ὅτι φρονίμως ἐποίησεν (Vulg. *Et laudavit dominus villicum iniquitatis, quia prudenter fecisset*): after all, Theophilus, too, was a *villicus* in the service of Stranguillio and Dionysias (cc.31-32). The *RB* reading eliminates the biblical phrase and at the same time introduces Stranguillio (= *eius*) as the opponent of his wife *Dionysias* (= *huius*).

44, RA 17-18 At ille dum voluisset me occidere, eum deprecata sum, ut me permitteret testari dominum. 'But as he was about to kill me, I begged him to let me pray to the Lord.'

dum voluisset (RA): Laborious Latin for classical *cum vellet*, cf. Fürtner, *Blätter f. d. Bayer. Gymn.-Schulwesen*, 1881, p.342; cf. Ind. gr., s.v. tempora verborum (4).

eum deprecata sum, ut me permitteret testari dominum: An almost verbal repetition of 31, RA 35-36, where *RB* already set *ait* soberly against the two opening words and changed *me* to *mihi*, cf. RB 22-23. *RB* probably took exception to the wordy formulation, followed moreover by (RA 19) *Quem cum deprecor*. (Klebs, pp.189-190 deletes: *ut me permitteret testari dominum*.)

44, RA 19-20 Quem cum deprecor, piratae superveniunt, qui me vi auferunt et ad istam deferunt provinciam. Atque lenoni impio sum vendita." 'As I was praying, pirates appeared: they carried me off by force and brought me to this country, and I was sold to a wicked pimp."'

44, RB 16-17 Piratis supervenientibus rapta sum et in hanc urbem lenoni distracta.

Quem cum deprecor (RA) ~ (RB /): Cf. the previous annotation. For the content of the story (RA 18-20; RB 16-17), cf. cc.32-33.

piratae superveniunt, qui <…> **auferunt et** <…> **deferunt** (RA) ~ *Piratis supervenientibus rapta* <…> *et distracta* (RB): A classical summary, with the introduction of classical, appropriate terms and constructions.

piratae: *pyrates* **A**, cf. 32, RA 1 (app. crit.): see comm. there.

vi (*vim* **A**: *vi* **P**): The monosyllabic word *vis* was gradually replaced at an early stage by *violentia*, partly because of homonymity with the verbal form *vis*, cf. Hofmann, *Beiträge*, p.98 (with examples from the *Vitae Patrum*). Compare 15, RA 8 *si vis* ~ RB 7 *si scire vis* (comm.). The form *vi* was preserved in the fossilized acc. *vim* (cf. *rem* - rien), probably already at the time of *RA*'s genesis. This form is found in many codd., cf. Greg. Tur., *Hist. Franc.* 5,24 (p.220,4) *filias suas vim abstulit*; *Lib. de Mirac. B. Andr.* (Bonnet, p.835,41). Many examples of esp. Merovingian and Spanish

Latinity are furnished by D. Norberg, *Beiträge zur spätlateinischen Syntax*, Uppsala 1944, p.51; B. Löfstedt, 'Zum spanischen Mittellatein', *Glotta* 54 (1976), p.125. In view of this edition's objective, *vi* has been retained in the text. Obviously the form *vi* corresponds directly to βίᾳ, cf. CGL VII 422, s.v.

No extensive, separate commentary is required on: *auferre* <...> *deferre* (RA) ~ *rapere* (RB); *istam* <...> *provinciam* (RA), (cf. 46, RA 5) ~ *hanc urbem* (RB), (cf. 46, RB 6) *civitatem*); *vendita* (RA), (cf. 41, RA/RB 4) ~ *distracta* (Mπ), cf. 45,16 (app. crit.): a technical term, cf. OLD, s.v. *distraho* (4) 'to get rid of by sale'; we can think of the bidding scene c.33, cf. ThLL V,1 1542,82 'saepe apud Iuris Consultos'; Hofmann, *Beiträge*, p.87. (Schmeling, *Notes*, pp.398-9 [on ed. 77,8] argues for *addicta* RB instead of *distracta* **Mπ**.)

44, RB 17-19 Deus, redde Tyrio Apollonio patri meo, qui, ut matrem meam lugeret, Stranguilioni et Dionysiadi inpiis me dereliquit!. 'God, restore me to my father, Apollonius of Tyre, who left me with wicked Stranguillio and Dionysias in order to mourn my mother.'

A striking accumulation of names and facts, deliberately introduced by *RB* for the sake of the *recognitio*. There is no reference to Apollonius' kingship (cf. above 44, RA 12 *regalibus ornamentis* ~ RB 15 *ornamentis*).

redde (**βπ**): An addition of *me* (thus M) would perhaps be elegant (cf. Klebs, p.219), but is not necessary to the context: precisely a tacit *me* is more effective.

inpiis (RB): Cf. RB 14-15. (Klebs, p.219 deletes *Deus*.)

CHAPTER 45

This chapter requires a brief introduction, since it is probably the most crucial one in the entire *HA*. In length alone the two versions differ greatly (*RA* 8 lines; *RB* 26), while any verbal similarity is confined to the last lines (RA 8 ~ RB 25-26). In my view, however, the two are closely related and *RB* forms a sophisticated correction of *RA*.

By classical standards, too, *RA* constitutes a very short *recognitio* between father and daughter, which should in fact have formed the climax of the story. The most necessary ingredients are enumerated without any motivation: embrace, tears of joy, cry of recognition, followed by Apollonius' curious statement that he can now die happily. Then we hear his threat that the city/citizens must die and Athenagoras' reaction to this, which is to assemble the citizens. Clearly, here, if anywhere, we are dealing with an epitome. The actual relation between the events – recognition between father and daughter, punishment of the citizens – must have been very different, cf. Introd. VI **HA(Gr)**. (Klebs, pp.43,270 regards 45 *RA* as 'unvollständig erhalten'.)

The story must have seemed strange to classical readers as well and raised many questions. Hence *RB*'s correction, aligning the *recognitio* with the usual scheme and explaining open questions in *RA* as logically as possible. *RB* has mainly addressed the following points:

1. more than *RA* he uses technical *signa recognitionis* (l.1), including names (ll.8-9);
2. more people are present (ll.2-3), so that they can explain the course of events (ll.12-16);
3. Athenagoras is introduced as a suitor (ll.16-19) and accepted by Apollonius (ll.19-20), which *RA* fails to clarify;
4. the question of guilt regarding the *civitas* (RA 8) is solved the easy way by blaming everything on the *leno* (ll.25-26) '*propter unum infamem*'.

As far as I can see, this radical series of adjustments cannot be attributed to one (or several) specific source(s), but is rather the result of careful consideration, based on wide reading and psychological insight. (Klebs, p.43 regards RB as 'eine ausführliche und sachgemäße Erzählung. Aber die Form ist interpoliert', cf. id., p.270.) Understandably, the *Nachleben* has largely opted for the *RB* version, including those versions which have *RA* as their basic text (cf. Klebs, p.59 on **Rα** and *Libro de Apolonio*).

In view of the divergence of the two versions, the commentary first follows *RA* 1-6, then *RB* 1-22, finally (in the usual fashion) *RA* 6-8 in combination with RB 23-26.

45, RA 1-2

Cumque haec et his similia puella flens diceret, in amplexu illius ruens Apollonius coepit fle<re> prae gaudio et dicere: 'As the girl was tearfully saying this and similar things, Apollonius rushed to embrace her and began to speak to her, weeping for joy:'

haec et his similia (RA): Cf. 25, RA 19/RB 14-15 (comm.), from (?) ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα.

in amplexu (**A**: *-us* **P**) **illius ruens** (RA): Classical Latin would perhaps have preferred *in amplexum illius* (object. gen.). On the other hand *amplexus* is possible for **A** too, cf. 49, RA 3 *mittens se in amplexus eius* and ThLL I 1998,49. The Greek substrate text is highly subjective (?) αἱ περιβολαί, cf. Ninos novel (Kussl, p.18); Long. 2,7,7; ibid. 2,30,2. The Glossaria (cf. CGL VI 64) offer: ἀσπασμός 'greeting', περίληψις 'embracing', περιπλοκή 'twining round', συμπλοκή 'embrace'. This last would fit well in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. (b): 'abbraccio'. For *ruo* the Glossaria (cf. CGL VI 217) have: ἐπέρχομαι 'to come suddenly upon', ἐπιφέρομαι 'to rush upon', ὁρμάω 'to rush headlong at once', συνπίπτω 'to fall together', 'to meet'. Among these possibilities ὁρμάω ἐπί/εἰς and συνπίπτω would be particularly suited to the vocabulary of the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, ss.vv. The gesture itself occurs in all *recognitiones*, both Greek and Latin, pagan and Christian; it is recounted in many different ways, e.g. Charit. 8,1,8 περιχυθέντες δὲ ἀλλήλοις, λιποψυχήσαντες ἔπεσον 'They fell into each other's arms, swooned and fell to the ground'; Heliod. 10,16,1 προσδραμοῦσα περιέβαλέ τε καὶ περιφῦσα ἐδάκρυέ τε καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀκατάσχετον τῆς χαρᾶς μυκηθμῷ τινι προσεοικὸς ἀνωρύετο 'She (sc. Persinna) ran to Charikleia and threw her arms around her. As she held her tight, she burst into tears, and, unable to control herself for joy, set up a sort of animal howling'; *Recognit.* 1,12 (Migne PG 1, p.1213[C]) *et ecce Barnabas procedens, statim ut me vidit, in complexus meos cucurrit, gaudio lacrimans*; ibid. 7,31 p.1367[D] *Haec illa cum diceret, ultra non ferentes fratres mei irruunt in complexus matris cum multis lacrimis et osculantur eam*, cf. p.1364[A]. On the theme of family separation and the unexpected reunion of family members, cf. W. Bousset – W. Lüdtke, 'Wiedererkennungsmärchen und Placidas-Legenden', *Nachrichten v. d. königl. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1917, pp.703-60; H. Delehaye, 'La légende

de S. Eustache', *Bulletin de l'Académie de Belgique* 1919, pp.175-210; Boulhol, (1996) *passim*.

coepit fle<re> prae gaudio et dicere (RA): For periphrastic *coepi*, cf. 1, RA 17 *coepit celare* ~ (RB *aliter*) (comm.). For *RA*'s language, cf. 25, RA 16 *coepit* <...> *flere atque dicere*; 44, RA 6 *coepit flere et* <...> *dicere*. See also McGowan (1997), p.241.

fle<re>: I have opted for *flere* (cf. app. crit.) <...> *et*, instead of the equally plausible reading *flens* (AP) <...> *ei*, in connection with the clear parallel Vulg., Tob. 11:11 *coeperunt flere prae gaudio* and ibid. 10:4 *fili mi* <...> *lumen oculorum nostrorum*, cf. 45, RA 3.

gaudio: In actual fact *RA* reads *godio* (corrected from *gadio*), a good example of the development towards the Romance languages, in which *au* becomes *o*, cf. Ital. gioia < *gaudia*, oro < *aurum*, tesoro < *thesaurus*. For this phenomenon, see Väänänen, *Introd.* §§ 60-1. The combination *prae gaudio* (always sing.) is stereotypical (cf. ThLL VI,2 1716,4 ff.); *prae* is mostly used for prohibitive causes, e.g. *prae lacrimis*. Greek has many corresponding prepositional phrases, cf. LSJ, s.v. Alongside χαρᾷ we thus find phrases like ἅμα χαρᾷ, μετὰ χαρᾶς, σὺν χαρᾷ, ὑπὸ χαρᾶς.

45, RA 2-4 "Tu es filia mea Tharsia, tu es spes mea unica, tu es lumen oculorum meorum conscius, quem flens per quattuordecim annis <cum matre> tua lugeo. '"You are my daughter Tarsia, you are my one and only hope, you are the light of my eyes, witness of all; for you, and for your mother, I have been weeping for fourteen years.'

tu es <...> **tu es** <...> **tu es** (RA): A triple epanalepsis, cf. 49, RA 4-5/RB 5-6 *tu es* (quadruple).

spes mea unica (RA): *Spes* as a term of endearment for family members or in other contexts is found in Latin from the earliest times: Plaut., *Rudens* 1,4,27 *spes mea*; *Stich.* 4,2,5 *o mea spes, o mea vita, o mea voluptas, salve*; Cic., *Fam.* 14,4,6 *o mea carisissima filiola, spes reliqua nostra*. Naturally the combination with *unica* is recorded too: Liv. 21,11,12 *Romani, unica spes*; Sid. Apoll., *Carm.* 5,574 *spes unica rebus*; 7,148 *spes unica rerum*; Claud. 15,62 *spes unica nobis*, cf. Verg., *Aen.* 12,57 (Amata to Turnus) *spes tu nunc una*. Latin runs parallel with Greek here, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐλπίς 'hope, expec-

tation': Aesch., *Choeph.* 776 Ὀρέστης, ἐλπὶς δόμων; Eurip., *Andr.* 409 ἐν τῷδε μὲν γὰρ ἐλπίς; *spes unica* corresponds to Thuc. 3,57 ὑμεῖς, ἡ μόνη ἐλπίς 'You, our sole hope'; this is directly paralleled in the Greek Novel: Heliod. 7,11,9 πατέρα <…> καὶ κηδεμόνα καὶ ἐλπίδα τὴν μόνην '(for you have lost one, whom you called) Father, your protector and sole support'. All in all we can perhaps conclude that *tu es spes mea unica* overlies (?) σὺ εἶ μόνη μου ἐλπίς, cf. Fridberg, *Schmeichelwörter*, p.56.

unica AVa^c: Perhaps the omission in **P** is understandable from a Christian perspective, cf. '*O crux, ave, spes unica*' (the '*Vexilla Regis*' hymn by Ven. Fort.).

lumen oculorum meorum (RA): Also on account of l.2 *coepit flere prae gaudio*, this phrase can be regarded as a direct borrowing from Vulg., Tob. 10:4 *fili mi* <…> *lumen oculorum nostrorum* (Gr. τὸ φῶς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου). This quotation (cf. 32, RA 48 *spem luminum* ~ RB /) comes from the oft-cited lament by Tobias' mother Anna, that her husband and she have sent Tobias abroad. So the quotation has nothing to do with the biblical context, cf. Tob. 9:4 *heu heu me, fili mi, ut quid te misimus perigrinari lumen oculorum nostrorum, baculum senectutis nostrae, solacium vitae nostrae* (cf. *HA* 31, RA 36 *Vitae meae spes aut solatium*, also outside the biblical context) *spem posteritatis nostrae: omnia in te uno habentes te non debuimus dimittere ire a nobis*. Though it is difficult to prove with certainty, *RA* probably goes back directly here to the epitome version of **R(Gr)** and thence to **HA(Gr)**. The image of φάος or ὀφθαλμός 'eye', used for a child, is common in Greek tragedy and the Novel, cf. LSJ, s.v. φάος (II): Hom., *Od.* 16,23 ἦλθες, Τηλέμαχε, γλυκερὸν φάος; 'you have come, Telemachus, dear light?'; Soph., *Electra* 1224 ὦ φίλτατον φῶς, cf. 1354; also: Heliod. 8,6,4 συνεχῶς Χαρίκλειαν ζωὴν καὶ φῶς καὶ ψυχὴν ἀνακαλῶν 'he never ceased to call Charikleia his life, his light, his soul'; for ὀφθαλμός, cf. Eurip., *Andr.* 406 εἷς παῖς ὅδε ἦν μοι λοιπὸς ὀφθαλμὸς βίου 'one boy here was the light for future life'; Heliod. 2,16,4 σὲ <…>, ὃν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐγὼ καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ πάντα ἐμαυτῆς πεποίημαι 'you, whom I count my eye, my soul, my all'; id., 4,19,8 Χαρικλείας οἴμοι τῶν ἐμῶν ὀφθαλμῶν 'Charikleia (alas!) the light of my life', cf. id. 3,6,2. So the transition from **HA(Gr)** to **R(Gr)** and thence to *RA* need not have been all that drastic: a translation from φῶς τῶν ἐμῶν ὀφθαλμῶν is entirely plausible, cf. Fridberg, *Schmeichelwörter*, p.77.

(lumen) <…> **conscius** (**AVa^{c}P**), *quem* (**AP**: *que* **Va^c**): Together with 11, RA/RB 10, this is probably the most difficult place in the *HA* tradition and is regarded by many as corrupt. In the course of time there have been many attempts at emendation, some very drastic: Ring (1888) *(lumen) conscium, quam* <…> *(lugeo)*; Peters (1904), p.179 *vigor animo meo consocius,*

dum <…> *(lugeo)*; †*conscius, quam* (Riese (1893): *(lumen), quem inscius* Heraeus (1893); [*lumen oculorum meorum conscius*] Klebs, p.270; Waiblinger (1978), p.123 *(lumen) quo me consolatus sum, dum*; Schmeling (1988) *consciusque flens* <…> *lugeo*; Hunt (2001), pp.155-8 with several suggestions. In my view, however, the transmitted reading can probably be retained, from both a Latin and a Greek perspective:

1. *conscius* is the standard term for a person-thing sharing the secrets of a mystery, cf. OLD, s.v. *conscius* (1) 'Sharing knowledge (esp. secret knowledge)': e.g. Plaut., *Rud.* 926[a] *nec mihi conscius est ullus homo*; Terent. *Phorm.* 156; Liv. 9,26,14; Cic., *Att.* 1,18,1. The adj. can also be attached to a thing: critics (cf. Klebs, p.270) often cite Apul. *Met.* 5,26 *conscio lumine*; ibid., 8,10 *nullo lumine conscio*. ThLL IV 371,81 also refers to Ov., *Trist.* 3,6,28 *mea* <…> *lumina funesti conscia facta mali*; Min. Fel. 9,7 *everso et extincto conscio lumine*. So from a Latin point of view, in terms of content, it is perfectly acceptable for Apollonius to address his daughter as 'light of my eyes, initiate', i.e. in the secrets of my life, my kingship, my wanderings, partly through your own observations, partly through the information of the *nutrix* (cc.29-30), cf. Birkhan, p.407: 'Vermutlich hat Apllonius ursprünglich aus diesen Lösungen (der Tarsia) die Geschichte rekonstruiert und daran Tarsia als 'Mitwisserin' und seine Tochter erkannt'. In terms of grammar such an interpretation requires a detailed explanation.
2. *lumen* <…> *conscius, quem*: the dictionaries only have late references for the form *lumen* masc. (Arnaldi quotes Orib. 538,29 from the 6th c.). But the obsolescence of the neuter in Late Latin is a gradual process: so recordings may be based on coincidence. For this process, see Greg. Tur., *Glor. confess*, praef.: *O rustice et idiota* <…> *qui nomina discernere nescis, saepius pro masculinis feminea, pro feminea neutra et pro neutra masculina commutes*. *Lumen* is a good example of the last category: the treatise *De dubiis nominibus* from the late 6th c. (ed. m. [1984], pp.97,114,116) refers specifically to (p.784 no.227): *LUMEN generis neutri, ut Sidonius: lumina vestra natant*. For confusion in the *HA*, see Ind. gr., s.v., genus substantivorum. This sufficiently explains the confusion in our place.
3. From a Greek point of view *conscius* is perfectly plausible. The Glossaria (cf. CGL VI 261) give the equivalent συνίστωρ 'witness' 'knowing as well', συνείδως 'having knowledge', cf. ThLL IV 370,25. For ὁ/ἡ συνίστωρ, cf. LSJ, s.v. συνιστορέω (2) 'to consort with'; Lampe, *Patristic Lexicon*, s.v. συνίστωρ 'knowing as well as another, of a witness'. The language of the Greek Novel, too, easily accommodates this *conscius*, traced back to its probable Greek form. Compare σύνοιδα 'to know something about a person, esp. as a potential witness for <…> him', cf. Charit. 6,9,5 αὐτῷ συνῄδει τὸν ἐρωτα 'he (*sc.* the eunuch) was acquainted with the (secret) love of the king'. The erroneous *quem*

could be traced back to ὁ/ἡ συνίστωρ, ὅν (instead of ἥν). This kind of error is often found in translations, cf. S. Lundström, *Übersetzungstechnische Untersuchungen*, Lund 1955, p.283, s.v. Relativpronomen: Genusformen.

4. In general, finally, we can perhaps draw attention to the sharing of mystery secrets between father and daughter, cf. P. Lambrechts, 'L'importance de l'enfant dans les réligions à mystère', *Hommages W. Deonna*, Brussels 1957, p.322 ff. For the practice of initiating young children in mysteries, cf. H.W. Pleket, *Epigraphica* II, Leiden, 1969, p.56.

Despite the arguments listed above, which may support the reading *conscius*, *conscius* has been provided with a *crux* in the text [2004], perhaps too conscientious! Compare the note below on *<cum matre> tua*.

flens <…> **lugeo**: For this combination, see 41, RA/RB 6; ibid., RA 37/RB 5; for *flens*, cf. 48, RA 39.

per <…> **annis AVa**^{c} ~ *per* <…> *anñ* **P** (i.q. *annos* Riese): Christian Latin can connect *per* (usually in the meaning: by means of) with abl. (cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *per* [3]); Georges, *Handwörterbuch*: 'CIL 10,3344 *per multo tempore*'; Arnaldi, s.v. *per*: 'Petr. Presb. 130,5 *per annis plurimis*; Doc. Ar. (circa a. 650) 4,6 *ecce hodie per annis quadraginta, quia ego scio*'. **P** normalizes.

<**cum matre**> **tua**: The transmitted form *mater tua* **AVa**^{c} may go back to a fossilized form *pater, mater, frater* etc., used in various case functions, cf. B. Löfstedt, *Glotta* 54 (1976), pp.126,215: editors follow **P** *matrem tuam*. The accumulation of more or less flagrant exceptions starting from *conscius, quem* <…> *lugeo* is remarkable in that it is untypical of *RA*'s language (*aliter* [*nec iuste*] Hunt [2001], pp.155-9).

45, RA 4-5 Iam laetus moriar, quia rediviva spes mihi est reddita." 'Now I shall die in happiness, for a reborn hope has been given to me."'

An Old Testament cry of intense emotion after reunion with a child thought dead, cf. Jacob to Joseph: Gen. 46:30 *Iam laetus moriar quia vidi faciem tuam et superstitem te relinquo* (LXX καὶ εἶπεν Ισραηλ πρὸς Ιωσηφ· ᾿Αποθανοῦμαι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, ἐπεὶ ἑώρακα τὸ πρόσωπόν σου· ἔτι γὰρ σὺ ζῇς); almost the same wording in LXX Tob. 11:9 καὶ προσδραμοῦσα ᾿Αννα ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Εἶδόν σε, παιδίον, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀποθανοῦμαι (not in Vulg.). *RA* has apparently drawn on the Vulgate text of Gen. (*iam laetus*, cf. 51, RB 7). For this reason *moriar*

should be taken as a fut. indic., not as a pres. subjunct. The rest of the description *quia rediviva spes mihi est reddita* corresponds to ἔτι γὰρ σὺ ζῇς. The quotation itself is, to say the very least, curious in the given situation of the *HA*. Why, at the very moment of finding his daughter again, does Apollonius say that he can now die in peace? I believe that we are probably dealing with a clumsy, misdirected Bible quotation – probably to be laid at the door of **R(Gr)**. Hence *RB*'s intervention, in which the entire Bible quotation has been eliminated on revision. In my view, Apollonius' relief should be seen against the background of the power of *fatum*, which Apollonius believes governs the relationship with his daughter. After this perilous confrontation of father and daughter he now finds that *fatum* has lost its power: nothing has happened. Compare Apollonius' curious reaction at Tarsia's κενοτάφιον (38, RA 15-16) and in a broader context Introd. VI.1 (p.56).

rediviva (*rediviba* A) **spes AVa^c**: As well as in this place, *redivivus* in a figurative sense (= *novus*, 'reborn') is repeatedly used in the final part of the *HA*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. This use emerges from the time of so-called Silver Latinity: Sil. Ital. 10,256 *rediviva bella*; Iuv., *Sat.* 2,6,363 *redivivus pullulet* <…> *nummus*; *cod. Theod.* (anno 423) 13,6,10,1 *molestia rediviva*; ibid. (anno 383) 16,7,3,1. Esp. in hagiography, e.g.: Mombr. II 61,26; 224,43; 421,36; 460,32; 461,22. There is a fine wordplay on *spes* 'child' and the primary meaning 'hope'. A Greek substrate text of *redivivus* is highly subjective. The Glossaria (cf. CGL VII 190) refer to παλίνζῳος 'restored to life' (cf. Lampe, s.v.) and παλίγκτιστος. More probable is ἀναζάω 'to return to life, be alive again' or a derivative. LSJ refer to Luke 15:24: οὗτος ὁ υἱός μου νεκρὸς ἦν καὶ ἀνέζησεν (Vulg. hic filius meus mortuus erat, et revixit), cf. ibid. 32.

residua P makes sense in itself, cf. OLD, s.v. *residuus* (3) 'remaining': Quint., *Decl.* 339 (p.341, l.27) *quae* <…> *spes* <…> *in milite nostro residua est, si nihil potius fuerit, quam capi?* The combination *spei residuum* ocurs 4x in Ennodius (MGH, *Auctores Antiq.* VII Berolini 1885 [ed. nov. 1961]), pp.141,19; 189,16; 206,36; 261,26. But in view of the places parallel to **A** in the *HA*, the **P** reading is untenable.

(est) reddita AP: *redita* **Va^c**: The alternative reading in **Va^c** is interesting as a reference for *reditus sum* alongside *redii*, cf. 15, RB 3 *Redita* **b**; 17, RB 11 *discessi sunt* **b** (*discesserunt* **βMπ**). For the phenomenon, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 342.

reddita.] AP: A lacuna after this word is generally assumed by editors, followed by translators and interpreters. This seems right (Schmeling [1988],

p.38,8 '*rite*'), since the transition to the destruction of the city (moreover referred to as *haec*) is totally unmotivated and Apollonius is actually still speaking, cf. Riese (1893) p.100,2: '*lacuna expleatur ex β*'. Translators follow suit, cf. Peters, pp.162-3; Archibald, pp.168-9 (both text and translation of **β** italicized); Waiblinger, pp.104-6 (amplification via *Gesta Romanorum*, c.153); Sandy, pp.767-8. In my view, however, *RA* here is following his *Vorlage* **R(Gr)**, who thought it unnecessary (and probably too painful, cf. Introd. VI.1) to explain the course of events within an epitome. To mark the transition, the line has not been filled out typographically.

As regards the stylistic defect (l.2 *Apollonius coepit* <...> *dicere* followed by l.6 *Et dixit Apollonius*), cf. 2, RA 9 *ait* <...> *Et ait* (comm.); 4, RA 4 "<...>" *et* "<...>"; 39, RA 30 "<...>" *et* "<...>".

45, RA 6 Et dixit Apollonius: "Pereat haec civitas."
'Apollonius said: "Let this city be destroyed."'

"Pereat haec civitas." (RA): An unmotivated ban against Mytilene by Apollonius. The motivation should probably be sought in the violation of the *ius hospitii*: the placement of Tarsia in a *lupanar* (c.33), her ignominious treatment (c.34), and the blind eye turned by the citizens (c.36). For such a severe punishment of the entire citizenry, compare the murder of the Ionian Aetholos by an inhabitant of Isindos (a Ionian town on the border between Pisidia and Caria): not only the murderer but all the inhabitants of Isindos were barred from the religious festival of the Panionia, celebrated at Mycale, cf. Ov., *In Ibin* 621 *Aethalon ut vita spoliavit Isindius hospes,* | *Quem memor a sacris nunc quoque pellit Ion* (ed. J. André, *Ovide contre Ibis*, Paris "Les belles Lettres", 1963, p.57 n.7). Callimachus seems to have elaborated on this theme, cf. *Aitia* (ed. C.A. Trypanis, *Callimachus*, Cambridge-London 1975 [LCL]), fr.78. (This very brief fragment of under four words does not admit of conclusions.) Clearly the wholesale punishment of Isindos forms a strong argument for the provenance of the *HA* from Asia Minor, cf. Introd. VI (**HA(Gr)**).

haec civitas (RA), cf. 45, RA 8 *ista civitas*; 43, RB 25 *subvenite civitati*. These differences probably go back to the loss of the classical distinction: *hic* for 1st person, *iste* for 2nd person, cf. 7, RA 8 *civitas ista* ~ RB 8 *civitas haec* regarding Tyre. The dem. pron. *hic* makes way for *iste*, cf. Svennung, *Untersuchungen*, pp.309-10; id., *Anredeformen*, p.257 n.27; Blaise, *Manuel*, § 164; Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 271.

The commentary will now continue with 45, RB 1-23 as an amplification and correction of 45, RA 1-6. When the two redactions come together

again (RA 6 *At ubi auditum est ab Athenagora* ~ RB 23 *His auditis Athenagoras*), the commentary will resume its normal two-track pattern.

45, RB 1-2

Apollonius haec signa audiens exclamavit cum lacrimis voce magna: 'When Apollonius heard these signs, he cried out tearfully in a loud voice:'

signa (RB): To be interpreted in a technical sense, cf. OLD, s.v. *signum* (3): 'A sign by which one recognizes an object, person, etc.', cf. Plaut., *Men.* 1110 (Mess.) *Optime usque adhuc conveniunt signa. Porro operam date*; ibid., 1124 *Signa adgnovi: contineri quin conplectar non queo. Mi germane, gemine frater, salve: ego sum Sosicles*. The reference is to 44, RB 9-19 and specifically the names of Tarsia's father and foster parents. For the use of such *signa* in Greek, cf. A. Hähnle, *Γνωρίσματα*, Diss. Tübingen, 1929. The phrase *exclamare voce magna* **βMπ** occurs 17x in the OT and NT, including 1 Kgs. 28:12 *exclamavit voce magna et dixit ad Saul*; Judith 14:4 *Exclamavit voce magna cum fletu*; Mark 15:34 *Et hora nona exclamavit Jesus voce magna*, cf. below RB 24 *clamavit voce magna dicens*. The purpose of Apollonius' cry is clear: more people should attend (a detail neglected by *RA*).

45, RB 2-3

"Currite famuli, currite amici et anxianti patri finem inponite." Qui audientes clamorem cucurrerunt, omnes servi. '"Hurry, servants, hurry, friends, and put an end to a father's anxiety." When they heard this noise, they came running on, all the slaves.'

famuli <…> **amici** (RB): These include both the slaves of Athenagoras (39, RA 17 *petitus cum V servis*) and those of Apollonius himself (40, RA 12 *invitatus sum ab amicis et nautis tuis* ~ RB 9 *Nautis vero tuis invitantibus*): referred to in RB 3 as *omnes servi*.

currite (RB): Very colloquial, cf. OLD, s.v. *curro* (2) 'to hurry, hasten': Cic., *Att.* 12,8 *adest* <…> *dies et ille currit*; Cael., *Fam.* 8,14,4 *curre, per deos atque homines!*

anxianti patri finem imponite (RB): 'put an end to a father's fears': inasmuch as they can change the mind of Apollonius in the hold by their large presence. The verb *anxiari* is a standard term in Christian Latin, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *anxio*: 'être dans l'anxiété': Ps. 60:3 *dum anxiaretur cor*

meum; Vet. Lat. Mark 14:33 (cod. f) *coepit pavere et taedere et anxiari* (Vulg. *coepit pavere et taedere*). Thence *passim* in Late Latin, cf. ThLL II 201,43-55 (e.g. *Vit. Patr.* 3,157 *Ne anxieris ergo frater*). For *finem imponere*, cf. ThLL VII 658,77-659,16 (Verg. *Aen.* 2,619 *finem impone labori*; Ov. *Met.* 6,240; Liv. 5,4,10 *spei nostrae finem imponere*).

omnes servi βMπ, Red. Erf.: Both medieval scribes (cod. Prag. **A** 43 [= RB], Red. Tegerns.) and modern editors (Riese [1893], p.100,11; Schmeling [1988], p.77,13) want to delete *servi* (cf. ed. m. [1984], ad loc.). But in view of Apollonius' appeal (cf. above) it is probably better to retain the reading of the *RB* codd. For the final placement of *servi*, cf. Nav. Brend. 1,25 *occurrerunt obviam sicut examen apium ex diversis cellulis fratres*. The present place has nothing to do with the *servus currens*, familiar from Roman comedy, cf. G.E. Duckworth, 'The dramatic function of the servus currens in Roman comedy', *Classical Studies presented to Edward Capp*, Princeton University Press, 1936, pp.93-101. (Riese [1893], wants to move 45, RB 2-3 *Currite famuli <…> omnes [servi]* to the end of c.45 [see Riese, p.100,14-16]: Klebs, p.31 rightly objects on account of 45, RB 3 *Currit et Athenagoras*.)

45, RB 3-5 Currit et Athenagoras, civitatis illius princeps, et invenit Apollonium super collum Tharsiae flentem et dicentem: 'Athenagoras, the prince of the city, ran too, and found Apollonius weeping on Tarsia's neck and saying:'

The introduction of Athenagoras as a potential husband for Tarsia, a detail ignored by *RA*.

currit βMπ: For this perfect form (alongside *cucurrit*), see ThLL 1508,5 ff.; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *curro*; Banta, no.79[B] (with examples from Arnob., Cypr., Hier., Fronto, etc.). Both *currit* and *invenit* may be present tenses.

super collum <…> **flentem**: A stock element in a *recognitio*, cf. Tob. 7:6 *Et misit se Raguel et cum lacrimis osculatus est eum et plorans supra* (*super* v.l.) *collum eius dixit: Benedictio sit tibi, fili mi, quia boni et optimi viri filius es*; Gen. 45:14 *Cumque amplexatus recidisset* (sc. Ioseph) *in collum Beniamin fratris sui flevit, illo quoque flente similiter super collum eius,* etc.; naturally in hagiography too, e.g. Mombr. II 491,42 f. (Septem dormientes) *osculatus est eos* (sc. Augustus) *ac flaevit super collum uniuscuiusque dicens*.

45, RB 5-8

"Haec est filia mea Tharsia, quam lugeo, cuius causa redivivas lacrimas et renovatum luctum assumpseram. Nam ego sum Apollonius Tyrius, qui te commendavi Stranguilioni. '"This is my daughter Tarsia, whom I have been mourning. It was for her that I started weeping and grieving again. For I am Apollonius of Tyre, who entrusted you to Stranguillio.'

The insertion of this detail with the various names facilitates the *recognitio*.

redivivas lacrimas et renovatum luctum (RB): Solemn, zeugmatic language, inspired by 45, RA 5 *rediviva spes*, cf. ThLL II 926,22: Quint., *Inst.* 6,2,34 *dolorem assumere*; Heges. 1,29,10 *tantum maeroris adsumptum, quantum depositum sollicitudinum*; Hier. in Ezech. 7,21 (p.246) *habitum plangentis assume*, cf. ibid., 7,24 (p.282) *signa luctus assumere*. The reference is to cc.37-38.

Apollonius Tyrius βM ~ *Tyrius Apollonius* **π**, cf. 44, RB 18, *Tyrio Apollonio commendavi*; cf. 28, RA 11/RB 9 *commendo*; 44, RB 18 *dereliquit*.

45, RB 8-10

Dic mihi: quae dicta est nutrix tua?" Et illa dixit: "Lycoris." Apollonius adhuc vehementius clamare coepit: "Tu es filia mea!" Et illa dixit: "Si Tharsiam quaeris, ego sum!" 'Tell me, who was your nurse?" And she said: "Lycoris." Apollonius began to shout even more loudly: "You are my daughter!" And she said: "If you are looking for Tarsia, I am she."'

An almost banal application of the most common *signum recognitionis*, the name, cf. *Recognitiones* 7,21,3 (Rehm, pp.206-7) *Tum illa: Ego, inquit, sum adolescentis mater. Et Petrus: Quod ei nomen est? At illa: Clemens, ait. Petrus: ipse est, et ipse erat, qui paulo ante mecum loquebatur.*

Lycoris: Cf. 25, RA 3/RB 2 (comm.): Knowledge of this name hardly required in-depth knowledge of the original novel. So the conclusion must be that *RB* deliberately opted for this form of *recognitio* to lend more authenticity to his version. The form *Ligoridis* **β** (*-gur-* **M**; *-cor-* **π**), RT can perhaps be explained as an explic. gen., depending on a tacit *nomen*.

adhuc vehementius (RB): *Adhuc* + comp. is found from Silver Latin onwards, esp. in prose, cf. ThLL 1 662,61: Sen., *Dial.* 5,8,5 *magis adhuc proderunt summissi* <…> *(homines)*; *Nat.* 4,13,11 *aliquid adhuc quaerite* <…> *frigidius*; Curt. 4,12,24 *melius adhuc*; 9,6,24 *maiora adhuc*; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *adhuc* (4): '(dev. compar.)'.

clamare coepit (RB): Biblical language, cf. Josh. 3:3 *clamare coeperunt*; Judg. 18:22 *post tergum clamare coeperunt*; Mark 10:47 *coepit clamare et dicere* (Gr. ἤρξατο κράζειν καὶ λέγειν).

45, RB 10-13 Tunc erigens se et proiectis vestibus lugubribus induit vestes mundissimas, et adprehensam eam osculabatur et flebat. 'Then Apollonius got up and changed his mourning dress for very clean clothes, and hugged her and kissed her as he wept.'

erigens (RB): Apollonius was lying (or sitting) on a kind of couch, cf. 41, RB 29 *Tharsia sedit iuxta eum*.

proiectis vestibus <…> **mundissimas** (RB): Klebs, p.44 (followed by Schmeling [1988], p.77,20 and in RC, p.127,15) proposes to delete this sentence on account of 46, RA 11 *deposito omni squalore luctus, quod habuit* (= beard, long hair, nails) ~ RB 10 *omni squalore deposita* and 45, RB 20 *votum feci non depositurum me luctum, nisi filiam meam nuptam tradidero*. This seems to me a form of hypercriticism: the parallel places do not by any means correspond literally, as interpolations usually do, nor in terms of content, cf. 46, RA 11 (comm.). The statement in 45, RB 20 does not allow compelling conclusions as to when the mourning clothes were cast off. Apollonius only wants to emphasize his ardent wish to marry off his daughter. Finally, it seems quite normal to take off mourning clothes, which have been worn for so long, before embracing one's daughter and going in procession from the seashore to the town.

vestibus lugubribus β ~ *lugubribus* **π**: For *lugubria* (sc. vestimenta), see OLD, s.v. *lugubris* (1) 'mourning garments': Prop. 4,11,97 *numquam mater lugubria sumpsi*; Ov., *Trist.* 4,2,73 *illa dies veniet, mea qua lugubria ponam*; Sen., *Herc. F.* 626 *lugubribus amicta coniunx*. The reading *lugubris* **β$^{1\alpha}$M** (also in **Va** [Schmeling (1988), p.127,16]) is probably an example of 3rd declension adjectives shifting to the 2nd declension, *lugubris* > *luguber*.

45, RB 12-16 Videns eos Athenagoras utrosque in amplexu cum lacrimis inhaerentes, et ipse amarissime flebat et narrabat, qualiter sibi olim hoc ordine puella in lupanari posita universa narrasset, et quantum temporis erat, quod a piratis adducta et distracta fuisset. 'When Athenagoras saw them both embracing and weeping, he too wept very bitterly. He told how the girl, put in the brothel, had once told him her whole story in sequence and how long it was since she had been conveyed by pirates and sold.'

This *testimonium* by Athenagoras merely serves to offer additional information relevant to the *recognitio*.

utrosque (RB): For *utrique* (alongside *uterque*) in classical Latin, cf. OLD, s.v. *uterque* (3.b): 'with reference to individuals, esp. ones forming a natural pair': Tacit., *Ann.* 16,11 *pater filiam, avia neptem, illa utrosque* (sc. patrem et aviam) *intuens*. For *utrosque* in relation to masc. + fem. cf. 24, RA 4.

in amplexu <...> **inhaerentes** (RB): A literary combination, cf. ThLL I s.v. *amplexus* 1998,64: *in amplexu haerere*: Ov., *Met.* 4,184 and 7,143; Octavia 743; Plin., *Nat.* 36,127; Val. Flacc. 1,316; *in amplexu inhaerere*: Apul., *Met.* 1,4; *in amplexu adhaerere*: Porph., on Hor. *Epod.* 15,6.

amarisisime flebat (RB): Probably drawn from Vulg., Matt. 26:73 *flevit* (*ploravit* v.l.) *amare* (*amarissime* v.l.) also on account of RB 17 *Per deum vivum te adiuro* (= Matt. 26:63). Elsewhere *RB* consistently excludes this kind of phrase (25, RA 16 *amarissime flere atque dicere* ~ RB /; 25, RA 32 *cum amarissimo fletu* ~ RB /; 26, RA 13 *dolores amarissimos* ~ RB /; 49, RA 13 *cum planctu amarissimo* ~ RB /). It is tolerated here. (Klebs, p.271 proposes to delete: 'einmal [sc. in RB] in Mitten einer größeren Interpolation.' Klebs, p.44 n.2 requires correction.)

narrabat, qualiter (**βM**: *quomodo* **π**): For *qualiter* in the sense of *quo modo*, cf. 31, RA 18 (comm.).

hoc ordine (RB): Hagiographical writings abound in the phrase *narrare per ordinem*: Mombr. I 453,49 *enarravit per ordinem*; 466,13 *cuncta per ordinem narrare*.

in lupanari Mπ: (*posita*) *lupanari* **β**: *Ponere* + abl. (without *in*) is poetic and rare in prose: Enn., *Ann.* 492 *multa foro ponit*; Verg., *Aen.* 8,335 *me*

Fortuna <…> et <…> fatum <…> his posuere locis; Ov., *Met.* 9,503 *toroque/mortua componar*.

quantum temporis, quod (RB): For *quod* = *ex quo* (rare in classical authors), cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *quod* (5) :'dépuis que': Luke 24:21 *tertia dies est, quod*; Hier., *Ez. hom.* 11,2 c.805^{A} *tempus est, quod*; id., *Epist.* 77,1 *plures anni sunt, quod*; Eugipp., *Vit.* p.25,17 *diu est, quod*.

adducta βπ (sc. in hanc urbem) 'brought up': Riese's conjecture *abducta* 'kidnapped' (followed by Schmeling [1988], p.77,15) seems less correct, since it is irrelevant in Athenagoras' account how long the pirates took to sail from Tarsus to Mytilene (c.33).

distracta βMπ: Retained, cf. 44, RB 17 *et in hanc urbem lenoni distracta* **Mπ**. (Klebs, p.238 wants to delete *distracta*: 'in einer Partie, die zum mindestens interpolatorisch überarbeitet ist'.) For the conjecture *addicta* Schmeling (1988), cf. also 44, RB 17 (comm.).

45, RB 16-19

Et mittens se Athenagoras ad pedes Apollonii dixit: "Per deum vivum te adiuro, qui te patrem restituit filiae, ne alio viro Tharsiam tradas! Nam ego sum princeps huius civitatis et mea ope permansit virgo." 'Then Athenagoras threw himself at Apollonius' feet and said: "By the living God, who has restored you as father to your daughter, I beg you not to marry Tarsia to any other man! For I am the prince of this city and through my help she has remained a virgin."'

An amplification of 45, RB 3-5 to underline Athenagoras' candidacy.

mittens se ad pedes (RB): Hagiographical term, cf. ThLL VIII 1166,24 (*speciatim reflexive vel corpus suum*): Verg., *Aen.* 4,254 *hinc toto praeceps se corpore ad undas misit* (sc. Mercurius); id., 9,645 *ab alto aethere se misit* (sc. Apollo); id., 10,634 *caelo se <…> alto misit*, (sc. Iuno). In combination with *ad pedes* (ThLL, ibid. 1169,39): Hier., *Tract. in psalm. I*, p.230,10: *mitte te ei ad pedes*; Pass. Perp. 13,2 *miserunt se* (Gr. πεσόντες) *ad pedes nobis*; Aug., *In evang. Ioh.* 26,23. There are countless references in hagiography and related literature (corresponding phrases in Greek are πίπτω τοῖς ποσίν; ῥίπτειν ἑαυτὸν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ποδῶν τινος), cf. Mombr. I 269,26; 270,13.15; 289,21; 348,3; 349,39; 417,44; 424,53; 543,31, etc.; II 10,18;

30,36; 40,4; 58,9 *iactaverunt se ad pedes eius*; 94,38; 241,9.41; 246,41; 342,23, etc. It is very common in the circle of the *Vitae Patrum*, cf. Salonius, p.158. The term persists in Merovingian and medieval hagiography. (Klebs, p.44 deletes.)

Per deum vivum te adiuro (RB): An invocational formula taken from Vulg., Matt. 26:63 *adiuro te per Deum vivum* (words of the chief pharisee to Christ when questioning his divinity), cf. 2 Par. 33:16; Mark 5:7. In hagiography too, cf. Mombr. II 650,16 (Laurentius): *Cyriace misit se ad pedes eius* (sc. Laurentii) *dicens ei*: *Per Christum te coniuro, ut manus tuas ponas super caput meum, quia multas infirmitates patior capitis mei*. Such an invocational formula was probably the most impressive that *RB* could come up with. For *adiuro* <...> *ne*, cf. 35, RA 2-3 *adiurantes* <...> *ne*. (Klebs [pp.44, 218-9, 238] deletes *Per deum* <...> *adiuro*.)

alio: This form, passed down by **β**(a. corr.), **Mπ**, has been preferred to the classical form *alii* **β** (Riese, Schmeling). For grammarians this metathesis constitutes an important example, cf. ThLL I 1622,62 ff. The confusion persists throughout Latinity, from Plaut., *Pseud.* 1263; Rhet. Herenn. 2,13,19 (2,4,6 *alii*) to *Reg. Ben.* 4 (cf. Linderbauer [1922], p.191); Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *alius*.

princeps huius civitatis (RB), cf. 33, RA/RB 5.

mea ope: Cf. cc.34-36: The alternation *ope* **βM** ~ *opere* **β**^{1}(a. corr.),**π** is very frequent. Later manuscripts (cod. Welser, cf. ed. m. [1984] p.135; Bodleianus 247 [= RC 5, cf. ed. m. [1984], p.416]) supplement the sentence *mea ope virgo permansit* with *et me ducente patrem agnovit*, cf. Riese (1893), Praef. XIII and IX n.1; Schmeling (1988), p.128,1.

45, RB 19-23

Apollonius ait: "Ego huic tantae bonitati et pietati possum esse contrarius? Immo opto, quia votum feci non depositurum me luctum, nisi filiam meam nuptam tradidero. Hoc vero restat, ut filia mea vindicetur de hoc lenone, quem sustinuit inimicum." 'Apollonius said: "How could I be opposed to such goodness and compassion? I too am willing, because I made a vow not to give up my mourning until I had given my daughter in marriage. But this has to be done first: to avenge my daughter on this pimp, whose hostility she endured."'

Apollonius' agreement with the proposed marriage: prior measures against the *leno* (re-alignment of *RA*'s motive).

bonitati (RB): According to ThLL II 2073,64, *bonitas* is rare in the period before Cic., in him 55x, in Sen. 20x, Colum. 22x, Plin. 37x, Quint. 12x, unknown in the *Iuris consulti*, very popular among Christians (esp. in hagiography), anticipating the Romance languages (bontà, bonté, bondad). The combination with *pietas* since Cic., *Fin.* 65 *cui (iustitiae) sunt adiunctae pietas, bonitas, liberalitas, benignitas, comitas*; Rufin., *Adamant.* 2,7 *o magna bonitas, immo magna pietas*; Aug., *Civ.* 10,19 *ipsa bonitate ac pietate potentiores*; Sulp. Sev., *Dial.* 1,7,1: an evidently popular phrase.

possum esse contrarius (RB): The indic. in a lively question, where one might expect a dubitative subj. (Codex Welser [Riese (1893), Praef. XIII] and RC [cf. Schmeling (1988), p.128,3]) read: *non possum esse contrarius*.)

votum feci <...> **nuptam tradidero** (RB): A direct reference to 29, RB 21 *nisi te prius nuptum* (**b**: *nuptam* **βπ**) *tradidisset* (RA 21 *donec te nuptui traderet*). For the adjustment of this originally astrological/fatalistic concept in *RA* to a more general mourning custom *RB*, see Introd. III.3.

luctum, nisi filiam meam <...> **restat, ut filia mea M**: *luctum, nisi filia mea* **βπ**: A good example of early omission through *similiter incipientia* in the *Vorlage* of **βπ**.

de hoc lenone (RB): Anticipating l.25 *unum infamem*.

quem sustinuit inimicum (RB): I.q. cuius inimicitias sustinuit, cf. OLD, s.v. (4): 'to face, endure without giving way': Liv. 33,2,2 (Attalus) *senior iam et infirmior, quam ut contentionem dicendi sustineret, obmutuit*; Ov., *Epist.* 8,56 *adspectus sustinet ille meos*; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. sustineo (1): 'supporter, endurer'.

From this point *RA* and *RB* run parallel again, if in a totally different context.

45, RA 6-8 At ubi auditum est ab Athenagora principe, in publico, in foro, in curia clamare coepit et dicere: “Currite, cives et nobiles, ne pereat ista civitas.” ‘When Prince Athenagoras heard this, he called all over the streets, in the forum, in the senate house, crying: “Hurry, citizens and nobles, or the city will be destroyed.”’

45, RB 23-25 His auditis Athenagoras dicto citius ad curiam mittit et convocatis omnibus maioribus civitatis clamavit voce magna dicens: “Currite, cives piissimi, subvenite civitati, ne pereat propter unum infa<m>em!” ‘On hearing this curse Athenagoras sent as quickly as possible someone to the house of the senate and after having summoned all the leaders of the city he cried at the top of his voice: “Hurry, you most loyal citizens, come to the rescue of this city, lest she be destroyed because of one wicked man.”’

At ubi (*Adubi* **A**, one word; *At ubi* **P**): For *Adubi*, cf. 38, RA 8 *Adubi* **A** (cf. app. crit.): *At ubi* **P**. But split up in 16, RA 12/RB 11 *At ubi*. The possibility *Adubi* cannot be ruled out for *HA*. This form is frequent in Late Latin, cf. Bonnet, p.485; ThLL I 825,7; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *adubi* (*atubi*): ‘dès-que’; Souter, s.v. *adubi*: ‘“and when” “but when” (saec. IV on)’. I have normalized for the sake of readability.

in publico, in foro, in curia (RA): A tricolon represents Apollonius’ three-stage errand. The terms are easily translated to Greek, including the Greek Novel. The term *publicum* is standard for δημόσιον ‘public’, cf. CGL VII 155. For the Greek Novel, cf. Charit. 7,6,4 εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ‘in public’. Naturally δημοσίᾳ is also possible, cf. *Less.*, s.v. δημόσιος (Charit., Xen. Eph., Heliod.). The other terms are obvious: ἀγορά, βουλευτήριον (Achill. Tatius 8,9,9: Heliod. 4,19,5; Charit. 7,6,4, εἰς οἴκημα τῆς ἀγορᾶς <…>, ἐν ᾧ συνήθως οἱ ἄρχοντες ἐχρημάτιζον ‘the building on the agora where the town council usually transacted its business’, cf. R. Martin, *Recherches sur l’agora grecque*, Paris 1952, pp.292-3. But a slight adaptation to the Roman audience has probably taken place, cf. Cic., *Catil.* 2,1 (illum) *non in campo* (sc. Martio), *non in foro, non in curia, non denique intra domesticos parietes* (cf. 3, RA 2) *pertimescemus*; id., *Muren.* 85 *versabatur in rostris furor, in curia timor, in foro coniuratio, in campo* (sc. Martio) *exercitus, in agris vastitas*. An amusing corruption is *in publico foro in furia* **P**.

clamare coepit et dicere (RA): Cf. above RB 9. We can point to Vulg. Mark 10:47 *coepit clamare et dicere* (Gr. ἤρξατο κράζειν καὶ λέγειν, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. κράζω; Blaß-Debrunner 1950[8], § 420,2 Anh.).

currite (RA): On *currere* as a typical feature of the Novel at decisive moments, cf. Kerényi, *Griechisch-Römische Romanlitteratur*, p.147; Long. 4,22,23.

ista civitas (RA): Cf. above *RA* 6 *haec civitas* (comm.).

RB (23-25) raises the story to a higher stylistic level.

dicto citius (RB): A literary phrase, cf. ThLL III 1211,36; Verg., *Aen.* 1,142 *dicto citius tumida aequora placat*; Hor., *Sat.* 2,2,8 *dicto citius curata sopori membra dedit*; Liv. 23,47,6 *dicto prope citius*; also Sen., *Apocol.* 13; Petron. 74,131; Amm. 17,8,4; Rufin., *Hist.* 4,15,29.

ad curiam mittit (RB), sc. aliquem, cf. 21, RA 18/RB 15 *mittam ad vos* (comm.). The change to *RA* is clear: Athenagoras does not run!

convocatis omnibus maioribus civitatis π, Riese: The tradition is very hesitant about *maioribus civitatis*: *maiorum nativitatis* β; *maiorum natis* M; in secondary redactions too: RErf *natu maioribus civitatis*; RC *magnatis* (sic) *omnibus civitatis* (Schmeling [1988], p.128,6). The confusion has to do with the term *maior*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *maior* (4): 'les grands (en dignité)': Aug., *Conf.* 8,6 *cavens innotescere personis secundum hoc saeculum maioribus*; id., Serm. 113,3 *maior erat publicanorum*; Ps. Marc. 10,129,6 *maiores synagogarum*; Cass., *Var.* 10,18,2 *maiores domus regiae*; Hier., Epist. 52,5 *maior domus*. (Within this term a role will also be played by *natu*, cf. Cass., *Var.* 5,22 *maiores natu*.) This *maior* occurs repeatedly in the *HA*, cf. 10, RA 2 *maioribus eiusdem civitatis* (RB *aliter*), cf. comm.; 39, RA 22 *nec <...> maiorem esse, <qui> pr<o>videret* (RB *aliter*); 48, RA 16 *maiori omnium sacerdotum* (comm.) (RB 10 *matri*). These parallel places establish the present **p** reading. (Klebs, pp.80, 271 n.3 argues for *maioribus natu civitatis*, see ed. m. [1984], ad loc.; he also wants to delete the entire expression *convocatis <...> civitatis* as an interpolation.)

clamavit voce magna dicens (RB): Compared with the already impressive formula *clamare coepit et dicere* (RA), *RB* offers the fullest, most solemn formula, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. κράζω: 'ich rufe mit lauter Stimme also': Rev. 6:10 *et clamabant voce magna dicentes* (Gr. καὶ ἔκραξαν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγοντες), cf. id. 7:10; 19:7. Though a Greek source is possible here of

course, it is more likely that *RB* himself deliberately introduced this sonorous formulation from his own reading.

propter unum infa<m>em (RB) instead of *ista civitas* (RA): A clever, radical intervention by *RB*, cf. Introd. III.5. The punitive expedition is thus transferred from the citizens of Mytilene (since the reader wonders: why?) to the *leno*, the obvious delinquent. The reading *infamem* is based on RErf., RC (cf. Schmeling [1988], p.87,6). It is generally retained by editors. The reading *infantem* **b** depends on a very small difference of one letter (perhaps one minim), but makes no sense in the context. The context is restored, on the basis of **β**, by *infandum* **M**, *infanticidam* **π**. For *infanticida*, see ThLL VII 1351,68-74, used figuratively in relation to the *leno* (less correctly in relation to Tarsia).

CHAPTER 46

46, RA 1-2 Concursus magnus et ingens factus est, et tanta commotio fuit populi, ut nullus omnino domi remaneret, neque vir neque femina. 'A great, or rather, an enormous crowd gathered, and there was such a commotion among the people that absolutely no one, man nor woman, remained at home.'

46, RB 1-3 At ubi dictum est Athenagoram principem hac voce in foro clamasse, concursus ingens factus est, et tanta commotio pópuli vénit (*pl.*), ut domi nec vir nec fémina remanéret (*v.*).

concursus <…> **factus est** (RA/RB): The same choice of words in Latin and Greek, in both pagan and Christian contexts. For pagan literature, cf. e.g. OLD, s.v. *concursus* (1): 'a gathering of a crowd': Cic., *Brut.* 317 *acrem* <…> *oratorem* <…> *concursus hominum forique strepitus desiderat*; id., *Ver.* II 2,187; id., *Phil.* 14,15; Caes., *Bell. civ.* 1,76,2; Liv. 22,7,6 *concursus in forum populi est factus*. For the Greek Novel, cf. Charit. 1,5,3 ὁ δῆμος ἅπας εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν συνέτρεχεν 'the whole people quickly gathered in the town square'; Xen. Eph. 5,13,1 Συνέρρει δὲ ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν 'Ροδίων 'all the Rhodians surged together'; Achill. Tat. 6,5,2 πλῆθος <…> συνέρρεεν 'a crowd of people <…> gathered around us', cf. 8,3,1. This formulation is also found in religious contexts and esp. in hagiography, cf. Acts 21:30 ἐκινήθη τε ἡ πόλις ὅλη καὶ ἐγένετο συνδρομὴ τοῦ λαοῦ (Vulg. *commotaque est civitas tota et facta est concursio populi*); for Latin hagiography, see e.g. Mombr. I 93,32; 278,14; 386,56; II 176,10; 329,44; 364,39; 409,38; 502,22; 598,52; 637,9; 640,9 etc.

magnus et ingens (RA) ~ *ingens* (RB): The combination of *concursus* with either *magnus* or with *ingens* is frequent: Nep., *Dat.* 3,3 *cum* <…> *magnus esset concursus*; id., *Phoc.* 4,1; Verg., *Aen.* 5,611 *conspicit ingentem concursum*; Liv. 3,26,11 *ingens concursus fuit*. The combination *magnus et ingens* is not recorded in ThLL IV 115,7 ff. It sometimes occurs in Late Latin: Vopisc., *Aurelian.* 26,35,4 *paratoque magno potius quam ingenti exercitu*; Peregr. Eg. 18,2 *flumen magnum et ingens* (cf. Löfstedt, *Komm.* p.72). This usage can be explained via 'climactic' *et* (cf. Friedrich, p.146 on Catull. 17,15) and a weaker meaning and use of *magnus* compared with *grandis*, cf. 32, RA 17 (comm.). Perhaps *RA* goes directly back to Greek usage here, cf. LSJ, s.v.

καί (A.2): ‘to add by way of climax’: Thuc. 7,68 ἐχθροὶ καὶ ἔχθιστοι (cf. 14, RA 7 bone rex optime); Plat., *Gorg.* 455^{C} τινὲς καὶ συχνοί; id., *Phaed.* 58^{D} παρῆσάν τινες καὶ πολλοί γε ‘some were present, or rather, many’ (cf. Navarre on Theophr., *Caractères* [Paris 1924] VII,3,2 [p.47]; H. Usener, *Cyrill. Scythopolis*, Leipzig 1890, pp.111,196). Perhaps this usage is also found in the Greek Novel: Heliod. 7,20,1 πολλὰ καὶ μυρία ἀγαθὰ <…> διεγγυωμένη ‘she assured him many, or rather, innumerable benefits’, cf. *Vita S. Melaniae* (*SC* 90, Paris 1962, p.160), c.17 πολλοῦ καὶ ἀφάτου <…> συνηγμένου χρυσίου, cf. ibid., c.34 (p.192). In particular Late Greek, hagiographical authors often combine positive with superlative (or vice versa), cf. Tabachovitz (1926), pp.17-18; Linnér (1943), pp.79-81. *RB*’s normalization has probably eliminated a Graecism, cf. Introd. III.1.

fuit (RA) (? < ἐγένετο) ~ *venit* (RB): A skilful, stylistic emendation, cf. Introd. III.5.

nullus omnino <…> **neque vir neque femina** (RA) ~ *nec vir nec femina* (RB): For an agreement in language which this chapter, across a longer section of text, shows with a hagiographical source, cf. *Martyrium beati Petri a Lino episcopo conscriptum* c.9 (ed. Salonius, p.31,19). *Et ecce ingens subito concursus factus est* (RA 1), *diversae aetatis et sexus* <…> *Nonne timendum est ne talis ac tanti viri necem deus vindicet* (RA 7), *et nos omnes perire* (cf. 45, RA 8) *praecipiat, et coeperunt in Agrippam saevire populi* (RA 8) <…> (p.32,2) *tunc Petrus* <…> *ascendens* (RA 12) *editiorem locum* (cf. *RA* 10) *nutuque ad silentium provocans populum* (cf. *RA* 14).

nullus (RA) ~ (RB /): A striking elimination of *nullus*, i.q. *nemo*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *nullus*; Corbett, p.80 on *Reg. Mag.*, Prol. 34. Such polar expressions are often found in epic and the Greek Novel: Hom., *Il.* 24,707 οὐδέ τις αὐτόθ’, ἐνὶ πτόλεϊ, λίπετ’ ἀνὴρ / οὐδὲ γυνή· ‘nobody remained there in the city, no man nor woman’; Long. 3,6,2 οὐδείς, οὐκ ἀνήρ, οὐ γύναιον ‘none (came out of the farm), not a man, not a woman’; Charit. 3,2,17 οὐκ ἀπελείφθη (cf. *HA remaneret*) ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις (cf. *HA domi*) οὐ παιδίον, οὐ γέρων ‘not a child nor an old man remained in the houses’, id. 3,5,3. The participation of women in popular meetings is attested by several oblique statements in the Greek Novel: Charit. 3,4,4 Ἐκείνην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀνήγαγον καὶ γυναῖκες ‘That assembly included women as well’; id. 8,7,1 ἐπληρώθη τὸ θέατρον ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν <…> πᾶσαι καὶ πάντες ἐπεβόησαν ‘the theatre was filled with men and women <…> They all cried out, women as well as men.’ For this political activity of women, cf. Plepelits, *Kallirhoe*, n.93; Pleket, *Epigraphica* II, p.10 ff. In classical times such freedom, certainly in Athens, was inconceivable.

neque (*om.* **P**) <…> **neque** (RA) ~ *nec* <…> *nec* (RB): For the addition *neque*[1], see 33, RA 3 *nec virum nec mulierem*; for the acceptable omission in **P**, cf. Löfstedt, *Vermischte Studien* (1936), p.1; *Mittellat. Wörterbuch*, s.v. *neque*.

domi (RA/RB): The locative *domi* persisted for a long time, cf. OLD, s.v. *domus* (1.c). In Christian Latin it was sometimes confused with *domum*, cf. Tob. 2:20 *detulisset domi*. (Klebs, p.260 regards *domi* as an argument for **Hi**.)

At ubi dictum est <…> **clamasse** (RB): Added by *RB* for the causal connection; the formulation goes back to 45, RA 6 *At ubi auditum est ab Athenagora*. The role of *Fama*/Φήμη as ἄγγελος requires no further explanation, cf. Zimmermann, p.42; Kerényi (1927), p.10,47.

46, RA 3	Omnibus autem convenientibus dixit Athenagoras: 'When they were all gathered together, Athenagoras said:'
46, RB 3-4	Omnibus autem concurrentibus magna voce dixit:

convenientibus (RA) ~ *concurrentibus* (RB): *RB* stays close to the word shape, cf. 45, RA 8/RB 25 *currite*. The addition *magna voce* (RB) is what one would expect as well. Curiously, neither *RA* nor *RB* tells us directly where the meeting takes place. In the Greek Novel this is often the theatre, cf. *Less.*, s.v. θέατρον. The rest of the episode (RA 9-10/RB 9) shows that the people gather in the *forum*. This could be an adaptation to Roman custom, but it is equally possible that **HA(Gr)** goes back here to Homeric usage, viz. that the ἀγορά serves as the place for legal proceedings, cf. Mehler, s.v. ἀγοράομαι; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ἀγορά; W.A. MacDonald, *The Meeting Places of the Greeks*, Baltimore 1943. For the Greek Novel, compare Charit. 1,5,3 ὁ δῆμος ἅπας εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν συνέτρεχεν 'the whole people quickly gathered in the town square'. This is all the more striking because Μυτιλήνη did in fact possess a theatre from the time of Roman rule (191 BC), cf. R. Herbst, *Real-Encycl.* 16, cols.1411-27; G. Colonna, *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica* 5, p.123 ff.; R. Koldewey, *Die antiken Baureste der Insel Lesbos*, Berlin 1890, pp.3-16.

46, RA 3-7 "Cives Mytilenae civitatis, sciatis Tyrium Apollonium huc venisse – et ecce, classes navium properant cum multis armatis – eversurus istam provinciam causa lenonis infaustissimi, qui Tharsiam ipsius emit filiam et in prostíbulo pósuit (*t.*). '"Citizens of Mytilene, let me inform you that Apollonius of Tyre (RB the great king) has arrived here – look, there are fleets of ships. He is pressing forward with many armed men to destroy this province because of the accursed pimp who bought his daughter Tarsia and put her in a brothel.'

46, RB 4-7 "Cives My<til>eni, scitis (**βM**: sciatis **π**) Tyrium Apollonium regem magnum huc venisse et classes navium: exercitu proximante eversurus est civitatem lenonis causa, qui Tharsiam filiam suam constituit in lupanar.

Cives Mytilenae (mutilene **AP**) **civitatis** (RA) ~ *Cives My<til>eni* (Militeni **βπ**: Militem **M**) (RB). For the corrected form *Mytilenae*, cf. 33, RA 1 (comm.). The transmitted form is probably a direct transcription of Μυτιλήνη, cf. Weyman, *Wo. klPh* 10 (1893), col.577: 'hätte die überlieferte Orthographie "Mutilena" geschont werden sollen.' In classical Latin the inhabitants were called *Mytilenaei* (Cic., *ad Att.* 7,7,6), sometimes *Mitylenaei* (Oros. 3,23,7) or *Mytilenenses* (Tac., *Ann.* 14,53). The form *Mytilenus*, as *RB* presupposes with metathesis (likewise below RB 14), is not recorded in the lexicons.

sciatis (RA) ~ *scitis* (**βM**: *sciatis* **π**), cf. 6, RA 3/RB 2 *scias* (comm.): Perhaps, following Riese (1893), we should read *sciatis* in *RB* too, cf. RC: *sciatis* **Va** (Schmeling, p.128,12).

Tyrium Apollonium (RA) ~ *Tyrium Apollonium regem magnum* (RB): *RA* is most likely authentic in its simple form, cf. Introd. V.2.1. For the word order *Tyrium Apollonium*, cf. Ind. nom., s.v. Apollonius. *RB* probably added *rex magnus* to explain the drastic and expensive punitive expedition, cf. 48, RA 16 *venisse nescio quem regem*. The hypothesis that *RB* goes back here to a Greek original (cf. Riese [1871], praef. XII: *Regem magnum*, cf. τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα) seems unfounded.

– et ecce, classes navium properant (**A**: om. **P**) **cum multis armatis –** (RA) ~ *et classes navium: exercitu proximante* (RB): *RA* has a very lively, expressive interjection. For *et ecce* (from (?) καὶ ἰδού), cf. 37, RA 4-5. For

properant **A**, **Rα (φ)**, cf. ThLL III 1285,54, s.v. *classis*: Amm. 24,6,5 *properat citis remigiis*. This removes the need for conjectures like *properat* (caus.) and *praeparat* (cf. ed. m. [1984], ad loc.). For other conjectures and textual transpositions, cf. McGowan (1997), pp.240-1. Though this is of course entirely subjective, we should point out that *RA* is easily translated: *et ecce*, cf. καὶ ἰδού; *classes navium*, cf. στόλος (very common in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v.)/ναυτικόν (Charit. 7,5,11); for the combination *classis navium*, cf. Thuc. 1,31 νεῶν στόλον; *properant*, cf. προσπλέω (*Less.*, s.v. 'avvicinarsi per mare') / ἐπιπλέω; *armatus* (?) στρατιώτης, cf. LSJ, s.v. στρατιώτης: 'also of soldiers, serving on ship-board, Thuc. 2,88'. A word like ἐπιβάτης would serve well too, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐπιβάτης: 'ἐπιβάται 'soldiers on board ship, fighting men, opp. the rowers and seamen', cf. 8, RB 2 *insistebant* (comm.). For background information, cf. W. Tarn, 'The Greek Warship', *JHS* 25 (1905), pp.137-56, pp.204-18; id., *Hellenistic Military and Naval Development*, Cambridge 1930. Introducing only slight changes in punctuation and preserving the word sound (*properant* ~ *proximante*), *RB* has not only removed the interjection and clarified the idea of an approaching army, but regularized the construction as a whole. For *proximo* the dictionaries record only Late Latin authors. In particular it is used by Apuleius, cf. OLD, s.v.: Apul., *Met.* 5,6 *luce proxumante*. It is used more often in Christian Latinity, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v.: Macc. 9:12 *et proximavit* (Gr. ἤγγισεν) *legio ex duabus partibus*. In Merovingian Latin *proximo* becomes transitive: Greg. Tur., *Hist. Franc.* 5,46 *acceptum* (sc. poculum) *dum ori proximat* (hence *exercitum* **M**, cf. ed. m. [1984]).

eversurus AP, **Rα(φF)** ~ *eversurus est* (RB): A frequent anacoluthon, esp. after interjections, appositions, etc., cf. Horn (1981), p.60 n.3; Svennung, *Pallad.* (1935), p.175; id., *Anredeformen* (1958), p.258; Bulhart (1967), p.XV, no.15 (conjectures like *eversuris* sc. multis armatis, Riese [1893] are redundant). The anacoluthon is smoothed away elegantly by *RB*.

istam provinciam (RA) ~ *civitatem* (RB): For a similar 'emendation', cf. 44, RA 19 *istam* ‹…› *provinciam* ~ *in hanc urbem* (RB); for the meaning *provincia* = *civitas* = *urbs*, cf. 1, RA/RB 1 (comm.).

causā lenonis infaustissimi P (*lenoni* [uit *-nis*] *-o* **A**) ~ *lenonis causā* (RB): From the earliest Latinity (Enn., *Ann.* 319; Ter., *Eun.* 202; Cic., *Lael.* 59; Liv. 40,41,11) *causā* is placed before the gen., cf. ThLL 684,38 ff. In late Latinity this position is very common, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *causa* (2). In Greek, too, ἕνεκα (ἕνεκεν) and χάριν sometimes take initial position, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἕνεκα 'on account of', and s.v. χαρίς (VI.1.b). Sometimes the initial position coincides in both languages: Vet. Lat., Matt. 5:10 (cod. k) *causa iustitiae* (Gr. ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης: Vulg. *propter iustitiam*). So perhaps

RA goes back to a Greek *Vorlage*, cf. Charit. 2,4,4 ἕνεκεν ἀρετῆς τε καὶ δόξης 'for virtue and reputation'. For *causa* + dat., cf. LHS II, p.96[1]. *RB* normalizes, cf. 8, RA 25/RB 29 *huius rei causa*. For the omission of *infaustissimus*, cf. 33, RA 30 *leno, vir infaustissimus* ~ (RB /); but it is accepted below *RA* 26/RB 24 (comm.).

ipsius (i.q. Apollonii) ‹…› **in prostibulo posuit** (RA) ~ *suam* ‹…› *constituit in lupanar* (RB): A series of consistently classicizing emendations, cf. 33, RA 13 *in prostibulo posuerit* (comm.) ~ RB 11 *in lupanar constituerit*. (Klebs, p.272 deletes *in prostibulo* in both *RA* places).

46, RA 7-8 Vt ergo salvetur ista civitas, mittatur, et vindicet se de uno infamiae, ut non omnes periclitemur." 'So to save this city, someone must be sent to him: let him take revenge upon one infamous man, so that we do not all perish."'

46, RB 7-8 Vt ergo salvetur civitas, deducatur ad eum leno et vindicet se de eo et non tota civitas pereat."

salvetur (RA/RB), cf. 32, RA 16-17 *salva coniugem, salva filiam nostram* (comm.). (Klebs, p.270 deletes the Christianism *salvetur* in both redactions; on p.269 he proposes to substitute *servetur*.)

mittatur (RA) ~ *deducatur ad eum leno* (RB): For the *RA* construction: *mittatur*, sc. servus aliquis, cf. ThLL VIII 1185,75-1186,13. For a similar usage in Greek with (προσ)πέμπω 'to send' sc. ἄγγελον/ἀγγέλους, cf. *HA* 21, RA 18/RB 15 (comm.). The idea in *RA* is that a slave will go and fetch Apollonius, so that he (= Apollonius) can avenge himself on the *leno*. Meanwhile the citizens will make sure that the *leno* is taken prisoner (RA 8-9). (Konstan's explanation, p.104: *mittatur*, sc. *leno* 'let the brothel-keeper be sent (hither)' is wrong on account of 21, RA 18/RB 15.) *RB* adjusts the construction and has the *leno* brought in. He probably failed to understand the construction in *RA*, though admittedly the alternative is clever. For similar changes, see Introd. VII.2.1. For *deducere* as a technical term, cf. LSJ, s.v. (15): 'to bring (within the term of a leg. procedure or sim.)' (with examples from Gaius, Julian. *Dig*., Scaevola, Ulp.).

de uno infamiae (RA) ~ *de eo* (RB): For *RA*'s expressive description of the *leno*, cf. 44, RA 16 (said there of the *villicus*). It also makes for a contrast between *unus* and *omnes*. *RB* can confine himself to a sober formulation, the more so because he has already mentioned the *leno*.

ut non (RA) ~ *et non* (RB): The slightest of changes in *RB*, so that vulgar *ut non* instead of classical *ne* is avoided. Late Latin uses *ut non* very often, cf. Comm., *Instr.* 2,5,7 *cave, ut non delinquas* (in a broader context, cf. LHS II, p.535^{3}).

periclitemur (**A**: *periclitent* **P**) (RA) ~ *tota civitas pereat* (RB): For *periclitor*, cf. OLD, s.v. (4.c) 'to be in danger' (sometimes mortal): Plin., *Nat.* 32,54 *periculantibus ex canis rabiosi morsu*; ibid. 32,133 *periclitari partu*; Apul., *Met.* 8,31 *me* <…> *capitis periculatum memini*. In Late Latin, esp. Christians, the meaning 'mortal danger' predominates and *periculum* becomes a euphemism for *interitus, mors*, cf. Löfstedt, *Late Latin*, p.157; Linderbauer (on *Reg. Ben.* 2,59), p.178. It thus runs parallel to κινδυνεύω 'to be in danger', cf. Lampe, s.v. κινδυνεύω: 'abs., sc. of death'. A fine example is offered by Blatt, *Acta Andreae*, p.51,20 *quia iam nos frequentius navigavimus et in mare periclitavimus* ~ Gr. (p.50,13) καὶ ἡμεῖς πολλάκις ἐπλεύσαμεν τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἐκινδυνεύσαμεν. This reading also illustrates the transition to the active form *periclitare* **P**, cf. Neue-Wagener III^{3}, p.76; for the phenomenon, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 294. *RB*'s substitution *perire* argues for his sense of language and agrees with usage elsewhere, cf. 45, RA 8 *ne pereat ista civitas* / RB 25 *ne pereat*. For the question of the citizens' guilt, inasmuch as they had tolerated the sale of a freeborn women of high rank, see Introd. VI.

46, RA 8-10 His auditis populi ab auriculis eum comprehenderunt. Ducitur leno ad forum vinctis a tergo manibus. 'When the people heard this, they seized the pimp by the ears: he was led to the forum with his hands tied behind his back.'

46, RB 8-9 His auditis comprehensus est leno et vinctus a tergo manibus ad forum ab auriculis ducitur.

populi <…> **comprehenderunt** (RA) ~ *comprehensus est* (RB): The only other place where *populi = homines* occurs in the *HA* is 50, RA 18 *coram omnibus populis* (directly followed by *cives*): *RB* eliminates in both places, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. populus. The meaning 'people' ('die Leute' 'gli uomini') occurs sparingly in classical Latin (Catull. 67,12 [cf. Friedr., p.432]; Ov., *Am.* 3,13,29; *Fast.* 2,510, cf. 4,60; Plin. 28,4; Gell. 3,13,2), but is frequent in Christian Latin: Aug., *Civ. dei* 2,28 *quia populi confluunt ad ecclesiam*; *Doctr. christ.* 4,10,25 *in populis quando sermo promitur*. It abounds in hagiography, esp. at decisive moments, cf. Mombr. I 277,50; 280,4; 285,57; 287,47; 335,47-(Caecilia).51.54; 341,11; 342,1 (Clemens); 344,23.29.32; 345,38.45; 346,22; 347,48; 354,12; 359,40 etc. etc. For Late Latin, cf. Adams (1976), pp.102-3. Translation from οἱ δῆμοι, οἱ λαοί, οἱ ὄχλοι (pos-

sibly τὰ πλήθη) seems obvious. Alternation with the sing. also occurs in Greek, cf. e.g. *Martyrium S. Ariadnes* (ed. Franchi de' Cavalieri), p.129: col. II,13-14 ἐνδοθῆναι αὐτῇ ἀξιοῖ ὁ Πρυμνησέων δῆμος 'the people of Prymnessus wish that grace will be given her'; ibid., 28 καὶ τοῖς δήμοις εἶπεν 'and she said to the people'. This summary shows that *RB* has proceeded with great linguistic sensibility, cf. Introd. VI.2. (Klebs, p.247 is worthless.)

ab auriculis (**A, Rα [φF, L]**: om. **P**) <...> *conprehenderunt* (RA) ~ *ab auriculis ducitur* (RB,9): The gesture recounted here probably seemed strange to the reading public, also in view of the omission by **P** of *ab auriculis* and the substitute reading *ab auriculariis* **Mπ** by *RB*. Two explanations urge themselves:

1. We might think of the ancient Roman custom in which someone grasps a witness by the ear, as the seat of memory, saying: *Licet antestari?* 'May I call you as witness?', upon which the witness, if agreeing, offered his earlobe, cf. Hor., *Sat.* 1,9,77 *inclamat <...> 'licet antestari?' ego vero oppono auriculam* (for a more detailed explanation, cf. Sittl, *Gebärden*, p.146). This interpretation, held by e.g. Riese [1893] (Praef. XVIII, n.1 'inseruit interpres latinus'), means that *RA* and *RB* have seriously erred here by applying to the *leno* a gesture intended for a *testis*.
2. For various reasons it is more likely that *RA* goes back directly to a Greek model **R(Gr)**, probably even **HA(Gr)**.
   a. **comprehendo** (see also 50, RA 3/RB 4; 51, RA 13/RB 12 [comm.]) may be based on a number of Greek equivalents, cf. ThLL III 2145,17, but particularly apt is συλλαμβάνω, the technical term, cf. Matt. 26:55 *Tamquam ad latronem existis <...> comprehendere me* (Gr. συλλαβεῖν με); Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. (1.a): 'ergreifen, fassen, festnehmen'; in the Greek Novel too, cf. *Less.*, s.v. (1);
   b. **comprehendo ab** 'to seize by': for this combination, not recorded in Latin and probably introduced from **R(Gr)**, cf. Introd. IV.1. As for *ab* = ἀπό in particular: with verbs like δράσσομαι 'to grasp with the hand', κρατέω 'to lay hold of' (cf. LSJ, s.v. IV), λαμβάνω 'to grasp' 'to seize' (cf. LSJ, s.v. I.1), σύρω 'to drag along (esp. by hair)', classical Greek simply uses the (partitive) gen. Later Greek requires a more explicit form with ἀπό or ἐκ. Within this rivalry the places with ἀπό + gen. are by no means rare in later, esp. hagiographical sources. Detailed studies specify this for the various kinds of texts, cf. Vogeser (1907), p.26: Acta S. Marinae et S. Christophori 29,5 ἐδράξατο τοῦ δαίμονος ἀπὸ τῶν τριχῶν 'he seized the devil by his hair'; Ljungvik (1926), p.29: Acta Phil. 32,34 ἔσυρεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς χειρός 'he dragged him by his hand'; Linnér (1943), p.23 Kyrillos 81,4 κρατήσας αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν τριχῶν 'having grasped him by his hair'. Ljungvik, p.30 notes that this ἀπό has led to the New Greek

expression πιάνω ἀπ(ὸ) τὸ χέρι, cf. A. Thumb, *Handbuch der neugriechischen Volkssprache*, Strassbourg 1910², p.96. This material clearly shows that *ab* (RA/RB 9) is not only authentic and preferable to a more standard phrase, e.g. ἕλκω + gen./ἕλκω ἐκ, but also forms rewarding evidence for the Late Greek idiom of **R(Gr)**.

c. **auricula**: A Greek background most easily explains this form: it is a *deminutivum affectivum*, which, due to the influence of popular speech, assumes the position and meaning of *auris*, cf. Löfstedt, *Per.*, p.310; consider 'orecchia' 'oreille' < *auricula*. It is often difficult to distinguish between ear and earlobe: the Glossaria in fact have: II 544,65 *auris auricula* τὸ οὖς; III 400,35 *auricula ota*; Isid., *Orig.* 4,8,2 ὦτα <...> *graece auricula dicitur*. The interchangeability of both words is proved by Luke 22:50, which successively has ἀφεῖλεν τὸ οὖς αὐτοῦ τὸ δεξιόν (Vulg. *auriculam eius dexteram*) and ἁψάμενος τοῦ ὠτίου (Vulg. *cum tetigisset auriculam eius*). The use of τὸ ὠτίον with the value of τὸ οὐς is therefore frequent in Late Greek authors, esp. hagiographers, cf. Gelzer (1893), *Wörterverzeichniss* p.195, s.v.: Vogeser (1907), p.42. The gesture 'they dragged him by his ears' has in fact parallels in both Latin and Greek: Apul., *Met.* 9,36 *denique* (sc. adseverat) *vicinum illum auriculis per suos servulos sublatum de casula longissime statimque proiectum iri* (cf. Kronenberg, *Ad Apul. Mad.*, p.30); Lucian., *Herc.* 1,3 (ed. Nilén, p.32) καίτοι τὸ παραδοξότατον οὐδέπω ἔφην τῆς εἰκόνος· ὁ γὰρ δὴ γέρων Ἡρακλῆς ἐκεῖνος ἀνθρώπων πάμπολύ τι πλῆθος ἕλκει ἐκ τῶν ὤτων ἅπαντας δεδεμένους 'And indeed, the most strange detail of the picture I have not yet told to you: in fact Heracles, although old, dragged along a great mass of men by their ears, all bound.' Compare also Aristocles, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* IV 330,5 where an old woman leads a sacrificial bull to the slaughter: τοῦτον γραῦς στείχουσα μόνα μόνον οὐάτος ἕλκει τόνδ' ἐπὶ βωμόν, ὁ δ'ὡς ματέρι παῖς ἕπεται 'an old woman dragged a bull to an altar by his ear, she going alone, he also, and he followed her as a boy his mother' (cited by O. Weinreich, *Studien zu Martial*, Stuttgart 1928, pp.139-40). The gesture itself of 'dragging by the ears' is all the more entertaining because in reality the ephebes pulled the sacrificial bulls by a rope around both horns to thwart any attempts to escape, cf. J.L. Durand 'Le boeuf à la ficelle' in: C. Bérard et al. (eds.), *Images et societé en Grèce ancienne* (Lausanne, 1987), pp.227-41 (with splendid visual material). No doubt the comic twist from 'dragging by a rope' to 'dragging to court by the ears' contributed to the success of the **HA(Gr)**, cf. Introd. VI.3.

These three linguistic arguments warrant the assumption that *RA* 8-9 *populi ab auriculis eum conprehenderunt* overlies a Greek text: (?) οἱ λαοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὠτίων αὐτὸν συνέλαβον.

ab auriculariis Mπ: Clearly a makeshift solution to an uncomprehended *ab auriculis*: the meaning of *auricularius* in Late Latin is totally inappropriate to this place, cf. OLD, s.v. *auricularius*: 'ear specialist'. The **Mπ** reading can only be understood via Vulg., 2 Kgs. 23:23 *Fecitque eum sibi David auricularium a secreto* (Gr. ἔταξεν αὐτὸν <…> εἰς τὰς ἀκοὰς αὐτοῦ), i.e. secret adviser, cf. ThLL II 1496. Particularly in Late Latin this word covers various positions, both secular and spiritual, cf. MLW, s.v. (II).

vinctis (RA: *vinctus* RB) **a tergo manibus** (RA/RB): Standard terminology: the phrase *post tergum* (sometimes *postergum*) is perhaps slightly more frequent, cf. Vell. Pat. 2,1,15 *ut* <…> *nudus et postergum religatis manibus dederetur hostibus*. The expression *(vinctis) a tergo (manibus)* can also be read *passim*, cf. Exc. Troi. 14,17 *Sino, quem vinctis a tergo manibus cum magno clamore ad Priamum regem perduxerunt*. In hagiography too. A similar expression is found in Greek, e.g. ὀπίσω τὼ χεῖρε (τὰς χεῖρας) δεδεμένος, cf. Headlam (on Herondas 5,25), p.240: 'the usual preliminary to flogging'. In the Greek Novel: Achill. Tat. 3,15,2 ἄγουσι (HA *ducitur*) δή τινες δύο τὴν κόρην ὀπίσω τὼ χεῖρε δεδεμένην 'Two of them were leading the girl (to the altar) with her hands tied behind her back', cf. id. 5,7,4.

46, RA 10-12	Fit tribunal ingens in foro, et induentes Apollonium regalem vestem deposito omni squalore luctus, quod habuit, atque detonso capite diadema inponunt ei, et cum filia sua Tharsia tribunal ascendit. 'A large platform was erected in the marketplace. They removed every dirty sign of Apollonius' preceding mourning, dressed him in royal vestments and on his clean-shaven head they put a royal diadem; with his daughter Tarsia he mounted the platform.'
46, RB 9-11	Fit tribunal ingens, et indutus Apollonius regia veste omni squalore deposita atque tonsus capite diademate inposito cum filia sua tribunal ascendit.

Fit tribunal ingens in foro (RA): For the here almost redundant apposition *in foro* (om. RB), cf. 10, RA 1-2/RB 1 *ascendens tribunal in foro* and 50, RA 4 *sedens pro tribunali in foro* (comm.) ~ RB 5 *sedenti*. For *tribunal*, cf. OLD, s.v. *tribunal* (1): 'A dais or platform, sometimes portable, on which the magistrate's chair (orig. that of the *tribunus militum*) was placed in Rome and elsewhere in Roman jurisdiction and from which he pro-

nounced official judgements.’ It corresponds to Gr. βῆμα, cf. LSJ, s.v. (II); Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. (2): for the act of mounting, cf. τὸ βῆμα ἀναβῆναι.

induentes <…> **atque inponunt** <…> **et ascendit** (RA) ~ *indutus* <…> *inposito* <…> *ascendit* (RB): The construction in *RA* is anacoluthic (hanging participle), with a change of subject. RB’s adjustments are almost pedantic.

induentes Apollonium regalem vestem (RA) ~ *indutus Apollonius regia veste* (RB): For the gesture as such, cf. 28, RA 12-13 (comm.). The text of RA/RB suggests that casting off the garb of the κάτοχοι was an initiative of the citizens. But of course it was Apollonius himself who took this initiative. For *induere aliquem aliquid* ThLL VII 1266,57-76 compares the frequently corresponding Greek text ἐνδύειν τινά τι, cf. Vet. Lat., Matt. 27:31 (codd. a, b, c, f) *induerunt eum vestimenta* (Vulg. *-is*) *eius* (Gr. ἐνέδυσαν αὐτὸν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ), cf. 32, RA 46. So *RA* may go back directly to a Greek model, cf. 48, RA 18 *induit se regium habitum* ~ (RB /); Acts 12:21 *Herodes vestitus veste regia* (Gr. ὁ Ἡρῴδης ἐνδυσάμενος ἐσθῆτα βασιλικήν). The two versions do not mention the colour (*signum epitomes*?), which was probably purple, cf. A. Alföldi, ‘Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser’, *Mitt. deutsch. arch. Instit., Röm. Abt.* 50 (1935), pp.1-158.

deposito <…> **squalore** (**A**: *dolore* **P**) **luctus** (**P**: *luctuosum* **A**), **quod habuit** (RA) ~ *squalore deposita* (**β**: *-to* **Mπ**) (RB): A difficult place, both textually and in terms of interpretation. The almost epic length of *RA* contrasts with the brevity of *RB*. Another striking feature is the alternating gender of *squalor*, masc. in RA, **Mπ**; fem. in **β**. The anonymous treatise *De dubiis nominibus* (cf. 13, RA 6 app. font.), no.407 refers to this word in particular: *squalor generis masculini, ut Avitus: squalore vicino*. This uncertainty extends across a large area. In particular abstract nouns ending in *-or* become fem.: *ardor, color, cruor, dolor, honor, splendor, timor*, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 227.

squalorem deponere (RA/RB): This combination is found elsewhere too, esp. in Liv. 27,34,5 where the former consul M. Livius is recalled: *sed erat veste obsoleta capilloque et barba promissa* <…> *censores eum tonderi et squalorem deponere* <…> *coegerunt*. This place clearly shows that *deponere* can be used both for *vestes* and for other signs of mourning. Yet *deponere* is specifically used for beard, hair and nails, cf. LSJ, s.v. *deponere* (2.b): ‘to have (one’s hair or beard, also one’s nails) cut’: Petron. 104,5 *neque ungues neque capillos deponere*; Tac., *Hist.* 4,61 *barbaro voto* <…> *crinem deposuit*; CIL 6.38425 *Hic ego nunc iaceo* <…> *barba deposita*. In my view, therefore, the term *deposito squalore* refers to the fulfilment of Apollonius’ oath (33, RA 14 *nec bar-*

bam nec capillos nec ungues dempturum, nisi prius filiam suam nuptui traderet), for which there had been no opportunity so far (Klebs [p.411], followed by Schmeling [p.77,20-21], believes that *deposito squalore* refers to clothes and that the statement 45, RB 11 *et proiectis vestibus lugubribus induit vestes mundissimas* was interpolated from here, but see comm. ad loc.). A Greek substrate text is highly uncertain.

squalore luctus, quod habuit (RA): The juxtaposition *squalor* and *luctus* is very frequent, esp. in Cicero; cf. Cic., *Pro reditu* 12 *inrisit squalorem vestrum et luctum* <…> *civitatis*; *Quir.* 8 *coniugis miserat squalor et luctus*; *Planc.* 21 *in squalore et luctu*; *ad Attic.* 3,10 *ne aut illius luctum squaloremque aspicerem*; *Epist.* 5,1,1 *in luctu et squalore sum*. The dictionaries do not list the combination found here. An early conjecture by Bonnet, p.394 n.1 is *squalore luctuoso, quod*, based on *luctuosum* **A** (likewise Schmeling, p.38,22).

quod habuit (RA): Doubted by many (e.g. Riese [1893]: 'quo tabuit *conieci*'), deleted by many (e.g. Klebs, p.256). But it could be original, *quod* reflecting uncertainty about the gender of *squalor* (cf. Bulhart, *Euseb. Vercell.*, Turnhout 1957, p.VII § 2). It may even have been taken directly from Gr. (?) τὸ πένθος, ὅ, cf. Ps.-Methodius (ed. Aerts-Kortekaas) [5] 8,7-8 *usque ad mare* (Gr. θάλασσα), *quae* <…>. This kind of 'grammatical irregularity' is often found in translations, cf. S. Lundström, *Übersetzungstechnische Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der christlichen Latinität*, Lund 1955, pp.257-74. For the equivalence of *luctus* ~ πένθος, cf. CGL VI 657.

detonso capite (RA) ~ *tonsus capite* (RB): A minimal but probably significant change. For *detondeo*, cf. OLD, s.v. (2): 'to cut off (hair), etc.': Ciris 186 *patris crinem de vertice detonsum*; Ov., *Fast.* 6,229 *non mihi detonsos crines depectere licet*; Pass. Thom. p.111,2. From Greek (?) ἀποκείρεσθαι, cf. OLD, s.v. ἀποκείρω: Herod. 6,21 ἀποκείρασθαι τὰς κεφαλάς 'to have their hair shorn close'; also absolutely: Arist., *Nub.* 836 ἀποκείρασθαι. The change is perhaps due to the influence of grammarians, cf. Append. Probi 199,1 K *tondeo, non detondo* (Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 314).

diadema (*dy-* **P**; *-ate* **A**) **inponunt ei et** (**P**: *inposuit.* **A**) (RA) ~ *diademate* (**Mπ**: *-ma* **β**) *inposito* (RB): The pre-eminent sign of Hellenistic kingship, cf. OLD, s.v. *diadema*, *-tis*; Bauer, s.v. διάδημα; H.W. Ritter, *Diadem und Königsherrschaft. Untersuchungen zu Zeremonien und Rechtsgrundlagen der Herrschaftsantritts bei den Persern, bei Alex. dem Grossen und im Hellenismus* (Vestigia 7), München 1965. The connection with *induentes* privileges *inponunt* **P** (sc. cives Mytilenae). For *diadema imponere*, cf. ThLL V 945,25. The corresponding term is ἐπι-/ἐντίθημι διάδημα, cf. 1 Macc. 1:10 *et inposuerunt sibi omnes diademata post mortem eius* (i.e. Alexandri) (Gr. καὶ

ἐπέθεντο πάντες διαδήματα μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν); ibid. 11:54 *regnavit et inposuit diadema* (Gr. ἐβασίλευσεν καὶ ἐπέθετο διάδημα). For *diadema* **β** (fem., 1st decl.), cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 218 (NB *inposito* ß is not adjusted).

46, RA 13-14 Et tenens eam in amplexu coram omni populo <lacrimis impediebatur loqui. Athenagoras autem> vix manu impetrat a plebe, ut taceant. 'He took her in his arms in front of all the people, but could not speak for tears. With difficulty Athenagoras succeeded in silencing the people with his hand.'

46, RB 11-12 Et tenens eam in amplexu coram populo loqui lacrimis inpediebatur. Athenagoras vix manu imperat plebi, ut tacerent.

coram omni (RA: *om.* RB) **populo**: A very common formulation, cf. ThLL IV 946,24: from (?) ἐνώπιον 'before', cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐνώπιον (II): 'as Prep. c. gen.'; e.g. Acts 6:5 *coram omni multitudine* (Gr. ἐνώπιον παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους).

lacrimis impediebatur loqui. Athenagoras autem Rα (φF, L) (*om.* **AP**): *loqui lacrimis inpediebatur. Athenagoras* (RB): The lacuna in *RA* can be filled via **Rα**. It may have to do with the textual corruption that follows immediately.

vix <…> **ut taceant.** (RA): *vix* <…> *ut tacerent.* (RB): The τόπος of a noisy (popular) meeting, here mainly modelled on Acts 21:40. For Latin, see Verg., *Aen.* 12,692 *significat manu et* <…> *incipit*; Ov., *Met.* 1,205 *qui postquam voce manuque murmura compressit tenuere silentia cuncti*; Sen., *Controv.* 9,4,19 *silentium manu fecit*; Pers., *Sat.* 4,7; Liv. 1,297; Tacit., *Ann.* 1,25,2 *silentium manu poscens*; Suet., *Aug.* 53,1; Spart., *Did.* 4,4; Iul. Val., *epit.* 2.3 (cf. E. Smits, *Viator* 18 [1987], p.111); Acts 12:17 *Annuens autem eis manu* (-um v.l.) *ut tacerent* (Gr. κατασείσας δὲ αὐτοῖς τῇ χειρὶ σιγᾶν); ibid., 13:16 *Surgens autem Paulus et manu silentium indicens ait* (Gr. ἀναστὰς δὲ Παῦλος καὶ κατασείσας τῇ χειρὶ εἶπεν); ibid. 19:33; ibid. 21:40 *Paulus* <…> *annuit manu ad plebem et magno silentio facto* (Gr. ὁ Παῦλος <…> κατέσεισε τῇ χειρὶ τῷ λαῷ, πολλῆς δὲ σιγῆς γενομένης); for Greek, see Heliod. 10,16,3 τὴν χεῖρα προτείνας καὶ κατασείων πρὸς ἡσυχίαν τὸ κλυδώνιον τοῦ δήμου κατέστελλε '(Hydaspes) raised his arm and with a motion of his hand he tried to still the tempest that raged in the people', cf. 10,7,2. It is a small step from here to Latin and Greek hagiography: Martyr. Polycarpi 9,2: ὁ

δὲ Πολύκαρπος <...> εἰς πάντα τὸν ὄχλον <...> ἐμβλέψας καὶ ἐπισείσας αὐτοῖς τὴν χεῖρα <...> εἶπεν 'But Policarpe looked at all the crowd and waving his hand <...> said'; Passio Andreae 13 (ed. Bonnet-Lipsius II,2 p.29,16 τῇ χειρὶ τῷ ὄχλῳ διανεύων τοῦ ἀναχωρεῖν αὐτούς 'indicating with his hand that they should move away'; Martyrium Andreae prius (ibid. p.52) κατέσεισεν αὐτοὺς τῇ χειρὶ σιγᾶν 'with his hand he ordered them to be silent'. For Latin hagiography, cf. Martyrium Petri, 9 (ed. Salonius) *tunc Petrus ascendens editiorem locum nutuque ad silentium provocans populum ait*; Mombr. II 526,38; 640,11. The genealogical line seems clear: from **HA(Gr)** via **R(Gr)** without serious interventions to RA/RB.

vix manu (**P**: *-um* **A**) **impetrat a plebe** (*ad plebem* **AP**) (RA) ~ *vix manu imperat plebi* (RB): The textual tradition of *RA* seems to mix up two constructions: *vix impetrare ab aliquo aliquid* and *imperare alicui / ad aliquem* (resolution of dat.) *aliquid,* with a reminiscence of Vulg., Acts 21:40 *annuit manu ad plebem,* cf. Thielm, p.37. It is clear that *RA* prevails as a result of *vix,* cf. *Acta SS. Nerei, Achillei, Domitillae Martyrum,* in AASS 12 Maii, Tom. III p.9, c.12 (in fine) *Tunc Petrus, vix impetrato silentio ait ad populum.*

manu P, RB '(by gesturing) with his hand' (Konstan) ~ *manum* **A**: The **A** reading also occurs in the tradition of Acts, loc. cit., cf. Vet. Lat. (cod. 57, ed. Morin, p.454). Perhaps we could consider *ad manum* = *manu* (cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 248: Hofmann, *Beiträge*, p.105), but this is not necessary.

impetrat (RA) ~ *imperat* (RB): This alternation between the two verbs is very frequent, ThLL VII 599,10; cf. 26, RA 16 (app. crit.). *RB* opts for the standard formulation *imperare silentium,* cf. ThLL VII 586,62 (Sen., *Epist.* 52,14; Plin., *Nat.* 28,62) and the τόπος described above.

ad plebem AP: *plebi* (RB): Perhaps **AP** is correct, cf. Acts 21:40 (ThLL I 559,8 accepts this construction). For the sake of readability I have retained *a plebe* in the text, the more so because the alternation *ad* ~ *ab* is very frequent (Bonnet, p.583; Svennung, *Pall.* 346-348; Garvin, p.89).

taceant (RA) ~ *tacerent* (RB): Perhaps a correction via Acts, loc. cit.

46, RA 15-16

Quibus silentibus ait Athenagoras: "Cives Mytilenae, quos repentina pietas in unum congregavit: 'When they were silent, Athenagoras said: "Citizens of Mytilene, whom a sudden sense of compassion has gathered here;'

46, RB 13-15 Quibus silentibus ait: “Cives Mytileni, quos pristina fides tenet et nunc repentina causa coagulavit in unum:

repentina pietas (RA) ~ *pristina fides tenet et nunc repentina causa* (RB): *RA* offers a typical, exact formulation of a sudden change, cf. LSJ, s.v. *repentinus* (1): ‘occurring without previous intimation, sudden’: Cic., *Cluent.* 106 *suspicione aliqua perculsi repentina*; Liv. 3,8,9 *repentino pavore perculsos*; Sen., *Epist.* 74,5 *omnium animos mala repentina sollicitant*. The Glossaria suggest a direct translation from: αἰφνίδιος εὐσέβεια (cf. CGL VII 199 and ibid. 447). This translation is also found in the Vulg., cf. e.g. Luke 21:34 μήποτε <…> ἐπιστῇ ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς αἰφνίδιος ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη (Vulg. *ne forte* <…> *superveniat in vos repentina dies illa*). His preference for antithesis leads *RB* to add the literary *prisca/pristina fides* ‘ancient faith’, cf. Verg., *Aen.* 6,878 *Heu pietas! heu prisca fides, invictaque bello / dextera*; id. 9,79 *prisca fides facto, sed fama perennis*; Stat., *Theb.* 1,509; ibid. 2,269; id., *Silv.* 4,6,92; *Carm. de resurr.* 250 *illic* (sc. in Paradiso) *prisca fides electa in sede quiescit*. For the fuller form *pristinus*, cf. VPE 5,6,1 *Sunna episcopus* <…> *pertinaciter in pristinam fidem perduravit*, cf. ibid. 5,2,6 *pristinis perdurans piaculis*. Unfortunately *RB* goes too far, because the error of the Mytilene citizens and their punishment is precisely due to absence of faith, cf. Introd. V1,1. As regards *repentina causa* (RB): *causa* is probably halfway between ‘reason’ and ‘matter’ (cf. une chose, una cosa). See Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 154: ‘surtout depuis le Ve siècle’.

in unum congregavit (RA) ~ *coagulavit in unum* (RB): *RA* expresses the situation simply, cf. ThLL IV 290,35; 291,29; the phrase occurs often in biblical language: Num. 11:22 *pisces maris in unum congregabuntur*; ibid. 31:12 *in unum omni populo congregato*, cf. Esth. 10:13. Perhaps we can assume a Greek *Vorlage*: συναγείρω/συνάγω εἰς ἕν, cf. Eur., *Or.* 1640 εἰς ἓν συναγαγεῖν; John 11:52 *ut filios Dei* <…> *congregaret in unum* (Gr. συναγάγῃ εἰς ἕν), cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. εἰς (2 a.). The term *coagulare* is more literary, cf. ThLL III 1379, 59-64, which only provides late examples, e.g. Aug., *In psalm.* 75,8 *isti volunt coagulare pacem, isti inter sese miscent dissensionem*.

46, RA 16-18 videte Tharsiam a patre suo esse cognitam, quam leno cupidissimus ad nos expoliandos usque in hodiernum diem depressit; quae vestra pietate virgo permansit. 'You see that Tarsia, whom a greedy pimp had oppressed in order to ruin us up to this very day, has been recognized by her father. Through your kindness she remained a virgin.'

46, RB 15-17 videtis Tharsiam a patre suo hodie cognitam, quam cupidissimus leno ad nos expoliandos usque hodie depressit; quae nostra pietate virgo permansit.

a patre (**P, Rα [φF, L]**): *co* (i.q. cum) **A**: In terms of palaeography *a* is easily confused with *cum* (in this case *co*) in several kinds of script (cf. Catull. 64,116 *a primo*: *cum primo* v.l.; 67,42 *ancillis*: *concillis* v.l.). The meaning also readily gives rise to confusion, cf. Greg. Tur., *Vit. Patr.* 18,2 *qui magno cum* (*a* v.l.) *Alarico rege amore dilegebatur*; ThLL IV 1375,1-33; LHS II, p.260[3].

cognitam (RA/RB): A standard expression in this literature, probably corresponding to ἀναγνωρίζω, cf. LSJ, s.v. (1): 'to recognize'.

cupidissimus (RA/RB), cf. 33, RB 3.

ad nos expoliandos (RA, βM): Athenagoras also feels involved, but cf. *vos* π.

usque in hodiernum diem (RA) ~ *usque hodie* (**βπ**, *hodie usque* **M**) (RB): Probably for the sake of abbreviation only.

vestra pietate (RA) ~ *nostra pietate* (RB): Athenagoras considers himself involved, cf. 36, RA 7-9/RB 10-12.

46, RA 18-19 Vt ergo plenius vestrae felicitati gratias referam, eius procurate vindictam." 'So that I can be still more thankful to your prosperous city, see to his revenge."'

46, RB 17-18 Vt ergo pietati vestrae plenius gratias referat, natae eius procurate vindictam."

The changes in *RB* are precisely formulated compared with *RA*'s vague wording.

plenius (RA/RB), cf. 12, RA 18/RB 21.

vestrae felicitati (**P**; *-tis* **A**) ~ *pietati vestrae* (RB): In *RA felicitas* is probably used in an honorary title of address. For this use of *felicitas*, cf. OLD, s.v. *felicitas* (1.b.c.); it corresponds to τύχη/ἀγαθὴ τύχη, cf. LSJ, s.v. τύχη (IV): 'of a person or city, sts. thought of as permanently belonging to him or it'; ThLL VI,1 431,51-57. A famous example is the Τύχη of Antioch, represented as a statue by Eutychides, cf. Paus. 6,2,7. Another possibility is εὐτυχία. (For *felicitatis* **A**, cf. Löfstedt, *Late Latin*, p.127.) Schmeling, *Notes*, p.386 (on ed. 39,4) prefers the spelling *Felicitati*, cf. Introd. n.80 (2). *RB* adjusts to the concrete situation.

referam (RA), sc. Athenagoras ~ *referat* (RB), sc. Apollonius: Adjustment to the situation, probably using above *RA* 16 *pietas*.

eius (RA) ~ *natae eius* (RB): *RA* is dubious (with subj. gen.: *Tharsiae* or *Apollonii*; with obj. gen.: *lenonis*); the addition *natae* (RB) anchors *eius* to *Apollonii*.

46, RA 19-21 At vero omnes una voce clamaverunt dicentes: "Leno vivus ardeat et bona omnia eius puellae addicantur!" 'But they all cried out with one voice: "Let the pimp be burned alive, and let all his wealth be awarded to the girl!"'

46, RB 18-19 Omnes una voce dixerunt: "Leno vivus ardeat et bona eius puellae addicantur!"

omnes una voce (RA/RB): An originally biblical expression, cf. Ex. 24:3 *Responditque omnis populus una voce*; Judith 7:18 *una voce clamaverunt*; *ibid.* 10:9 *Dixerunt* <…> *omnes una voce*. A standard expression in Latin/Greek hagiography (ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος 'as from one mouth' 'with one voice'), cf. *AB* 73 (1955), pp.46-7 (n.1).

clamaverunt dicentes A (*clamare ceperunt* **P**) ~ *dixerunt* (RB): Both **A** and **P** are formulated in biblical language: for **A**, cf. 4 Kgs. 4:40; Matt. 8:29; id. 20:30; John 18:40; for **P**, cf. Josh. 3:3; Judg. 18:23. For *clamare* = *exclamare*, followed by the exact words of the exclamation, cf. 32, RA 2-3; 50, RA 7; Löfstedt, *Tert.* 79, n.1. The reaction described here is crucial to the dating and provenance of the **HA(Gr)**, inasmuch as we are dealing here with a ἐκβόησις, a legal process leading to execution, by popular acclamation, cf. H. Grégoire, *Recueil des Inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1922, p.32 no.100; J. Colin, *Les villes libres de l'Orient*

gréco-romain et l'envoi au supplice par acclamations populaires, Collection Latomus (vol. 82), Bruxelles-Berchem, 1965; Robert, *Pionios*, p.72. The most famous example is of course the trial of Jesus, cf. Matt. 27:23 *At illi magis clamabant dicentes*: *Crucifigatur* (Gr. οἱ δὲ περισσῶς ἔκραζον λέγοντες· σταυρωθήτω). Traces of this procedure – the people as the deciding party – are found throughout Asia Minor (Colin, ch.IV, p.109 ff.), particularly also in Charit. 8,8,2 εἶπε δὲ Χαιρέας· «Ἐπιτρέψατέ μοι τὰ ἑξῆς σιωπᾶν, σκυθρωπότερα γάρ ἐστι τῶν πρώτων.» Ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐξεβόησε· «Λέγε πάντα.» '"Allow me to pass over in silence what happened next," said Chaireas. "It is grimmer than the beginning of the story." "Tell us the whole story!" cried the assembled people.' (For other places in Char., see Colin p.123 n.5.) The line here probably leads directly from **HA(Gr)** via **R(Gr)** to **RA/RB**. Together with other indications (cf. Introd. V.1), this could point towards Asia Minor as the place of origin of **HA(Gr)**, cf. C. Roueché, 'Acclamations in the Later Roman Empire, New Evidence from Aphrodisias', *JRS* 74 (1984), pp.181-99. (Klebs, p.303 assumes influence from the Comoedia Palliata. For Garbugino, p.107 with nn.81-82, *dicentes* can be explained as an 'uso pleonastico', 'una tendenza caratteristica del latino d'età imperiale'.)

Leno vivus ardeat (RA/RB): A punishment known by the name of *vivicomburium*, but outside of hagiography very rarely referred to by the words *vivus ardere*. The combination is absent in ThLL II 484,2-65 (*De eis, quae comburuntur*). For hagiography, cf. Mombr. I 44,46 *Unde orta est grandis seditio populi romani, nam alii clamabant: vivus ardeat Alexander*; 359,2 *Agapem et Chrysoniam* <...> *vivas incendi*; 552,16 *Et iussit eos propter sententiam suam vivos ardere*; II 189,25 *clamor undique populi frementis attollitur, dicentis: viva duro cremetur incendio*. Sometimes elsewhere too: Passio S. Fructuosi, episcopi Tarraconensis (BHL 3196 c.2), cf. *AB* 51,1933,50: *iussit eos sua sententia vivos ardere*. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Römische Quartalschrift* XIV, pp.167-8, notes that this punishment was rare in Rome and was imported from the East. See also Cumont, p.196 n.2. Compare Paul., *Sentent.*, 5,29, § 31: *Humiliores bestiis obiciuntur vel vivi exuruntur, honestiores capite puniuntur*. The corresponding Greek expression is ζῶν κατακαυθῆναι, cf. Herod. 1,86 (Croesus at the stake) εἴ τίς μιν δαιμόνων ῥύσεται τοῦ μὴ ζῶντα κατακαυθῆναι 'if one of the gods should save him from being burnt alive'. A good parallel is Martyr. Polycarp. 12,3 τότε ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ὁμοθυμαδὸν (cf. *HA una voce*) ἐπιβοῆσαι (cf. *HA clamaverunt dicentes*) ὥστε τὸν Πολύκαρπον ζῶντα κατακαυθῆναι (Euseb., HE 3,27 κατακαῦσαι). Attention was drawn to this parallel place long ago, cf. L. Holstenius, *Passio SS. Martyrum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, Romae 1663: Colin, pp.126-7 also in connection with the Martyrs of Lyon. In my view, the value of this *Martyr. Polycarpi* for the genesis of **HA(Gr)** is no more than

that of a (striking) parallel; for further dissemination and parallel places, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. κατακαίω (*in fine*); Robert, *Pionios*, pp.113-4.

addicantur (RA, **π**: *-entur* **M**) ~ *adducantur* **β**: *Addicere* is the technical term 'to award to', cf. ThLL II 575,16: Cic., *Verr.* 2,137 *mihi bona addicat*; Gaius, *Dig.* 29,5,9 *cum fisco caduca bona defuncti addicantur*; *Inst.* 2,24 *vivi bona* <…> *emptori addici iubet* (sc. praetor), cf. 3,79. Text-critically I have retained **Mπ** in *RB*, against **β**, because *RB* generally uses the correct term in legal matters, cf. Introd. VI.2.

46, RA 21	Atque his dictis leno igni est traditus. 'At these words the pimp was consigned to the flames.'
46, RB 20	Addicitur ignibus leno.

igni est traditus (RA) ~ *Addicitur ignibus* (RB): On the one hand *RA* follows the standard jargon, cf. ThLL VII 292,67 ff. (also in combination with *tradere*), on the other hand it could derive directly from Greek, cf. Herod. 1,86 ζῶντα διδόναι τινὰ πυρί 'to burn one alive'. *RB* not only uses the technical term, but also the plur., to render the scorching heat, as often found in both literature and hagiography, cf. Mombr. II 38,17 *ignibus concremare*; 169,36 *ignibus cremabo*; 336,4 *ignibus uri*; 395,4; 499,56. The *Gesta Romanorum* (Klebs, p.359) note with a certain glee '*leno in ignem ponitur et totaliter comburitur*'.

46, RA 22-23	Villicus vero eius cum universis puellis et facultatibus Tharsiae virgini traditur. 'But his overseer and all the girls and all his goods were handed over to the maiden Tarsia.'
46, RB 20-21	Villicus eius cum universis puellis et facultatibus Tharsiae traditur.

eius (RA/RB): Sc. lenonis.

universis (RA/RB): Classical Latin would have preferred *omnibus*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. universus.

puellis (RA/RB): A stock term, cf. below 46, RA 25/RB 23; 33, RA 24/RB 22 *villicum puellarum*, cf. LSJ, s.v. *puella* (3)

facultatibus (RA/RB): Sc. lenonis: a standard term for *opes, possessiones, divitiae*, cf. ThLL VI,1 153,77 (III, *metonymice*); esp. in hagiographical

sources, e.g. Mombr. II 495,51; 496,49; 499,18; 513,17; 555,42; 557,6. From (?) οὐσία/οὐσίαι 'property', cf. CGL VI 431.

46, RA 23-25 Cui ait Tharsia: "Redonavi tibi vitam, quia beneficio <tuo virgo permansi". Cui donavit pro hoc beneficio> ducenta talenta auri et libertatem. 'She said to the overseer: "I grant you your liberty, because it was through your goodwill that I remained a virgin." And she gave him two hundred talents of gold and his freedom.'

46, RB 21-22 Ait Tharsia villico: "Dono tibi vitam, quia beneficio tuo virgo permansi." Et donavit ei X talenta et libertatem.

Redonavi (RA), cf. *RA* 27 ~ *Dono* (RB): A 'correction' by *RB* on two fronts: *redonare* means giving what is due, cf. Blaise, s.v. *redonare*: 'donner à son tour, en récompense', not so much 'to give back (the same)' cf. Cass., *Ios. c. Ap.* 1,17,110 *quem redonavit <...> Salomon <...> multis rebus*. He also adjusts the temporal aspect: for the use of the perfect (probably going back to **R[Gr]** and **HA[Gr]**) where a present would be expected, see 26, RA 16 *iuravi* ~ RB 15 *iuro*. (*RC* mixes the two forms: *redono* Va, cf. Schmeling (1988), p.129,6.) A good parallel for the use of the perfect in a similar situation is found in the cycle of legends about Saint Pelagia (H. Usener, *Legenden der H. Pelagia,* Bonn 1879, p.12, l.24): καὶ προσκαλεσαμένη τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς παιδίσκας δοῦσα ἑκάστῳ καὶ ἑκάστῃ διὰ χειρὸς ἰδίας χρυσίον ἱκανὸν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· Ἐγὼ μὲν ἠλευθέρωσα ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς προσκαίρου δουλείας· ὑμεῖς δὲ σπεύσατε ἐλευθερῶσαι ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας τῆς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου. καὶ οὕτως ἀπέλυσεν αὐτούς. 'She gathered all the slaves, men and women, gave them with her own hand a large sum of money and said: "I release you from temporal servitude; you must hasten to liberate yourselves from the servitude of sin.". And with these words she freed them from slavery.' This usage in legal terminology goes back to classical Greek, cf. Arist., *Thesm.* 1208 λέλυσο 'have your liberty at once'. **R(Gr)** may have read ἀποδέδωκά σοι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, cf. CGL VII 189. For other possible Greek synonyms, cf. McLean (2005[4]), § 12.01 Manumission, p.291. (For *redonavi* RA Schmeling substitutes *redono* from RC [Schmeling, p.129,6]. This substitution eliminates the Graecism. Garbugino, p.31 n.24 states that *redonavi* is an incorrect use of preposition, instead of *donavi RB*: this 'compromise' also removes the Graecism.)

beneficio tuo (RA/RB): Cf. 36, RA/RB 5: In fact it was compliance with Tarsia's request; the reading *beneficio tuo et civium virgo permansi* **Va**, **RErf.** is amusing.

beneficio <**tuo** <…> **hoc beneficio> ducenta** (RA): a classical example of omission through homoioteleuton, to be supplemented via **Rα**, cf. app. crit. ad loc. and Introd. X.

ducenta talenta auri (RA) ~ *X talenta* (RB): Despite *RB*'s massive reduction an incredible sum of money, cf. 7, RA 18/RB 17 (comm.).

46, RA 25/RB 23 Deinde cunctis puellis coram se praesentatis dixit (RA: ait RB): 'Then all the girls were brought before her, and she said to them:'

puellis (RA/RB) 'prostitutes': Greek uses the same euphemism, namely παιδίσκη, cf. LSJ, s.v. II,2.

coram se praesentatis (RA/RB): The full form where classical Latin would have confined itself to *productis*. For *praesento*, cf. Blaise, s.v.: 'rendre present' (Plin., postcl.); in the *Passiones* it often has the meaning 'to bring the accused into court' (Souter), cf. ThLL X 2,1 862,56 ff. The Glossaria (cf. CSL VII 122) suggest παριστῶ/παρίστημι, cf. LSJ, s.v. (8): '*produce* in court, etc.'.

46, RA 26-28 "Qui<c>quid de corpore vestro illi infausto contulistis, ut habeatis vobis, illud redonavi, et quia mecum verumtamen servistis, ex hoc iam mecum liberae estote." '"Whatever you earned for the accursed pimp with your bodies, I give it back to you to keep; and indeed because you were slaves with me, you shall be free with me from now on."'

46, RB 23-25 "Quicquid de corpore vestro illi contulístis infaústo (*pl.*), vobis habete; quia servistis mecum, liberae estote."

Quicquid (RA/RB): *Quia id* **P**: Correction urges itself via *Quicquid* **Rα (φF, L)**/RB, but the original **P** reading is defensible.

de corpore vestro (RA/RB): Outspoken language, cf. Catull. 110,8 *meretricis avarae quae se toto corpore prostituit*; Sen., *Contr.* 1,2,14 *uti corpore prostitutum*; Lex Iul. mun. 122 *corpore quaestum facere* (cf. OLD, s.v. *facio* (13): CIL I 593.123), cf. R. Flemming, 'Quae corpore quaestum facit', *JRS* 89 (1999), pp.39-61, esp. p.50. For the use of *de* to reinforce an abl. of instrument, cf. Löfstedt, *Per.*, p.104; Väänänen, *Intr.*, § 248. The expression corresponds to Greek σώματι, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐργάζομαι (6) 'especially of courtesans': Dem. 59,20 σώματι ἐ. *quaestum corpore facere*; Polyb. 12,13,2 ἐπὶ τέγους ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος; Herond. 6,78 τὸ σῶμα δοῦσα χρήσασθαι. Elsewhere too: Beatrijs (448-451): 'Ic moet gaan door den noot / buten der stat opt velt / Ende winnen met minen lichame gelt / Daar ic met mach copen spise.' (I must perforce go outside the city into the field and earn money with my body so that I can buy food.)

illi infausto (RA/RB): Cf. 33, RA 3 *leno, vir infaustissimus* (RB 2 *aliter*).

ut habeatis vobis, illud redonavi (RA) ~ *vobis habete* (RB): Archaic, legal Latin in *RA*, skilfully reduced by *RB*. For *habere tibi/vobis*, cf. ThLL VI,2 2399,48 ff.: Plaut., *Men.* 690 *tibi habeto, aufer, utere*; *Rud.* 1358 *si tuos est* (sc. vitulus), *habeas tibi*; Sen., *Epist.* 81,32 *tibi habe, quod accepisti*, cf. the divorce formulation: *tuas res tibi habeto*. For *vobis*, cf. Plaut., *Merc.* 988 *habete vobis cum porcis, cum fiscina*; *Rud.* 692 *aram habete hanc vobis pro castris*; ibid., 1136 *quidquid istic inerit, vobis habebitis*. It is also used in Late Latin, cf. *Actus Petri cum Simone*, c.8 (Lips.-Bonn. I, p.56,14): *habeto tu tibi tuas tunicas tenebrarum*. For the elimination *redonavi* (RA) ~ (RB /), cf. above 26, RA 16 *Iuravi* ~ RB 15 *Iuro* (comm.).

verum tamen (RA) ~ (RB /), cf. OLD, s.v. *verumtamen* 'often as two words' 'but even so, nevertheless'. Here to be interpreted affirmatively: 'surely'; Dutch: 'wis en waarachtig' 'stellig', Germ. 'doch' (Waiblinger, p.108). Editors often emend or delete: *hactenus* Welser; {verum tamen} Schmeling, ad loc.

mecum <…> **servistis** (RA/RB): This may derive directly from Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. συνδουλεύω: Din., *Fr.* 89,32 'to be a fellow-slave': Eur., *Hec.* 204 Οὐκέτι σοι παῖς ἅδ', οὐκέτι δὴ / γήρᾳ δειλαίῳ δειλαία / συνδουλεύσω 'No more / Can I, your daughter, share the galling yoke / Of servitude with your forlorn old age' (tr. M. Wodhull, *Everyman's Library*, 63). For σύνδουλος fem.: Herod. 2,134; Eur., *Med.* 65; for συνδούλη: Herod. 1,110; Babr. 3,6.

ex hoc iam mecum liberae estote (RA) ~ *liberae estote* (RB): *RB* reduces to the bare minimum. Though we are obviously dealing with a novelistic

element here, such a punishment for the *leno* and wholesale manumission seem to have some basis in reality, cf. H. Herter, 'Die Soziologie der antiken Prostitution', *JbAC* 3 (1960), p.108.

ex hoc (RA) ~ (RB /): Manumission formulas naturally emphasize the time of manumission, in Greek too ἀπὸ/ἐκ τοῦ νῦν. For manumission formulas in Greek (in this case *RA*), cf. A. Calderini, *La manomissione e la condizione dei liberti in Grecia*, Milano 1908; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* [3] 3, p.352; G. Fabre, *Schiavitù, manumissione e classi dipendenti nel mondo antico*, Roma 1979; id., *Libertus*, Roma 1981; for the formula in *RA*, compare Calderini, p.448 (quotation from cod. *Vat. Pal. Gr.* 367, fol.168) τοίνυν καὶ σὺ ἔσοι (*fort. scribendum*: ἔσει) ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν πάντ' ἐλεύθερος 'you too, from this moment you will be free in every respect'.

mecum liberae (RA) ~ *liberae* (RB): The prevalent term in Latin is *colliberta*, cf. OLD, s.v.: this corresponds to συνεξελεύθερος 'fellow-freedman'(cf. LSJ, s.v.)/συνεξελευθέρα, cf. LSJ, s.v.: Perdrizet, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 25.82 (Salonica, AD 1).

estote (RA/RB): Often used in legal and solemn formulas, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. imperativus II: for the combination with *liber*, cf. Plaut., *Men.* 1093 *liber esto, si invenis*, cf. 1148; *Ep.* 730 *ob eam rem liber esto*. For the term's persistence, cf. Svennung, *Untersuchungen*, p.648.

In relation to a Greek model we can conclude that both *RA* and *RB* aimed to give a Latin colouring to their manumission formula (*habere tibi/vobis* ~ *liber esto*) (differently Klebs, p.231).

CHAPTER 47

47, RA 1 Erigens ergo se <Ty>rius Apollonius his dictis populo alloquitur: 'Then Apollonius of Tyre got up and addressed the people in these words:'

47, RB 1 Et erigens se Tyrius Apollonius alloquitur pópulum dícens (*pl.*):

ergo se P (*erigens se ergo se* **P**, cf. 19,1 **P**), **Rα(L)**: *se ergo* **Rα(φ)**: The position of *ergo* has been retained despite 41, RA 15-16 *Erigens se ergo*, cf. OLD, s.v. *ergo* 'usually first or second word (or element) in the sentence.' The corresponding term οὖν also usually takes second position, cf. LSJ, s.v. (II): 'to continue a narrative, *so, then*' (exx. there). In both places *RB* omits *ergo* and opens with *et*.

his dictis (RA) ~ *dicens* (RB): Probably *rhythmi causa*.

populo alloquitur (RA) ~ *alloquitur populum* (**βπ**: *populo* **M**): Late Latin connects *alloqui* with dat. (cf. ThLL I 1694,39; 50, RA 23 [RB /]) esp. in solemn speeches to the people or soldiers (cf. ibid., 1696,21: Dares 9, Anonym. Vales. 12,66), cf. Blaise, s.v. *adloquor*. Perhaps Greek is also an influence, cf. Prisc., *Gramm.* III 354,12 *Attici* προσφωνεῖν τούτους καὶ τούτοις. *RB* (**βπ**) normalizes, cf. Introd. III.1. (The lemma is absent in the Greek Novel.)

47, RA 2-4 "Gratias pietati vestrae refero, venerandi et piissimi cives, quorum longa fides pietatem praebuit et quietem tribuit et <educávit> salútem (*pl.*) et exhíbuit glóriam (*t.*). '"Most honourable and worthy citizens, I thank you for your kindness; it was your longlasting loyalty which created charity and offered peace and <…> health and produced glory.'

47, RB 2-3 "Gratias pietati vestrae refero, venerandi et piissimi cives. Longa fides pietátem praebuit, quietem tribuit, salútem exhíbuit, glóriam educávit (*v.*).

pietati vestrae (RA/RB): Both in the proper sense and in honourable titles of address, cf. Ind. verb., s.v.

venerandi et piissimi cives (RA/RB): This address formulation is remarkable on account of the climax in the degrees of comparison, cf. 14, RA 7; 46, RA 1. Moreover, the two adjectives (CGL VII 399 προσκυνητός 'to be worshipped'; CGL VII 93 εὐσεβέστατος 'most pious', 'most religious' respectively) are mainly used in the 5th/6th c. vis-à-vis ecclesiastical dignitaries. There is no record of a combination with *cives* and/or πολῖται, cf. Blaise, ss.vv.

quorum (RA) ~ (RB /): The omission of the relative generalizes the statement.

pietatem <…> exhibuit gloriam (RA) ~ *pietatem <…> gloriam educavit* (RB): A striking passus both in its balanced form and in content. A striking feature as regards form is the noun-verb parallelism in *pietatem praebuit, quietem tribuit* (RA/RB), together with isosyllabism and end-rhyme in the verbs. *RB* repeats this parallelism in a chiastic form in the second part, viz. verb-noun. For this reason Riese (1893) assumed a lacuna before *salutem*, to be filled with the verb in *RB*, i.e. *educavit*. The order in *RB* may be for the sake of rhythm. The content forms an ode (in ascending degrees) to civil solidarity (ὁμόνοια 'unanimity' 'concord') and the fruits of such a society. Its provenance is uncertain: an enumeration and glorification of these virtues can be found in all kinds of circles, political and philosophical writings, rhetorical treatises, both in Latin and in Greek, especially in Roman Asia Minor, cf. A. Zuiderhoek, *Citizens, elites and benefactors. The politics of public generosity in Roman Asia Minor*, Groningen (diss.) 2006, n.497 (lit.). A biblical origin seems unlikely.

47, RA 4-6

(1) Vestrum est, quod fraudulenta mors <cum> suo luctu detecta (RA: deiecta *codd.* RB) est; (2) vestrum est, quod virginitas nulla bella sustinuit; (3) vestrum est, quod paternis amplexibus unica restituta est filia. 'It is your doing that false death and the subsequent mourning have been exposed; your doing that virginity did not endure any battles; your doing that an only daughter has been restored to her father's embrace.'

47, RB 4-5

(1) Vestrum est, quod redivivis vulneribus rediviva vita successit; (2) vestrum est, quod fraudulenta mors cum suo luctu detecta est; (3) vestrum est, quod virginitas nulla bella sustinuit; vestrum est, quod paternis amplexibus unica restituta est filia.

An emphatically rhetorical sentence: *RA* with a threefold epanalepsis (cf. Blaise, *Manuel*, § 31) '*Vestrum est*', in chronological order, in which merit

is awarded to the citizens of Mytilene. *RB* opens with a sentence of his own in epanalepsis, cf. the end of this note. For the rest the two recensions coincide.

1. refers to c.32: the apparent burial of Tarsia and Dionysias' mourning attire in Tarsus. The collocation *fraudulenta mors* is lacking in ThLL VI,1 1269,71 ff. (classical Latin would prefer: *fallax, dolosa, mendax*). Retention of *deiecta RB* alongside *detecta RA* is possible, but the image *detegere* is well-suited to the disclosure of an apparent death.
2. refers to cc.33-36: Tarsia's stay in the *lupanar* at Mytilene, where her *virginitas* was in fact spared (*aliter* Hunt, 1981[a], p.342). The phrase *bellum sustinere* is common, both in pagan authors (ThLL II 1840,25 ff.) and in Christian writers (ThLL II 1830,36 ff.). But it could also derive directly from Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀνέχω (A.5.b. metaph.): 'to uphold' 'to maintain': Thuc. 1,141 αἱ δὲ περιουσίαι τοὺς πολέμους <...> ἀνέχουσιν 'However, financial resources can uphold the wars.' For *bellum* in sexual matters = πόλεμος, cf. Lampe, s.v. πόλεμος (6): Greg. Naz., *Or.* 2,91 (Migne 35, 493[A]) τὸν ἐν τοῖς πάθεσι πόλεμον; Chrys., *Hom.* 7,1 *in 1 Tim.* (Migne 11.583 E) τρίτος, ὅταν ἕκαστος πρὸς ἑαυτὸν πολεμῇ; *Hist. Laus.* (ed. Bartelink) c.23, l.15 τρίπλους γάρ ἐστιν ὁ πόλεμος ὁ πορνικός 'in fact, threefold is the war of vice'; ibid., c.45,12 ὁ τῆς πορνείας πόλεμος 'the war of impurity'; Sture Linnér, p.155,6 ἵνα κουφίσῃ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου τῆς πορνείας 'to relieve him from the war of vice'. Rydén (1963), *Wörterverzeichnis* p.198, s.v. πόλεμος; (1970), p.56: Ioh. Klim. (PG 88,841[B]) πόλεμος χαλεπὸς τῆς πορνείας 'a difficult war against fornication'. The Greek Novel does not have this use of πόλεμος, cf. *Less.*, s.v. Does this imply input from **R(Gr)**?
3. refers to the recognition at Mytilene (cc.45-46), of which the citizens were witnesses rather than agents. The diction is solemn: *paternis amplexibus* where simpler prose would have used *patris*. For *unicus/unica*, cf. 45, RA 3 *spes mea unica*.

This chronology is disrupted by *RB*, who opens with a sentence which seems designed to sum up the entire drama ('It is your doing that renewed life has succeeded renewed wounds'). Perhaps it was triggered by 48, RA 41 *Iterum cum rediviv<o> involverer* luctu, since popular etymology derives the adj. *redivivus* from *redeo* and *vivo* (cf. Fordyce on Catull. 17,3). The phrase *rediviva vita* is a brillant invention. (The real etymology of *redivivus* 're-used' 'second hand' seems to be connected with *reduvia*, cf. LSJ, s.v. *redivivus*.) Formations ending in *-ivus* are popular in Late Latin particularly, cf. J. Breitmeyer, *Le suffixe latin -ivus*, Genève 1933.

47, RA 6-8 Pro hoc tanto munere condono huic civitati vestrae ad restauranda omnia moenia auri

talenta C ." 'For this great service, I donate to this city of yours one hundred talents of gold, for the restoration of all the walls."'

47, RB 7-8 Pro hoc tanto beneficio vestro ad restituenda civitatis vestrae moenia aurum pondo L dono."

Pro (RA/RB): A standard translation of ἀντί 'in exchange for', cf. Matt. 2:22 *regnabat pro* (Gr. ἀντὶ) *Herode patre suo*; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *pro* (5); Ps. Method. 6,4; 10,6.

munere (RA) ~ *beneficio vestro* (RB): *Munus* often has a concrete sense, cf. LSJ, s.v.*munus* (3-4-5): Catull. 101,3 *ut te postremo donarem munera mortis*; Ov., *Pont.* 1,7,29 *lacrimas, supremum in funere munus*; Plin., *Nat.* 36,68 (*obeliscus*) *in Arsinoeo positus a rege munus amoris*, cf. 51, RA/RB 1. The Glossaria underline this meaning, cf. CGL VI 718 *munus*: λειτουργία 'service'. But the reference here is rather to the attitude of the citizens. Hence probably the change to abstract *beneficium*, cf. OLD, s.v. (1) 'kindness': Cic., *Prov.* 7 *civitas* <…> *pro eximiis suis beneficiis* <…> *liberata*; Caes., *Gall.* 1,35,2 *tanto suo populique Romani beneficio adfectus, cum in consulatu suo rex atque amicus a senatu appellatus est*; Liv. 9,12,2 *et beneficii et maleficii occasione amissa*.

condono (RA) ~ *dono* (RB): In classical Latin, too, *condono* 'to grant' simply has the meaning *dono*, cf. LSJ, s.v. *condono* (1) 'to present as a gift': *RB* prefers the simple verb, cf. 46, RA 24.27 *redonavi* ~ RB 21 *dono*, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. verbum.

huic civitati vestrae ad restauranda omnia moenia (RA) ~ *ad restituenda civitatis vestrae moenia* (RB): An elegant reduction.

omnia moenia (RA: *menia* **P**) ~ *moenia* (**β**: *me-* **Mπ**): Apollonius' spontaneous gesture to renovate the city and specifically the city walls accords with the conduct of Hellenistic kings and noblemen, often also wealthy private citizens. (For actual contributions from benefactors to the restoration of buildings, cf. Zuiderhoek, pp.18-19. 'Table 1.1 Donated sums for public building from Roman Asia Minor, 2nd-3rd centuries AD. All sums are in denarii or drachmas.') This activity is sometimes evidenced in the Greek Novel, cf. Heliod. 10,1,2 αὐτὸς ἐπιμείνας τά τε τείχη τῆς πολέως ὠχύρωσε καὶ φρουρὰν ἐγκαταστήσας ἐξώρμησε 'he (sc. Hydaspes) stayed at Philae to strengthen the city's walls (= defenses) and install a garrison, having done which, he departed.' The word *moenia* here probably translates τεῖχος, which has a broader scope particularly in this context, cf. Gregoire (1922), no.270 (from Aphrodisias, Caria) τὸ τεῖχος ἀναστή-

σαντα; L. Robert, *À travers l'Asie Mineure*, p.409: 'Le mot τεῖχος désigne un établissement grec, un fortin, à l'orée du monde indigène'; Roueché, *Aphrodisias*, p.45: '"*Moenia*" can refer to a range of public constructions, including walls.' Hence the actual inscription talks about (12) *restutitori aedium in foro*.

auri talenta C. (RA) ~ *aurum pondo L* (RB): For *RA*, probably going back to τάλαντον χρυσοῦ, cf. 7, RA 18 *auri talenta centum* (price put on Apollonius' head, cf. comm.). For *RB*, cf. 17, RB 6 *argenti pondus* (**b**: *pondo* **βπ**) *XL*. Classical, indeclinable *pondo* (cf. LSJ, s.v.) survives as late as Greg. Tur., *Hist. Fr.* 10,19. Classical Latin would probably have preferred *auri* instead of *aurum*, cf. Cic., *Clu.* 179 *auri quinque pondo abstulit*. For the decline of monetary values in *RB*, cf. Introd. VII.2. For the references to fabulous sums of gold in this place particularly, cf. Garbugino, p.56 n.33 (lit.).

47, RA 8 Et haec dicens eis in praesenti dari iussit. 'After this speech he gave orders for the money to be handed over to them at once.'

47, RB 8-9 Quod cum in praesenti fecisset,

Et haec dicens (RA) ~ (RB /): *RA* probably with the value καὶ ταῦτα εἰπών.

in praesenti (RA/RB): Probably 'at once', cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *praesens*: *Reg. Ben.* 55 *in praesenti* 'immédiatement' (see also Paul. Diac., *Homil.* [Migne 95, col.1303]); Greg. Tur., *Hist. Fr.* 5,18 *de praesenti*, cf. ibid. 2,32. Most likely this phrase can be seen as an *indicium temporis*, cf. Introd. II.1. In view of the immediate context (47, RA 8 *accipientes*) an ellipsis of *pecunia* cannot be ruled out, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. praesens; ThLL X 2,1 848,25-32.

dari iussit (RA) ~ *fecisset* (RB): Probably without any great practical difference; Riese (1893) proposes to add *dare* in *RB*, which Klebs, p.241 n.7 rightly rejects.

47, RA 8-11 At vero cives accipientes aurum fuderunt ei statuam ‹ingentem, in prora navis› stantem et calcantem ‹caput lenonis›, filiam suam in dextro bracchio tenentem, et in ea scripserunt: 'The citizens accepted the gold, and they cast a huge statue of him standing on the prow of a

ship, with his heel on the pimp's head, and his daughter clasped in his right arm. The inscription read:'

47, RB 9-11 fuderunt ei statuam ingentem, in prora navis stantem et calcantem caput lenonis, et filiam in dextro bracchio sedentem, et in base scripserunt:

At vero cives accipientes aurum (RA) ~ (RB /): For *RB* a series of empty statements and therefore to be eliminated.

fuderunt ‹…› **statuam** (RA/RB): A standing expression for bronze statues, cf. ThLL VI,1 1565,49: Sen., *Epist.* 65,5 *numquam* ‹…› *facta esset* (sc.

statua), *nisi fuisset id* (sc. aes), *ex quo funderetur*; CIL III 214 *<statua>m ex aere fusam*; Vulg. 2 Par. 28:2 *insuper et statuas fudit*. Greek uses the same expression, cf. LSJ, s.v. χέω (3 b): 'to cast, of bronze statues'.

In what follows we find two similar lacunas in **P**, viz. *statuam <ingentem in prora navis> stantis* and *calcantem <caput lenonis>*. These can be filled (a) via the principle *similiter incipientia*, (b) via **Rα** (*ingentem* **Rα** [**φF**, **L**]) and RB (*in prora navis, caput lenonis*).

in prora navis (RB) **stantem** (RA/RB): Probably as ἀκρωτήριον 'ornament of ship's stempost', cf. Hdt. 8,121 ἀνδριὰς ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἀκρωτηριόν νεός <…> ἕστηκε δὲ οὗτος etc. 'a statue which has the beak of a ship in its hand <…> and the statue stands (near the golden statue of Alexander of Macedon)', cf. *stantem* (RA/RB). By way of comparison we can perhaps mention another victory statue, namely the 'Nike of Samothrace' (now in the Louvre, Paris), cf. A. Sleeswijk, 'The prow of the "Nike of Samothrace" reconsidered', *Nautical Archaeology*, vol. 11 (1982), pp.233-43.

calcantem caput lenonis (*cap. len. om.* **P**) (RA/RB): For *calcare* (tr.) cf. ThLL III 136,40 ff.: e.g. Vitr. 9,4,4 *laevo pede calcans mediam frontem scorpionis*; Schol. Germ. Bas. p.61,10 *Herculem <…> altero <pe>de caput* (sc. serpentis) *calcantem* (Gr. ἐπιβαίνων); Mart. Cap. 8,840 *Nixus <…> sinistro pede septentrionalis Draconis verticem calcans*, cf. 10, RA 16/RB 14 *modium calcantem*. Esp. in allegories based on the Bible, cf. ThLL III 137,62: Tert., *Cult. fem.* 1,6 *sic calcabit* (sc. mulier) *diaboli caput* (cf. Vulg., Gen. 3:15 *conteret caput*); Hil., *In Matth.* 3,4 (ex *Psalm.* 90,13) *calcaturum lenonem et draconem* (Gr. καταπατήσεις, Vulg. *conculcabis*). As such the construction *calcare supra* would also have been possible, cf. *supra caput lenonis et* **Rα (φF, L)**; see ThLL III 137,62: e.g. Hier., *Epist.* 7,3 *calcat super colubri caput*; Vulg. Luke 10:19 *dedi vobis potestatem calcandi supra serpentes et scorpiones* (Gr. τοῦ πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄφεων). Chiarini (1983), p.284 n.43 adds usefully to the detail *calcantem caput lenonis* by referring to R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art*, New Haven-Connecticut, 1963, p.129, fig.3.56. We find there a picture of an impressive statue representing an armoured Emperor Hadrian trampling with his right foot the head of a defeated adversary. This statue was found in Hierapytna (Cyprus) and is now in Istanbul (Archeological Museum), cf. C.C. Vermeule, *Berytus* 13 (1959), fig.XV.47. See the picture on page 801. Reproduced with the kind permission of the Archeological Museum.

filiam suam in dextro bracchio tenentem (RA) ~ *filiam in dextro bracchio sedentem* (RB): Children are positioned on the right (i.e. on the right hand of the principal figure), traditionally the privileged, protected place, both in pagan culture and in the Christian religion, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. δεξιός;

Headlam (on Herondas 4,4), p.175; E. Klostermann, *Das Matthäusevangelium* (*Lietzmann's Handbuch zum N.T.*), Tübingen 1927^2, p.205; H. Almquist, *Plutarch und das Neue Testament*, Uppsala 1946, p.47; Rydén (1970), p.71. The principal figure could hold the children in an embrace (RA). They could also be seated. This is usually the case in Christian representations, where it is said of God the Son: *qui sedet ad dexteram Patris*, cf. e.g. Paul, Rom. 8:34 *Christus, qui est ad dexteram Dei* (Gr. ὅς ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ), cf. 1 Petr. 3:22 as opposed to Hebr. 10:12 *sedet in dextera Dei* (Gr. ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ). With a minimal change of letters *RB* has opted for this view, in the form of an acc. abs., cf. Ind. gr., s.v. acc. abs. (In the past O. Roßbach [1893] Sp. 1235 [his reference to F. Köpp is wrong as regards name, periodical and article] suggested that the *statua* of Apollonius with daughter, trampling the head of the *leno*, goes back to a real sculpture. Several critics have supported this position, cf. Peters [1902^2], p.77 n.90. But the existence of such a statue cannot be demonstrated. The statue described in RA/RB is probably an elaboration of **HA(Gr)**, based on the Hadrian statue. [I thank Prof. R.R.R. Smith, Oxford]).

in ea (RA) ~ *in base* (RB): Apparently a fine correction, but *RA* may be completely authentic, cf. LSJ, s.v.γράφω (II.2) 'to inscribe'. We are not told where this statue was erected, cf. 10, RA 15/RB 13.

47, RA 12-16

Tyrio Apollonio rest<utitori aed>ium in foro
et Tharsiae pudi<ci>ssime virginitatem servanti
et casum vilissimum incurrenti
universus populus
ob nimium amorem aeternum decus memoriae dedit.

'To Apollonius, the restorer of our buildings on the *forum*, and to the most chaste Tarsia for keeping her virginity and incurring the most demeaning misfortune, the entire population gave <this statue> in great affection and as a sign of eternal honour and remembrance.'

47, RB 12-15

Apollonio restauratori aedium nostrarum
et Tharsiae, sanctissimae virgini, filiae eius
universus populus My<til>enae
ob nimium amorem aeternum decus memoriae dedit.

In my view, this third inscription is also based on a Greek text, specifically in the form of an 'honorific Inscription' ('civil service model'), cf.

McLean (2005[4]), § 9.04, pp.236-9. The text there reads ἀρετᾶς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας καὶ εὐεργεσίας τᾶς εἰς τὸ κοινόν ‘on account of his/her virtue/excellence, goodwill, and benefactions he/she has shown to the community’. These three elements are found in the conduct of Apollonius and Tarsia. The division follows the usual pattern: address (in the dat., cf. McLean p.268), with specifications – principal – motivation – purpose.

Tyrio Apollonio (RA) ~ *Apollonio* (**βMπ**): Though it is tempting to supply *Tyrio* in *RB* too (thus RSt; Riese, Klebs, [p.198 n.3]; Schmeling [1988], ad loc.), it seems better to retain the transmitted text, both here and elsewhere, cf. conversely *Tharsiae* (RA) ~ *Tharsiae* <…> *filiae eius* (RB).

rest<utitori aed>ium in foro (RA) ~ *restauratori aedium nostrarum* (RB): The text is hard to establish. With Klebs p.199 n.2 I have opted for the *RA* reading on account of *restituendorum dierum* (from: *edium*?) **P, Rα (φF)** and *in foro* **P** (*nostrorum* **Rα [φF]**), alongside *aedium* (RB). The conjecture *restitutori moenium nostrorum* (Riese, Schmeling ad loc.) goes back to 46, RA 7 *moenia*. Perhaps confusion is due to the word τεῖχος (see comm. there). Both *restitutor* and *restaurator* are very common both in literature and in inscriptions, cf. OLD, s.v. *restitutor*: Liv. 4,20,7 *Augustum Caesarem, templorum omnium conditorem aut restitutorem*; CIL 2.4112; CIL 3.7282; OLD, s.v. *restaurator*: CIL 10.1702 *restauratori operum publicorum*; CIL 11.7298 *restauratori thermarum*. The corresponding term in Greek is perhaps ἀνανεωτής ‘restorer’, cf. LSJ, s.v.: *CIG* 2804 (Aphrodisias), *Ephes.* 2 no.46.; LSJ (Suppl.), s.v.: ‘as imperial title’ *SEG* 31.641 (4th c. AD). We could also consider ἐπανορθωτής, cf. Roueché, *Aphrodisias*, no.14.5; LSJ (Suppl.), s.v.: *SEG* 31.910 (Aphrodisias, 3rd c. AD) ἐπανορθωτὴν ’Ασίας ‘restorer of Asia Minor’. The change in *RB* seems subjective.

Tharsiae pudi<ci>ssime virginitatem servanti (RA) ~ *Tharsiae, sanctissimae virgini, filiae eius* (RB): The form *pudicissima* is often used for women: Plin. 7,120 *pudicissima femina*; Apul., *Apol.* 78 *feminam sanctissimam et pudicissimam*; Mart. Cap. 2 § 174 *pudicissima puellarum*. Though the dictionaries do not record a superlative adverb, Bonnet’s correction of *pudissime* **P** is right. The remark refers to Tarsia’s stay in the *lupanar* (cc.33-36, cf. 35, RA 16/RB 14 *adhuc virgo es?*) and the resolution of this episode could be regarded as an ἀρετή. The label *pudicissime* ties in perfectly with this. *RB*’s change is understandable (cf. CIL I 1096 *feminae sanctissum(ae)*), certainly from the perspective of Christian language, cf. Sulp. Sev., *Dial.* 2,12,9 *virgo sancta*.

casum vilissimum incurrenti (RA) ~ (RB /): This melodramatic detail left out by *RB* is in keeping with the traditional ἀρετή description, not

averse to rhetorical flourishes. For *casum incurrere* 'meeting with, encountering' (Konstan) 'to find oneself in a situation', cf. ThLL VII 1087,38 ff. The Glossaria (cf. CGL VI 188) suggest a translation from: δυστυχία 'ill luck'; συμφορά 'event, misfortune' (LSJ, s.v.: 'in a bad sense', 'euphem.'); συντυχία 'incident' (cf. LSJ, s.v.: 'in love-affairs'). For *vilis* they suggest (cf. CGL VII 416): εὐτελής 'cheap', cf. LSJ, s.v.; Lampe, s.v. (4): 'vile', in superl. too (source Cyrill. Alex., *Joel.* 33). For *incurrere* they offer (cf. CGL VI 562) ἐπιτρέχω 'to run upon'; ἐμπίπτω 'to fall in, fall into'. This last word would be particularly appropriate, cf. LSJ, s.v. (4.b); Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. (2): '*in etwas geraten* bildl.'; *Less.*, s.v. (β). The entire expression could thus be translated back to Greek.

universus populus (RA) ~ *universus populus Mytilenae* (RB): Cf. above *Tyrio Apollonio* (RA) ~ *Apollonio* (βΜπ): A logical 'correction' by *RB*. This corresponds to the standard Greek formulation ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος, cf. McLean (2005[4]), p.238.

ob nimium amorem (RA/RB): For *nimius* = *magnus*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. nimius. For the Latin formulation, cf. Garbugino, p.59 with n.42. These words probably correspond to the standard Greek formulation εὐνοίας ἕνεκα 'on account of his benevolence'. For this set terminology in honorific decrees, cf. Zuiderhoek, p.89: φιλοπατρία 'patriotism'; εὔνοια πρὸς τὸν δῆμον 'goodwill towards the people'; σωτήρ 'saviour'; κτιστής 'founder' mostly in the sense of 'restorer' or εὐεργέτης 'benefactor'.

aeternum decus memoriae (dat.) **dedit** (RA/RB): The phrase *aeternum decus* is very frequent in higher literature: ThLL V,1 244,57 records: Hor., *Carm.* 3,25,5; Ov., *Trist.* 3,1,46; Octavia 281; Lucan. 3,389; Sil. 4,398; id. 10,8, *etc.* The expression *memoriae dare* has literary status too, cf. OLD, s.v. *memoria* (8.b): *memoriae prodere, tradere, mandare*. Perhaps *memoriae* can be connected with *aeternum decus* as an epexegetical gen., cf. 'the eternal honor of remembrance' (Konstan, p.106). Naturally this kind of phrase is often found in later inscriptions: CIL VI 1702 *aeternum statuae monumentum*; VI 1749 *statuam meritorum perenne monumentum*; VI 1768 *ad memoriam perpetui nominis*, cf. Klebs, pp.204-5. This closing formula corresponds with the standard Greek closing formula μνήμης (μνείας) χάριν (ἕνεκα), cf. McLean (2005[4]), p.268 (for a slightly longer formula, cf. ibid., p.231). In sum, it is probably right to conclude that we are dealing here with a fairly strict Latin translation; only the end betrays a light, Latin, rhetorical touch, cf. 10, RA 19 (comm.). (Klebs, pp.198, 204-5 wrongly regards this inscription as an argument for **Hi**, followed by Garbugino, pp. 56-57.)

47, RA 17-18 Quid multa? Inter paucos dies tradidit filiam suam Athenagorae principi cum ingenti honore ac civitatis laetitia. 'To cut a long story short, in a few days Apollonius gave his daughter in marriage to Prince Athenagoras, amidst great ceremony and popular rejoicing.'

47, RB 16-17 Et intra paucos dies tradidit filiam suam in coniugio Athenagorae cum ingenti laetitia totius civitatis.

Quid multa? (RA) ~ (RB /): Cf. 23, RA 9 *Quid multa?* The same ellipsis in the same situation, again omitted by *RB*, cf. comm.

Inter (RA) ~ *intra* (RB): LHS II, p.233[4]: 'temporales *inter* statt *intra* = "binnen" ist spätlateinisch, z.B. Aug., *coll. c. Don.* 1,8 p.42,27; Theod. Prisc., *eup. faen.* 1,23,72'; Löfstedt, *Verm. Studien*, p.174 ff.

tradidit (RA) ~ *tradidit in coniugio* (RB): For *trado* in the sense of giving away in marriage, cf. OLD, s.v. *trado* (5.c): Ov., *Met.* 14,336 *haec ubi nubilibus primum maturuit annis, tradita Pico est*; Tac., *Ann.* 4,40,6; Apul., *Met.* 7,13; in Christian Latin too, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *trado* (1): Eccli. 7,27 *trade* (Gr. ἐκδίδομαι) *filiam et grande opus feceris*. *RB*'s addition testifies to a flair for language, cf. Introd. VI.2.

cum ‹...› **honore** (RA)~ (RB /): 'with great display' (Konstan). Clearly **HA(Gr)** must have dealt at great length with this marriage: neither Athenagoras' position nor an initial visit, before all others (c.34), has made him eligible for this singular honour, cf. Introd. V.1. (The translation of 40, RA 17.8 by E. Sironen in Panayotakis [2003], p.294 is incorrect.)

CHAPTER 48

In this chapter, as the first sentence already shows, *RB* abridges *RA* considerably: 42 lines in *RA* are reduced to 33 lines in *RB*. But rather more important than this formal aspect is that the chapter brings to a head the problem of the *HA*'s textual genesis. On the one hand we find the figure of an angel, who seems to control the course of events (RA 2-3/RB 2; *RA* 34 *angelo admonente*). On the other hand Artemis plays a decisive role in the recognition between father-mother-daughter (RA 33/RB 26; RA 34/RB 27 *iussisti*; RA 42/RB 33 *reddidisti*). On the one hand we find the pagan Artemisium with its right of asylum, on the other hand we encounter, in the same temple, Archistratis as Mother Superior (RA 11-12/RB 10). At first sight, therefore, we would be inclined to assume drastic Christian intervention, the more so because the text does not show clear signs of Greek influence (cf. RA 16 *maiori*; RA 39 *duxi me*). In my view, however, there is no question here of radical structural change. Given the role of Artemis in the reunion of father-mother-daughter, precisely in her temple at Ephesus, this element must form part of the original narrative structure of **HA(Gr)**, cf. 51, RB 27-28 (comm.). Archistratis' crucial role as ἀρχιερεία here is also inherent in the narrative structure. A command in a dream vision too (RA 3 *in somnis*; RA 8 *Fac,* <…> *quod iubet*) is completely acceptable in Antiquity. I believe the text in its present form should be attributed to the intervention of an epitomator, in this case **R(Gr)**. This intervention need not involve a disruption of the original narrative pattern of **HA(Gr)**. The only possible reproach is that the juxtaposition of pagan elements and Christian elements, sometimes even in the same sentence (RA 32-34 *magna Diana* alongside *angelo admonente*), is clumsy. This is entirely in keeping with the epitomator's method elsewhere in the *HA*, cf. Introd. V.

48, RA 1-2	Et exinde cum suis omnibus et cum genero atque filia navigavit, volens, per Tharsum proficiscens, redire ad patriam suam. 'Then he set sail with all his men and with his son-in-law and daughter, intending to make for Tarsus and return to his own land.'
48, RB 1-2	Et cum eo et cum filia volens per Tharsum transeundo redire in patriam suam,

exinde cum suis omnibus et (RA) ~ (RB /): From a strictly logical point of view, *exinde*, in the meaning of both 'thence' (= from Mytilene) and

'after that' (= after the marriage of Athenagoras and Tarsia), is dispensable, like the statement *cum suis omnibus* (= friends and retinue, cf. 40, RA 13) *navigavit*. But precisely this kind of detail lends colour to the story as a whole. *RA* probably goes back to ἐκεῖθεν, cf. CGL VI 414, which can have both meanings, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐκεῖθεν: 'from that place'; (III) 'thenceforward'.

cum genero atque filia (RA) ~ *cum eo et cum filia* (RB): A clever abridgement!: the *gener* has just been mentioned (47, RA 17/RB 16); the replacement of *atque* with *et cum* preserves the word shape and syllable count. The order *gener-filia* is normal for Antiquity, cf. below RA 7/RB 5-6 (comm.).

per Tharsum proficiscens (RA) ~ *p. Th. transeundo* (RB): *RA* is clear: 'departing via Tarsus', but not elegant, since the return actually starts at Mytilene. *RB* helps out: 'sailing via Tarsus'. For *transire* = *praeternavigare*, cf. OLD, s.v. *transeo* (10): 'to pass (a place, person, *etc.*) on one's way': Prop. 3,7,27 *quotiens Paeti transibit nauta sepulcrum*; Mela 2,64 *a Pado ad Anconam transitur Ravennā*. For the blurring of the terms *per* ~ *praeter* in Late Latin, cf. Svennung, *Orosiana*, p.27; *Untersuchungen zu Palladius*, p.375 n.2. For the use of the gerund (RB), cf. Ind. gr., s.v. gerundium. (Schmeling [1988], p.40,2 '*proficiscendo* scripsi'; id., *Notes*, p.386 [on ed. 40,2], offering as argument for this curious intervention: 'by borrowing a reading from RB I have made RA resemble RB.')

48, RA 2-3	Vidit in somnis quendam angelico habitu sibi dicentem: 'In a dream he saw someone in angelic garb, who said to him:'
48, RB 2	vidit in somnis quendam angelico vultu sibi dicentem:

A nightly visitation by Diana/Ἄρτεμις, who orders him to sail to her temple first. Traditionally a heavily criticized passus in the Apollonius literature. In my view, it can be explained via **R(Gr)** and **HA(Gr)**.

in somnis (RA/RB): A common phrase, in both prose and poetry, cf. OLD, s.v. *somnus* (1.c.): *in somnis* 'in one's sleep (usually in references to dreams)'; the pl. prevails, cf. Löfstedt, *Synt.*[2] I, p.55 ff. The form *sompnis* occurs in both redactions (**P**, **β¹M**): for this so-called epenthesis 'Stutzvokal', cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 115. The expression itself corresponds to Gr. ἐν ὕπνοις, though strict correspondence is not always the case (cf. e.g. Gen. 28:12; 31:10; 31:24; Matt. 1:20; 2:13).

From the time of Hom. (*Il.* 2,1 ff.) dreams had an imperative character in Antiquity. Zeus (Jupiter), or one of the lower gods, could make

his/her will known by means of a dream (so-called ὄνειροι θεόπεμπτοι / θεόπνευστοι 'dreams sent by the gods'). To obey a dream was therefore not regarded as superstition but as εὐσέβεια, cf. *HA* 48, RA 9 *fac, quod iubet*. Particularly in the Greek Novel, reflecting everyday life, dreams play an important, sometimes even decisive role. We can mention: Charit. 1,12,4; 1,12,10; 2,1,2; 2,3,5; 2,9,6; Xen. Eph. 2,8,2 (parallel adduced by Riese [1893], Praef. p.XVI n.2); 5,8,5; Achill. Tat. 1,3,2; 2,11,23; 4,1,4-8 (Artemis in the dream); 7,12,4 (Artemis); 7,14,5-6; Long. 1,7-8; 2,23; 2,24; 3,27; 4,34; Heliod. 1,18; 3,11,5 (Apollo ~ Artemis); 4,16; 8,11. A brief indication of frequency is provided by *Less.*, s.v. ὄναρ/ὄνειρος 'sogno', combined with adv. ὄναρ 'in sogno' / ὕπαρ 'in realtà'. Since Rohde scholars have written at some length about the phenomenon 'dream'; see Rohde[3] (reprint. 1974), Register p.633, s.v. 'Traum'; F. Weinstock, 'De somniorum visionumque in amatoriis Graecorum fabulis vi atque usu', *Eos* 35 (1934), pp.29-72; G. Björck, 'ΟΝΑΡ ΙΔΕΙΝ', *Eranos* (1946), pp.306-14; A. Kessels, *Studies on the Dream in Greek Literature* (diss. Utrecht), Apeldoorn 1973; Billault (1991), pp.71-2.

As the above survey shows, Artemis plays a significant role in dream visions in the Greek Novel, esp. in Achill. Tatius: Achill. Tat. 4,1,4 ἡ γάρ μοι θεὸς Ἄρτεμις ἐπιστᾶσα πρῴην κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους, ὅτε ἔκλαιον μέλλουσα σφαγήσεσθαι, 'Μὴ νῦν', ἔφη, 'κλαῖε· οὐ γὰρ τεθνήξῃ· βοηθὸς γὰρ ἐγώ σοι παρέσομαι. μενεῖς δὲ παρθένος, ἔστ' ἄν σε νυμφοστολήσω· ἄξεται δέ σε ἄλλος οὐδεὶς ἢ Κλειτοφῶν' 'The day before yesterday, when I was crying because I was going to be butchered, Artemis appeared, standing above me in my sleep and said "Do not be sad, you shall not die, for I will stand by you and help you. You will remain a virgin until I myself give you away as a bride. No one but Kleitophon will marry you."'; id. 7,12,4 ἦν δὲ καὶ ἰδίᾳ τῷ Σωστράτῳ νύκτωρ ἡ θεὸς ἐπιστᾶσα· τὸ δὲ ὄναρ ἐσήμαινε τὴν θυγατέρα εὑρήσειν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καὶ τἀδελφοῦ τὸν υἱόν (cf. id. 7,14,6) 'The goddess (namely Artemis) also appeared to Sostratos (sc. the father of Leucippe) personally one night: the vision indicated that he would find his daughter in Ephesos and his brother's son as well.' The similarity to Diana/Ἄρτεμις in our story, where she promises Apollonius that he will find his wife again in her temple at Ephesus, is striking: as in Achill. Tatius, Artemis also urges Apollonius to travel to her sanctuary (parallel adduced by Garin, p.207 n.1). Greek and Latin hagiography adopted this imperative role of dreams, in which gods appear, though naturally in an adapted form. Interesting examples from the *Acta* literature (Peter, Thomas, Andrew) are offered by Söder, p.44 ff.; see also p.177. But as in the biblical model it is often an angel there who conveys the commands, cf. F. Zimmermann, 'Romanpapyri', *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, Heft XIX, München 1934, p.38. This procedure can be clearly recognized in our epitome: on the one

hand Artemis issues the order, a position which she held in **HA(Gr)**; on the other hand an angel acts as intermediary: this stage can probably be ascribed to **R(Gr)**, on account of the external manifestation '*angelico habitu*' (RA), which points to a Greek original. (See the next note.) A good example is *Passio S. Anastasiae virginis* c.9. (ed. Delehaye, *Legendier romain*), p.257 ἡ δὲ μακαρία Σοφία, ἡ ἡγουμένη τῆς μάρτυρος, εἶδεν κατ' ὄναρ ἄγγελον λέγοντα αὐτῇ, where the word order corresponds exactly to *vidit in somnis quendam angelico habitu sibi dicentem*. (Obviously Klebs, pp. 189, 225 [= Garbugino, p.75 n.34, p.97)] regards this angel figure as a Christian interpolation in the stipulated pagan original **Hi**.)

angelico habitu (RA) ~ *angelico vultu* (RB): Though it is difficult to choose between the two readings, *RA* is to be preferred. The further language of the *HA* shows that *habitus* must be taken here in the sense of 'clothing' (cf. l'habit, abito), see Ind. verb., s.v. Angelic attire is therefore synonymous with: 'clothed in white'. In pagan literature, too, apparitions from heaven are clothed in white (sometimes dazzling white). Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. λευκός quotes Lucian., *Philops.* 25 νεανίας πάγκαλος λευκὸν ἱμάτιον περιβεβλημένος 'a young boy, very handsome, wrapped in a white mantle', cf. id., *Peregr.* 10; *Alex.* 11. Angels clothed in white are found *passim* in the NT, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ἄγγελος: Matt. 28:3 *vestimentum eius sicut nix* (Gr. τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτοῦ λευκὸν ὡς χιών), cf. also Mark 16:5; Luke 24:4; John 20:12 *vidit duos angelos in albis* (Gr. ἐν λευκοῖς); Acts 1:10. In Byzantine Greek λευκοφόρος/λευχείμων and λευχειμονέω 'to be dressed in white' are stock expressions going with ἄγγελος, cf. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ss.vv. The phrase *angelicus habitus* could go back directly to ἀγγελικὸν σχῆμα.

angelico vultu (RB): The Bible has this expression only in Judg. 13:6 *Vir Dei venit ad me habens vultum angelicum, terribilis nimis* (with a different text from the Septuagint; version A: ἡ ὅρασις αὐτοῦ ὡς ὅρασις ἀγγέλου τοῦ θεοῦ; version B: εἶδος αὐτοῦ ὡς εἶδος ἀγγέλου θεοῦ). It is occasionally found elsewhere, cf. ThLL II 44,70: also Vita Hil. Arel. 10,7 *angelico praeferens vultu*; ibid. 29,19 *angelico vultu corpus illud venerabile*. Roman hagiography: Pass. Caeciliae (ed. Delehaye), p.201 *angelorum vultus aspicere*: Mombr. II 591,23 *vidit sibi astare angelicum vultum uterum sua virga tangentem*. An exact Greek parallel occurs in *Acta Pauli et Theclae* 3 (Lipsius-Bonnet I, p.237,8-9) in the description of Paul's person: ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐφαίνετο ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ποτὲ δὲ ἀγγέλου πρόσωπον εἶχεν 'For now he appeared like a man, and now he had the face of an angel', cf. Bremmer (1996), p.38 n.10. It is hard to say precisely why *RB* changes a standard expression like *angelicus habitus* to an evidently less common phrase. Perhaps he thought the term *habitus* questionable, since it can also mean 'attitude', 'shape', cf. ThLL VI,3 2482,43. Compare the translation in

Peters, p.167: 'Da sah er im Traume eine Erscheinung in Engelsgestalt'. Another factor may have been the frequent use of *angelicus habitus* to denote a monk's habit, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *angelicus* (2); E. Wölfflin, 'Benedict von Nursia und seine Mönchengel', *SZB* München 3 (1895), pp.429-54. (This use is paralleled in Gr. ἀγγελικὸν σχῆμα/ἔνδυμα.) Perhaps *RB* deliberately took sides in the dispute whether angels have bodies or are purely spiritual (ἀσώματοι δυνάμεις). A fierce debate on this subject was conducted in Rome around the turn of the 6th c., particularly in hagiographical circles, cf. Morin, *Études, Textes, Découvertes*, I, p.350.

The later Apollonius tradition treated this angelic apparition on behalf of Artemis in very different ways. In his *Pericles, Prince of Tyre* Shakespeare completely eliminates the angel: in his version Diana directly orders Pericles (= Apollonius) to sail to Ephesus (Klebs, p.481). Other versions remove Artemis/Diana (more or less), and talk directly about *angelus* (R. Tegerns.), e.g. Old French prose versions (Archibald, p.193 under no.V 14) 'lange de nostre sire'. Finally, both figures, Artemis and angel, are completely ignored in e.g. Godfrey of Viterbo (Archibald, p.185): *Pantheon* 163 *fortuito* (*Ephesium*) *mane veniunt ad templa Dianae*. These changes are partly connected with shifting views in angelology. (Klebs, p.189 regards both *angelico habitu* [RA] and *angelico vultu* [RB] as interpolations.)

48, RA 3-6 "Apolloni, dic gubernatori tuo, ad Ephesum iter dirigat; ubi dum veneris, ingredere templum Dianae cum filia et genero, et omnes casus tuos, quos a iuvenili aetate es passus, expone per ordinem. '"Apollonius, tell your helmsman to steer for Ephesus. When you arrive there, go into the temple of Diana with your daughter and son-in-law, and recount in order all the misfortunes which you have suffered from your youth on.'

48, RB 3-4 "Apolloni, ad Ephesum dirige et intra templum Dianae cum filia et genero tuo: casus tuos omnes expone.

dic gubernatori tuo <...> **iter dirigat** (RA) ~ *dirige* (RB): A substantial abridgement in *RB*. This probably has to do with the fact that Apollonius was *dominus navis*: no intermediary was legally necessary. For *dic dirigat* (with ellipsis of *ut*), cf. ThLL V,1 987,20 (with examples throughout Latinity). For *iter dirigat*, cf. ThLL V,1 1240,82 ff.; also said of a ship, cf. Ov., *Fast.* 1,4 *timidae dirige navis iter*; id., *Met.* 3,636 *'Naxon', ait Liber, 'cursus advertite vestros'*. Compare Hom., *Il.* 1,312 ὑγρὰ κέλευθα 'the watery

ways'. One way of explaining *RB* 'to set course for' is to start from *cursum dirigere* (ThLL V,1 1240,41 ff.)/ *navem dirigere* (ThLL ibid., 1241-51), with an ellipsis of *cursum/navem,* e.g.: Liv. 29,27,12 *huc dirigite naves* alongside ibid. 8 *si iubeat eo dirigi, <…> in portu fore classem*. The other way is to take *dirigere* in the general sense of *proficisci, iter facere,* cf. ThLL, loc. cit. 1250,76 ff. This meaning is particularly found in Greg. Tur.: *Hist. Franc.* 1,48 (ed. Bonnet, p.56,13) *ad urbem Toronicam dirigunt* (sc. navibus); 2,37 (p.99,16) *Clodovechus <…> Pectavus* (acc.) *dirigit*, cf. 4,16 (p.154,10); Vita Mart. 2,45 *direxerunt ad ecclesiam*; Pass. Fructuosi 1 *direxerunt beneficiarii in domum eius*, cf. Bonnet, p.630, n.8.

ad Ephesum (RA/RB), cf. 38, RA 20 *ad Tyrum* / 39, RB 1 *Tyro* (comm.): Classical Latin would have preferred *Ephesum*. For the connection with Ephesus/Ἔφεσος, and esp. the temple of Diana/Ἄρτεμις there, see 27, RA 22/RB 19; see also below RA 11/RB 8.

ubi dum veneris, ingredere templum (RA) ~ *intra templum* (RB), like **et omnes casus tuos, quos a iuvenili aetate es passus, expone per ordinem** (RA) ~ *casus tuos omnes expone* (RB): A reduction to the abolute minimum, also eliminating *ubi* (RA) = *eo, quo* 'whither'. For *RA*'s epic formulation, see also the epically elaborate account below, ll.24-42. *Per ordinem* = *ordine*.

48, RA 6 Post haec veniens Tharsos vindica innocentem filiam tuam." 'After that go to Tarsus and avenge your innocent daughter."'

48, RB 4-5 Postea Tharso filiam tuam víndica innocéntem (*v.*)."

Post haec (RA) ~ *Postea* (RB): An elegant reduction.

veniens Tharsos (RA) ~ *Tharso* (RB): *RA* probably goes back directly to the form (τοὺς) Ταρσούς (Θαρσούς), cf. 28, RA 2 *Tharsos* / RB 2 *Tharso* (comm.) (Klebs, p.256 is of no value). See also 7, RA 6/RB 6 *Tyro*.

vindica (RA/RB): A key word in this procedure, cf. 32, RA 33 *vindices* / (RB /) (comm.). Translated from (?) ἐκδικέω (imp. ἐκδίκησον)/ἐκδίκησις. For the execution of this vengeance, cf. c.50, RA/RB.

48, RA 7-8 Expergefactus Apollonius excitat filiam et generum et indicat somnium. 'When Apol-

lonius woke up, he roused his daughter and son-in-law and told them his dream.’

48, RB 5-6 Apollonius expergefactus indicat genero et filiae somnium,

Expergefactus (RA/RB) ‘awakened, aroused’: The explicit mention of waking up from a dream is part of the dream topos. The nature of the awakening depends on the nature of the dream, either neutral or good or bad, cf. Headlam (on Herondas 7,65), p.395: e.g. Xen., *Cyr.* 8,7,2 τοῦτο δὲ ἰδὼν τὸ ὄναρ ἐξηγέρθη ‘after that dream he woke up’; id., Anab. 3,1,12 περίφοβος δ’εὐθὺς ἀνηγέρθη ‘trembling from fear he woke up immediately’. In particular the Greek Novel enters into these details: Achill. Tat. 1,3,5 περιδεὴς οὖν ἀναθορὼν ‘waking up from sheer fright’; Xen. Eph. 2,8,2 ταῦτα ὡς ἔδοξεν ἰδεῖν, ἀνέθορέ τε καὶ μικρὰ εὔελπις ἦν ‘when he dreamt this, he leapt up and was a little more hopeful’, cf. id. 5,8,7; Long. 2,28,1; Heliod. 5,22,44 ἀνηλάμην ὑπὸ τῆς ὄψεως παλλόμενος ‘I woke up with a start, shivering in fright at my dream.’ So the report in the *HA* is extremely laconic, probably due to the influence of **R(Gr)**.

excitat <…> **et indicat** (RA) ~ *indicat* (RB): A typical ‘correction’ by *RB*, who thinks the act of *excitare* (sc. e somno) completely unnecessary. The verb *indicare* ‘to report’ is the standard form, cf. ThLL VII 1152,28; in the OT too, cf. Dan. 2:2,5,9,26; 4:3. For the rest of the formulation, cf. e.g. Martyrium prius S. Andreae 8,1 (ed. Bonnet, *Acta Apost. apocr.* II,1 p.50,18.22) καὶ ὅραμα ἐν τούτοις βλέπει ὁ μακάριος ’Ανδρέας <…> 5. Διυπνισθεὶς δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ ὁράματος τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐγνώρισεν ‘In those circumstances the blessed Andrew saw a vision <…>. He woke up and told his dream to those present’; Martyrium S. Theodoti, c.17 (ed. Franchi de’ Cavalieri, p.72,6): ἀναστὰς οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου διηγήσατο τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς τὴν φανεῖσαν αὐτῷ ὀπτασίαν· πάντες δὲ συνεπάθησαν ‘Arising from his sleep he told his vision to the brethren. All sympathized with him.’

filiam et generum (RA) ~ *genero et filiae* (RB): For the order woman-man, cf. e.g. Acts 18:18,26; Rom. 16:3. *RB* ‘restores’ the usual order.

48, RA 8-9 At illi dixerunt: “Fac, domine, quod iubet.”
‘They said: “Lord, do what the dream orders.”’

48, RB 6 et illi dixerunt: “Fac, domine, quod tibi videtur.”

illi (RA/RB): Halfway between demonstrative pron. and article, cf. *RA* 9 *Ille* ~ *RB 6 et*; cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, §§ 274-275; Riese [1893], Index, s.v. ille *articuli loco positum*, cf. Introd. II.1.

domine (RA/RB): Actually he is their father (father-in-law). For this term of address (= κυρίε 'Lord'), see 24, RA 16 and Ind. verb., s.v.

iubet (RA) ~ *tibi videtur* (RB): A fine example of a heathen element being removed, here the imperative force of the dream (cf. above *RA* 2 *in somnis* [comm.]), while the word shape is preserved as much a possible. Compare Pease (on Verg., *Aen.* 4,353 *admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago*), p.308; for acceptance of this imperative force in translation circles too, cf. *Recognitiones* 9,36 (Migne Gr. 1, p.418[c]) *sed sapienter somnium finxerit* (sc. Mattidia), *quo ex Urbe iuberetur excedere cum geminis filiis, iuniore apud patrem relicto*. The Greek subtext of *RA* is of course subjective: we can point to an expression like πρόσταγμα τοῦ θεοῦ 'Traumbefehl', cf. U. Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1927, p.202. For the stopgap *quod tibi videtur* (RB) in hagiographical circles, cf. Le Blant, p.85.

After *quod tibi videtur* cod. Stuttg. Hist. Fol. 411 (= **S**, cf. ed. m. [1984], pp.55-56) adds: *Et ascendit navem et omnes cum eo; et tulerunt aurum et argentum et ornamenta multa et preciosissimas gemmas secum*, probably on account of 48, RA 17 *cum magnis donis* / RB 11 *cum nimiis donis*, cf. 49, RA 10/RB 12 (comm.) and 49, RA 14/RB 15 (comm.).

48, RA 9-10	Ille vero iubet gubernatorem suum Ephesum petere. Perveniunt felici cursu. 'So he directed the helmsman to make for Ephesus. They arrived after a successful journey.'
48, RB 6-7	Et iussit gubernatori Ephesum petere. Felici cursu pervéniunt Éphesum (*t.*),

ille (RA) ~ *et* (RB): Cf. previous note.

iubet gubernatorem <…> **petere** (RA) ~ *iussit gubernatori* <…> *petere* (RB): Both constructions are possible in Latin, cf. ThLL VII,2 577,39: Prisc, *Gramm.* III 227,15 '*iubeo tibi currere*' et '*iubeo te currere*'. In Late Latin the dat. is almost the rule, cf. Linderbauer, p.168. Interestingly, *iubeo* has almost completely disappeared in the Romance languages, cf. Linderbauer, p.317. Greek, following on from Old Greek, likes to construe κελεύω with dat. in later times too, cf. LSJ, s.v. κελεύω. Greek novelists use both constructions (τινα and τινι), as do the manuscripts, e.g. Long. 2,19 τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν (τῷ δὲ στρατηγῷ **A**) ἐκέλευσαν δέκα ναῦς καθελκύσαντα κακουργεῖν αὐτῶν τὴν παραλίαν 'and they ordered their general to launch ten ships and make destructive raids on the seashore.' Perhaps the Greek novelists can be said to prefer κελεύω τινί + infin., cf. Less, s.v.; Achill. Tat (3x); Charit (8x); Heliod. (2x); Longus (2x); Xen.

Eph. (3x). (Garbugino, p.32 n.28 says that *iubet* + acc. [RA] is a correction of *iussit* + dat. [RB]. Most curious!)

felici cursu (RA/RB): A poetic expression, cf. ThLL VI,1 446,25-26: Ov., *Met.* 15,13 *litora felici tenuisse <…> cursu*; Luc. 9,997. The image is popular among Romans: Cic., *Verr.* 2,95 *satis feliciter <…> navigasset*. In hagiography too: Mombr. II 492,8 *qui navigantes feliciter cum ad Massiliensium littora pervenissent*, cf. ibid. 277,41. This agrees with diction in the Greek Novel: Charit. 8,6,1 ὁ δὲ Χαιρέας ἤνυσε τὸν πλοῦν εἰς Σικελίαν εὐτυχῶς ‘Chaireas completed the journey to Syracuse successfully’; Xen. Eph. 3,2,12 καὶ μέχρι μέν τινος διήνυστο εὐτυχῶς ὁ πλοῦς ‘and for a while the voyage went well’; Achill. Tat. 6,9,2 ἔπλευσε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ εὐτυχῶς, ἀλλὰ πᾶς ὁ φόρτος αὐτοῦ γέγονε τῆς θαλάσσης ‘He too sailed a luckless voyage, and all his goods became the sea’s property’, cf. *Less.*, s.v. εὐτυχής b): ‘favorevole, con buon esito’.

Ephesum <…> **Ephesum** (RB), cf. below RB 8 *Ephesum*: A threefold repetition, probably to be ascribed to *RB*.

48, RA 10-12 Descendens Apollonius cum suis templum Dianae petit, in quo templo coniunx eius inter sacerdotes principatum tenebat. ‘Apollonius disembarked with his family and went to the temple of Diana, where his wife was the chief priestess among the virgins.’

48, RB 7-9 et descendens cum suis Ephesum templum pétit Diánae (*t.*), ubi coniunx eius inter sacerdotes principatum tenebat.

Descendens <…> **templum Dianae petit** (RA: *petit Dianae* RB) (RA/RB): Here we come up against the fact that the *HA* has been passed down in epitome form. Not a word about the silting up of the Cayster river (Tac., *Ann.* 16,23 [anno 66]), which made Ephesus more difficult to reach, cf. van Nijf (1997), p.86 (n.59). Not a word either about the exact port at which Apollonius arrived. Ephesus had three ports, cf. *Dictionnaire d’Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*, Paris 1907, tom. V, s.v. Ephèse (cols.118-42), col.123. He probably moored in the port closest to the city. The distance between Ephesus/῎Εφεσος (and port) to the temple of Diana/-῎Αρτεμις, the so-called ᾽Αρτεμίσιον, was 7 stadia (c. 1.5 km), cf. Xen. Eph. 1,2,2 ῎Ηγετο δὲ τῆς ᾽Αρτέμιδος ἐπιχώριος ἑορτὴ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν· στάδιοι δέ εἰσιν ἕπτα ‘The local festival of Artemis was in progress, with its procession from the city to the temple nearly a mile away.’ For a

description of this procession, cf. van Nijf (1997), pp.192-3, 195. The former road from the city to the temple is the object of excavations, cf. *Via sacra Ephesiaca*, Wien, Schindler (Berichte und Materialien / Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut) 1993 –. Perhaps *Ephesum* (RB) was added deliberately to emphasize the distance from the port to the Artemisium. Perhaps the cautious formulation in RA/RB, combined with the following (13) *Interveniens* (comm.), allows us to infer some topographical knowledge in **R(Gr)** and hence in **HA(Gr)**.

templum Dianae (RA/RB): Ephesus/Ἔφεσος (and the Artemisium, though not explicitly) plays an important role in the Greek Novel in Achill. Tat. and Xen. Eph., cf. *Less.*, s.v. Ἔφεσος (Achill. Tat. 10x; Xen. Eph. 27x). The temple was regarded as one of the Seven Wonders of the World (Anth. Pal. 9,58), cf. Oster (1976), pp.31-4. A well-known image is that of Artemis πολύμαστος 'with the many breasts', under which name this original vegetation goddess was worshipped, cf. Acts 19:24,27 ff. Especially in recent times more has become known about the size and importance of the temple and the temple precinct (τέμενος), also as an asylum (ἄσυλον). On the size of this asylum, repeatedly enlarged in the course of time, cf. Plut., *Alex.* 33; Strabo 14,641. On the repositioning of the boundary stones (ὅροι ἀσυλίας), cf. L. Wenger, *Philologus* 86 (1931), pp.426-54; L. Robert, *Hellenica* VI (1948), p.33 ff. The temple itself was sacked in AD 263 by the Visigoths on account of its riches. It is remarkable that this destruction, from which Ephesus never completely recovered, has left no direct traces in the present *HA*. Perhaps this destruction explains why the temple of Artemis can be depicted so easily in *RA/RB* as a kind of nunnery, cf. below RA 11-12/RB 13-14.

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templum Dianae <...> **, in quo templo** (RA) ~ *templum* <...> *Dianae, ubi* (RB): *RA* offers, in the form of a so-called 'complete *relativum*', a repetition found often in popular writings, e.g. *Excid. Troiae* (ed. Atwood) 24,15 *(Aeneas) videns super ora maris templum mire magnitudinis; et dum ad templum veniret, in eodem templo invenit orantem Andromachen relictam Hectoris*; 28,25 *In quo loco, ut superius dictum est, templum ingens Iunoni condiderat Sidonia Dido. In quo templo omnia regna vel casus Troiae pinxerat. Ad quod templum, ut superius dictum est, Eneas* <...> *ingressus est*; 47,3 *sub arbore quercus se armis expoliavit et in arbore quercus suspendit*. See also Löfstedt, *Per.*, p.82; Heraeus, *GGA* (1915), p.479. This direct repetition of nouns is also found in popular Greek authors, e.g. Herod. As usual, *RB* 'normalizes'.

inter sacerdotes principatum tenebat (RA/RB): It is clear that *sacerdos* (in Latin both masc. and fem., cf. OLD, s.v. *sacerdos* [a]) has the common meaning 'priestess' here and that Archistratis presides over a college of priestesses. The sanctuary of Artemis was originally administered by men, with responsibility for virgins and virginity. The entrance of a married woman was punished by death, unless she sought asylum there, cf. Achill. Tat. 7,13,2-3 τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ἄβατος ἦν γυναιξὶν ἐλευθέραις οὗτος ὁ νεώς, ἀνδράσι δὲ ἐπετέτραπτο καὶ παρθένοις. εἰ δέ τις εἴσω παρῆλθε γυνή, θάνατος ἦν ἡ δίκη, πλὴν εἰ μὴ δούλη τις ἦν ἐγκαλοῦσα τῷ δεσπότῃ. ταύτην δὲ ἐξῆν ἱκετεύειν τὴν θεόν <...>· εἰ δὲ ἔδοξεν τὴν θεράπαιναν δίκαια λέγειν, ἔμενε αὐτοῦ δούλη τῇ θεῷ 'Anciently this temple had been forbidden to free women who were not virgins. Only men and virgins were permitted here. If a non-virgin woman passed inside, the penalty was death, unless she was a slave accusing her master, in which case she was allowed to beseech the goddess <...>. If it was decided that the serving girl had a just case, she remained there as a slave to the goddess.' In the course of time

this ancient practice fell into disuse: free, married women were also granted access to the temple complex and the cult. Those of higher rank could even hold honorary, almost hereditary positions within the Artemisium. Several inscriptions testify to a ἀρχιέρεια 'chief priestess' alongside ἱέρειαι τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, cf. H. Engelmann–D. Knibbe-R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos. Kommission für die archäologische Erforschung Kleinasiens bei der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Wien t. III (1980), nos.980-1000. In my view, this is exactly the career pattern followed by Archistratis. Washed ashore in Ephesus (c.26), resuscitated and taken up in the house of a doctor, she does not yet feel safe and urgently requests asylum in Artemis' temple (27, RA 21/RB 19 *ne ab aliquo contingeretur*). In the intervening period of 14 years, despite her married status, she was able to make a career for herself and now even holds a position in the sanctuary. **R(Gr)** could justifiably retain the term ἱέρειαι because it also occurs in the hagiography of this region, cf. *Martyrium S. Theodoti* (ed. Franchi de' Cavalieri), p.70,5 ἐκέλευσεν δὲ αὐτὰς τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερείας γενέσθαι 'he commanded that they (i.e. the holy virgins) should become priestesses of Artemis and Athene', cf. ibid. p.71,10.

principatum tenebat inter sacerdotes (RA/RB) 'among the nuns she was the abbess': The above discussion *sacerdos* = ἱέρεια τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος lends a specific colouring to both *sacerdos* (cf. 27, RA 22-23 *ubi omnes virgines inviolabibiter servabant castitatem*) and *principatum tenere*, viz. that of an abbess in relation to nuns. *RA* 11-12 probably goes back directly to (?) τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν ἱερειῶν εἶχε. It was probably all the more natural to use the phrase *principatum tenere* because Greek often talks about ἡγεμονία 'rule of an abbess' and ἡγουμένη 'abbess, prioress', cf. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. ἡγεμονία (2): '(authority, rule) of superior of convent'; id., s.v. ἡγουμένη: 'superior of a monastery of women', cf. Introd V.2. The other terminology used (cf. 48, RA 16 *maiori*; 49, RA 11 *Et constituit loco suo ipsa sacerdotem quae ei secunda* [*i.q.* δευτεραρία 'deputy head of nunnery'] *erat et cara*) underlines Archistratis' position as abbess in a nunnery. The most likely places for such a position are the convents founded within the monastic community of Pachomius. This founder of eastern Cenobitism established 2 convents as well as 9 monasteries, cf. G. Bartelink, *Woordenboek der Oudheid*, Roermond, afl. 9 (1975), s.v. Pachomius; F. Ruppert, *Das pachomianische Mönchtum und die Anfänge klösterlichen Gehorsams*, Münsterschwarzach, 1971, pp.282-328; A. de Vogüé, 'Le nom du supérieur de monastère dans la Règle pachômienne', *Studia monastica* 15 (1973), pp.17-22.

In the *Nachleben* it is above all RTegerns. that follows up this view, cf. Klebs, p.220: 'Camilla, wie hier Apollonius Gattin heißt, ist in ein Kloster

"sanctae Mariae" gesteckt, "*ubi inter sanctas moniales principatum tenebat*". Hier vollzieht sich die Wiedererkennung. Von Camilla heißt es "*tantus vero pulchritudinis eius emanabat splendor, ut ipsa in Angelico crederetur stare habitu*" (cf. *RA* 21-22/RB 15-16). Vor dem Altar ("*ante altare*") beginnt hier Apollonius seine Rede, in der es unter anderem heißt "*deo miserante et auxiliante eius filiam Camillam nomine accipere merui*".' The author of RTegerns. probably made a connection between the Artemisium and the Church of the Virgin Mary in Ephesus. (For the location of this church, cf. Karwiese, under whose impelling leadership excavations have for years been taking place in Ephesus and its surrounding area, [1955], pp.97,135-9 ff.; F. Hueber, *Ephesos: Gebaute, Geschichte* 1997, pp.96-9.) This view also plays an important role in the illustrations of the earliest Latin editions. In terms of archaeology there is probably no question of a direct transformation of the Artemisium into a convent. S. Karwiese leaves the matter open to some extent: 'auf dem Burghügel über dem Artemision scheint vor wenigen Jahre eine Klosterartige Anlage ausgegraben zu sein, so daß des Apollonios Histörchen möglicherweise doch einen realen Hintergrund reflectiert' (letter 2-12-2003). In the present place, however, we are probably dealing with a literary elaboration. (It is too bold to compare Archistratis' chastity in Ephesus with Mary's *virginitas* [officially laid down as doctrine by the Council of Ephesus, AD 431], a position argued by Panayotakis [2002], pp.112-4. For Archistratis' temporary *virginitas*, see 51, RA 29/RB 23, where Apollonius and Archistratis have a son late in life.)

48, RA 12-13 Erat enim effigie satis decora et omni castitatis amore assueta, <u>t nulla tam grata esset Dianae, nisi ipsa. 'For she was very gracious in appearance, and accustomed to total love of chastity, so that no one was more pleasing to Diana than she.'

48, RB 13-14 Erat enim effigie decora, et ob nimium castitatis amorem asserebant omnes nullam esse tam grátam Diánae (*pl.*).

Typical differences in formulation and place: *RA* offers the statement that Archistratis was beautiful and chaste as a sufficient explanation of her elevated position; Diana is presented as being directly involved. In *RB* this pagan explication is cleverly transposed to a natural key and serves to explain *virginum constipata catervis*. The insertion of *asserebant* 'they asserted' adds a subjective colouring to the statement and pushes Diana into the background.

effigie (**Rα [φF, L]**: *effigies eius* **P**) **satis decora** (RA) ~ *effigie decora* (RB): A change to **P** is strongly suggested both by *assuetă* and by *effigie* (RB); *effigies* has the meaning *figura, habitus* (cf. ThLL V,2 183,72) rather than *vultus* (cf. Riese [1893], *Index*, s.v. *effigies*). For *effigies*: 'Gestalt' 'Anblick', cf. 25, RB 9 *defunctae repraesentavit effigiem*. For *satis* = *nimis*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *satis* (2): 'bien, beaucoup, très' (compare: assez, assai; Dutch: 'zij was behoorlijk knap').

omni (*omnium* **P**) **castitatis amore assueta** (RA) ~ *ob nimium castitatis amorem* (RB): *Assuetus* can be construed both with dat. and with abl., cf. OLD, s.v. *assuetus* (1): (abl.) Cic., *De orat.* 3,58 *homines labore* <…> *cotidiano assueti*; Verg., *Aen.* 7,746; Ov., *Met.* 13,554; Curt. 6,3,8. For the collocation '*amor castitatis*', cf. Verg., *Aen.* 11,583 *virginitatis amorem intemerata colit*; Gallican., *Avid.* 3,4 *veneris cupidus et castitatis amator*; Inscr. christ. (ed. Rossi) I, 523 (*a.* 403) *amans castitatem*. However, *castitas* can also be attributed to someone who (like Archistratis) has first been married, cf. ThLL III 540,3: Vulg., Judith 16:26 *erat etiam virtuti castitas adiuncta, ita ut non cognosceret virum* <…>*, ex quo defunctus est* <…> *vir eius*; Amm. 25,4,2 *inviolata castitate enituit, ut post amissam coniugem nihil umquam venereum agitaret*; CIL XII 1724,9 (*a.* 472) *ut linquens coniux maritum* <…> *in perpetua castitate perduraret*. A Greek substrate text is subjective, but perhaps (?) συνήθης, cf. LSJ, s.v. (II): 'accustomed'; *Less.*, s.v. (b). For *nimium* (= *magnum*) *castitatis amorem* (RB), see below *RA* 17 *magnis donis* / RB 11 *nimiis donis*.

assueta (RA) ~ *adserebant* (RB): A clever use of the existing word form, cf. Introd. III.5.

ut (**Rα [F]**: *et* **P**, **Rα[φ]**) **nulla tam grata esset Dianae nisi ipsa** (RA) ~ *nullam esse tam gratam Dianae* (RB): An elegant circumvention of *nisi*, where classical Latin would have used *quam*, cf. 14, RA 3 *nisi* (= *quam*); 31, RA 25 *nisi* (comm.); 39, RA 30; Löfstedt, *Verm. Stud.*, p.35; LHS II, p.596[2]: 'Aus *nisi* statt *quam* nach negierten Kompar. entwickelte sich auch der ganz singuläre Gebrauch von *nisi* nach *tam* mit Posit.' We should probably assume a translation from Greek, e.g. (?) οὕτω(ς) <…> εἰ μή, cf. OLD, s.v. εἰ (VII.α) 'except'; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. εἰ (VI.8): 'εἰ μή = πλήν "außer".'

48, RA 13-15

Interveniens Apollonius in templum Dianae cum suis, rogat sibi aperiri sacrarium, ut in conspectu Dianae omnes casus suos exponeret. 'Apollonius came into the temple of Diana with his family and asked for the sanctuary to be

opened for him, so that he could recount all his misfortunes to Diana face to face.'

48, RB 9 Et rogat sibi aperire sacrarium.

interveniens <...> **cum suis** <...> **, ut** <...> **exponeret** (RA) ~ (RB /): *RB*'s 'reduction' of two clauses, retaining only the middle part, seems drastic but is, strictly speaking, logical. The verb *intervenire* has a much diluted sense here, cf. ThLL VII 2300,75: '*vi praeverbii attenuata, fere* i.q. *ingredi*'. So the purport is the same as above RA 4 *ingredere templum* / RB *intra templum*. The final clause is a repetition of above RA 5-6/RB 4. The phrase *in conspectu Dianae* in *RA*, important to the story, is repeated twice in this chapter (ll.17, 23). Moreover, RB avoids *in conspectu* systematically, cf. above (RA 15) *conspectus* (comm.). So there seems abundant reason to abridge. Nevertheless, *RA*'s prolixity is far superior, as an epic element. The Glossaria (cf. CGL VI 597) suggest several substrate translations for *intervenire*. The most obvious seems παραγίγνομαι, cf. LSJ, s.v. (II): 'abs. *arrive, come up*'; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. (1); *Less.*, s.v. (a) 'arrivare'. The use of precisely this verb in combination with *descendens* (RA 10/RB 8) may indicate some topographical knowledge of the local situation on the part of **R(Gr)**, cf. RA 10/RB 8 (comm.).

sacrarium (RA/RB): Probably Gr. τὸ ἱερόν/ἱερατεῖον 'sanctuary', cf. LSJ, s.v. ἱερατεῖον 'sanctuary'. *RA/RB* probably situated this *sanctuarium* in the middle of the temple front behind the so-called πρόναος '*fronthall* of a temple, through which one passed to the ναός', cf. LSJ, s.v. II: '(Ephesus, II.A.D.)'. This agrees with the prevailing view. Compare the bronze coin of Hadrian with on the reverse the front of the Artemis temple, with Artemis in the middle. (Illustration in Karwiese, Abb.20 [explanation p.178].)

aperiri (RA) ~ *aperire* (RB): The alternation between act. and pass. inf. is *passim* in Late Latin, without any difference in meaning, cf. below RA 33 *praesentari* / RB 26 *praesentare*. As regards interpretation: the most obvious explanation is that the *sacrarium* was closed, cf. Achill. Tat. 4,1,6 ἐδόκουν γὰρ τῇ παρελθούσῃ νυκτὶ ναὸν Ἀφροδίτης ὁρᾶν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔνδον εἶναι τῆς θεοῦ· ὡς δὲ πλησίον ἐγενόμην προσευξόμενος κλεισθῆναι τὰς θύρας 'On the previous night I had dreamed about a temple of Aphrodite and inside the temple was a statue of the goddess. When I approached to pray, the doors slammed shut.' The tradition repeatedly mentions that these *valvae* were made of cypress (Theophr., *Hist. plant.* 5,4,2; Plin.mai. 16,213, cf. Athen. 13,593[a]). But another explanation is possible, perhaps even preferable: like many Italian churches today, the temple of Artemis had, before the actual entrance doors, a curtain (παραπέτασμα), which

could be drawn up (ἀνεῖται) to the ceiling, cf. Paus. 5,12,4 πρὸς τὸν ὄροφον, ὥσπερ γε ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἐφεσίας 'to the ceiling, as they draw up the curtain in the temple of Artemis'; Apul., *Met.* 11,20 *sic anxius <...> attonitus templi matutinas apertiones opperiebar, ac dum velis candentibus reductis in diversum deae venerabilem conspectum adprecamur*. Perhaps a combination of both forms of closure is conceivable. So the company entered the *cella* of the temple, face to face with the famous statue (ἄγαλμα) of Artemis. In all likelihood this was the famous cult statue of Artemis, covered with cultic symbols. The correct explanation of these oviform attributes is controversial. Greek Christians identified them, derisively, with breasts. Hence the nickname πολύμαστος 'many-breasted'. Jerome translated this as *multimammia*, cf. LSJ (Suppl.), s.v.; Minut. Fel., *Oct.* 21. During Christian rule the statue was taken to safety and buried. It was accidentally rediscovered and is now housed in the museum of Celçuk (Turkey). A fine reproduction is provided by Karwiese (1995), Abb.63 (explanation p.180). For more information, cf. R. Fleischer, *Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien*, Leiden (Brill) 1973; continued in: *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens*, Leiden (Brill) 1978, pp.324-58.

in conspectu Dianae (RA): Often used by *RA*, consistently avoided by *RB*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v., though the phrase occurs in classical authors too (cf. ThLL IV 491,80 ff. [Klebs, p.237]). In combination with *exponere* it is found since Cic., *Div. in Caec.* 27 *vitam alterius <...> in oculis conspectuque omnium exponere*. It is used overwhelmingly often in the OT and NT: in the *HA* it can be said to have a Christian colouring, cf. Riese (1893), s.v. *conspectus*. Probably from Gr. (?) ἐνώπιον 'face to face' / κατὰ πρόσωπον, cf. *Less.*, s.v. πρόσωπον.

48, RA 15-18 Nuntiatur hoc illi maiori omnium sacerdotum venisse nescio quem regem cum genero et filia cum magnis donis, <haec> et <t>alia volentem in conspectu Dianae recitare. 'The chief priestess was informed that some king or other had arrived with his son-in-law and daughter, and with great gifts, and that he wanted to tell some story in the presence of Diana.'

48, RB 10-11 Dicitur illi matri omnium sacerdotum venisse regem nescio quem cum filia et genero suo cum nimiis donis.

A series of minor 'corrections'.

Nuntiatur (RA) ~ *Dicitur* (RB): *RA* could derive directly from Gr. (?) ἀγγέλλεται 'it was announced'. Archistratis probably had a dwelling within the temple precinct, cf. Heliod. 2,33,7 ἐπαρθενεύθη καὶ οἴκησιν οἰκεῖ <...> ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβολόυ καὶ περὶ τὸν νεών 'in fact she had passed most of her virgin life <...> inside the temple precinct', cf. id. 2,26,1; 2,27,1; 2,35,3; 3,6,2. Similar information is found elsewhere in the Greek Novel, cf. Charit. 7,5,1 Νῆσος δέ ἐστιν αὕτη (sc. Ἄραδος) <...> παλαιὸν ἱερὸν ἔχουσα Ἀφροδίτης. Ὥσπερ οὖν ἐν οἰκίᾳ, μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας καὶ γυναῖκες ἐνταῦθα διῆγον. 'Aradus is an island <...> It contains an old shrine of Aphrodite. The women lived there as in a house feeling completely secure.'

hoc (RA) ~ (RB /): In effect *RA* anticipates the *acc. c. inf. venisse* <...> *regem* and as such is superfluous. Yet this *hoc* may go back directly to Gr. τοῦτο, cf. LSJ, s.v. οὗτος (B. II); τοῦτο 'with an explanatory clause added'.

illi maiori (RA) ~ *illi matri* (RB): *Ille* is halfway here between demonstr. pron., since she has just been mentioned (RA 11/RB 9), and art., cf. 48, RA 8/RB 6 *illi*; Introd. II.1. For *maior* 'abbot', cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *maior* (3): Ben., *Reg.* 2 *abbas* <...> *debet* <...> *nomen maioris factis implere*, cf. ibid. 5; ThLL VIII 132,8; Linderbauer, p.159. The *RA* reading could come directly from Gr. (?) μειζότερος/-ρα, cf. Lampe, *Patristic Lexicon*, s.v. μέγας, (B.2): μειζότερος: 'superior of a monastery, opp. ὁ δεύτερος' (cf. 49, RA 12 *secunda*). For the occurrence of precisely the term *maior*/μειζότερα in the monasteries of Pachomius, cf. de Vogüé (loc. cit. ad 48, RA 12), n.21. The usual term would be ἀρχιέρεια 'chief priestess', cf. LSJ (+ Suppl.), s.v. (Klebs, pp.261; 272 n.1 regards *maiori* as an interpolation; Garbugino, p.103 with n.54 regards *maiori* as 'latino colloquiale dell' età imperiale'.)

illi matri (RB): *RB* introduces the technical term '*mater*', cf. ThLL VIII 440,3: Hier., *Epist.* 23,2 *monasterii princeps, mater virginum*; Gaudent., *Serm.* 17,15 *dei famulas, monasterii sanctarum virginum dignissimas matres*; Greg. Magn., *Dial.* 4,14 *cunctae congregationis* <...> *matrem*; Caes. Arl., *Reg. virg.* 14 *excepta matre vel praeposita* (cf. 30 *praesente abbatissa vel praeposita*). Though in theory *RB* could have based himself on a Greek source or on Greek usage, where μήτηρ 'mother' also prevails (cf. Lampe, *Patristic Lexicon*, s.v. μήτηρ [4]), this hypothesis is hardly tenable given the overwhelming use of *mater* in Late Latin, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *mater* (6); Blatt, *Novum Glossarium*, s.v. *mater* (III,4); Niermeyer, s.v. *mater* (1).

venisse (RA/RB): The official terminology for a royal visit is of course a separate matter, cf. OLD, s.v. *adventus* (3.c); LSJ, s.v.: ἐπιδημία: 'visit' of an Emperor.

nescio quem regem (RA) ~ *regem nescio quem* (RB): Both constructions are possible in Latin, cf. OLD, s.v. *nescio* (6). For *RA*: Plaut., *Men.* 406 *nescio quem ‹…› alium hominem, non me quaeritas*; Verg., *Aen.* 2,735 *mihi nescio quod ‹…› numen eripuit mentem*. For *RB*: Cic., *Verr.* 5,70 *non unum hominem nescio quem, sed communem libertatis causam in crucem egit*; *Phil.* 13,49 *ut ait poeta nescio quis*. Greek has corresponding elliptical phrases like Plato, *Resp*. 40[c]b οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως 'I don't know how'; id., *Crat.* 396[d] οὐκ οἶδ' ὁπόθεν 'I don't know where', cf. LSJ, s.v. εἴδω B (7). A possible translation of the expression could be e.g. βασιλέα οὐκ οἶδ' ὅς τις, cf. *Od.* 8,28 ξεῖνος ὅδε, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅς τις (sc. ἐστί), ἀλώμενος ἵκετ' ἐμὸν δῶ 'this stranger, who wandering reached my palace, I don't know who he is', cf. Mehler, s.v. ὅστις (2); LSJ, s.v. ὅστις III. The title *regem* may well be original, certainly in the Oriental world, where βασιλεύς often means no more than a princely personage, cf. LSJ, s.v. βασιλεύς (IV): 'of any *great man*'.

cum genero et filia (RA) ~ *cum filia et genero* (RB): Both orders are possible, cf. 48, RA 1 and *RA* 5 (comm.).

cum magnis donis (RA) ~ *cum nimiis donis* (RB): A typical change: *magnus* is growing obsolete and tends towards figurative use ('Charlemagne'), cf. 32, RA 17 (comm.); *nimius*, though actually pejorative, takes its place, cf. 46, RA 1 *magnus et ingens* ~ RB 1 *ingens* (comm.); 16, RA 12/RB 11 *nimia dulcedine* (comm.); 48, RB 13 *ob nimiam castitatis amorem*.

‹**haec**› **et** ‹**t**›**alia volentem** ‹…› **recitare** (RA) ~ (RB /): The text is hard to establish: the original reading *et alia* **P** is often regarded as corrupt. I have opted to read *haec et talia,* on the basis of *hec et talia* **Rα(φ)** 'certain things'. A possible Greek substrate text is hard to establish too: τάδε καὶ τάδε 'so and so', cf. LSJ, s.v. ὅδε (III.2): 'to indicate something immediately to come'. Another possibility is τάδε καὶ ἄλλα (τοιαῦτα).

48, RA 18-20 At illa audiens regem advenisse induit se regium habitum, ornavit caput gemmis et in veste purpurea venit, stipata catervis fam‹u›larum. 'But when she heard that a king had arrived, she put on royal clothes, adorned her head with jewels, and came dressed in purple, accompanied by a throng of female servants.'

48, RB 11-12 Hoc audito gemmis regalibus cáput ornávit (*pl.*); in vestitu purpureo venit, virginum constipáta catérvis (*pl.*).

At illa audiens regem advenisse (RA) ~ *Hoc audito* (RB): The situation is drawn from reality. The arrival of a foreign prince or party (θεωρία 'embassy') was an important event: it meant money, fame, new relations. The finest clothes were donned and all other business was suspended ('legal moratorium' ἐκεχειρία), cf. Achill. Tat. 7,12,2-3 ὁ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερεὺς δάφνην ἐστεμμένος προσιὼν ὁρᾶται. σημεῖον δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἡκούσης θεωρίας τῇ θεῷ. τοῦτο δὲ ὅταν γένηται, πάσης εἶναι δεῖν τιμωρίας ἐκεχειρίαν ἡμερῶν τοσούτων, ὅσων οὐκ ἐπετέλεσαν τὴν θυσίαν οἱ θεωροί 'The priest of Artemis was seen advancing towards us, crowned with laurel. This is a token that an embassy to the goddess has arrived. Whenever this happens there must be a moratorium on all punishments for however many days the ambassadors are making sacrifice.' In particular recently found inscriptions testify to the visits of many Hellenistic princes. Members of the Julian-Claudian house were frequent guests too, cf. Engelman-Knibbe-Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, t.II, *passim*. Though Archistratis' secret feelings and intentions are obvious, her reaction is anchored in reality. Naturally *audiens*, etc. is an important link in recognition scenes, e.g. *Recogn.* 9,37 (Migne, PG 1 1419 A) *nescio unde audiens mater de recognitione patris, cursu concito irruit in medium nostri.*

induit se regium habitum (RA) ~ (RB /): The reflexive use of *induere* + acc. is late and recorded only in Christian writers, cf. ThLL VII 1269,81. It is found twice in the *HA*: here and 32, RA 46 *Dionysia vero induit se et filiam suam vestes lugubres*. There, too, *RB* avoids the refl. construction (RB 16-17 *lugubres vestes induta*), preferring normal usage, cf. Löfstedt, *Synt.* II, p.421. The expression may stem directly from Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐνδύω/ἐνδύνω, Med. ἐνδύομαι (1): 'to put on': ἐδύσατο/ἔδυ βασιλικὴν ἐσθῆτα. For *regium habitum* (RA), cf. 46, RA 10. RB's 'reduction' probably follows from the rest of the description, see the next note.

gemmis (RA) ~ *gemmis regalibus* (RB): The expression is elliptical for: she adorned her head with a diadem (διάδημα), in the form of a headband (κεφαλοδέσμιον), embroidered with pearls/gems, cf. E. Saglio, *Dict. des antiquités grecques et romaines*, II, 1892, pp.119-21. The combination of pearls and royal finery is recorded by ThLL VI,2 1755,57 for: Vopisc., *Aurelian.* 31,8 *gemmas regias (Zenobiae)* (4th c.). See also *Passio Thomae* (ed. Bonnet) p.137,22 *rex <…> gemmatus*; *Acta Thomae* (ed. Bonnet), p.200 *cumque <…> gemmis regalibus totum eius* (sc. fratris regis, nomine Gad) *corpus ornassent*. This luxury came into fashion with Diocletian, cf. Eutrop. 9,16 *ornamenta gemmarum vestibus calceamentisque indidit; nam prius imperii insigne in chlamyde purpurea tantum erat*, cf. A. Alföldi, 'Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser', *Mitt. deutsch. arch. Inst., Röm. Abt.*, 50 (1935), pp.1-158.

in veste purpurea (RA) ~ *in vestitu purpureo* (RB): For the use of *in* with clothing, cf. 37, RA 13; Catull. 68,134 *Fulgebat* (sc. Cupido) *crocina candidus in tunica* (cf. Fordyce, ad loc.). For *vestis purpurea*, cf. e.g. Verg., *Aen.* 4,139 *aurea purpuream subnectit fibula vestem* (said of Dido); for broader *vestitus* (RB), cf. e.g. Cic., *Div.* 2,16,37. This was also regarded as a sign of royal rank, cf. M. Reinhold, *History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity* (Collection Latomus 116), Brussels, 1970; H. Blum, *Purper als Statussymbol in der griechischen Welt*, Bonn 1998. Thus Archistratis could be robed in purple for various reasons, first as (ἀρχ)ιέρεια of Artemis, like the ἀρχιερεύς 'arch-priest', cf. Plut., *Mor.* 58, D-E; 471 F-2A; Plin., *Nat.* 35,93. Second, as the consort of Apollonius, a royal personage. Finally, Tyre was famed in Antiquity for its purple dye industry, an activity often emphasized in the Greek Novel (cf. Charit. 6,4,2 πορφύραν δὲ ἠμφίεστο Τυρίαν 'wearing a cloak of Tyrian purple'; ibid. 8,1,4; 8,6,7). This calculated effect of Archistratis' appearance has a fine parallel in Alexander the Great's meeting with the high priest, cf. *Hist. de Preliis*, cc.26-28; the High Priest was clothed in purple too, cf. Ex. 28:31 ff.; Joseph., *Ant. Iud.* 3,163.215. (Reference by Prof. W.J. Aerts.)

stipata catervis famularum (**Rα [φF, L]**: *familiarum* **P**) (RA) ~ *virginum constipáta catérvis* (*pl.*) (RB): A far-going, skilful adaptation of Verg., *Aen.* 1,496 *regina ad templum, forma pulcherrima Dido, / incessit magna iuvenum stipante caterva*. For *stipata* (RA) ~ *constipata* (RB), cf. *Exc. Troi.* 29,6 *subito Dido regina constipata catervis famulorum vel famularum, ornata ex auro et gemmis templum ingressa est*. The alternation *famulus/familia* is not uncommon, cf. Navig. Brend. 20,4 *accepta benedictione abbatis et famulorum suorum* (*familiarum suarum* **F**). The change *famularum* (RA) ~ *virginum* (RB) is probably due to the uncertain interpretation of *famula*, cf. ThLL VI,1 269,13 ff.; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. famulus ('soit en parl. des prêtres, soit en parl. des fidèles vivants ou morts'): *RB*'s substitution establishes the meaning. (Klebs, p.284 n.2 regards *stipata catervis* as interpolated from 42, RA 19/RB 12 [*navis* riddle] *comitum stipata caterva*.)

48, RA 20-23

Templum ingreditur. Quam videns Apollonius cum filia sua et genero corruerunt ante pedes eius. Tantus enim splendor pulchritu‹dinis› éius emanábat (*v.*), ut ipsam esse putarent déam Diánam (*pl.*). 'She came into the temple. When Apollonius saw her, he and his daughter and son-in-law fell at her feet. Such was the splendour that radiated from her beauty that they thought she was the goddess Diana herself.'

48, RB 14-16 Quam videns Apollonius cum filia et genero c<orruu>nt ad pedes eius. Tantus enim pulchritudinis eius emanabat splendor, ut ipsa dea esse videretur.

Templum ingreditur (RA) ~ (RB /). Considered superfluous by *RB*, though essential to the train of thought: the eventual recognition takes place in the temple, before the statue of Artemis.

corruerunt (RA) ~ *c<orruu>nt* (RErf.; *curruunt* $\boldsymbol{\beta}^{1\alpha}$; *corrunt* **βπ**: *corruit* **M**): For *RA* 'fell, prostrated themselves', cf. 44, RA 5 *conruere* (caus.) *fecit*; the pl. (both in *RA* and *RB*) agrees with the logical subject, Apollonius with his daughter and son-in-law, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. constructio ad sensum. (The reading *corruit* **M** is hypercorrect.) The phrase occurs quite often, with variants, in the OT, e.g. 4 Kgs. 4:37 *corruit ad pedes eius* (Gr. ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ); Gen. 44:14 *omnesque ante eum pariter in terram corruerunt* (Gr. ἔπεσον), cf. Num. 20:6; 2 Par. 7:3; Job 1:20. Hence in Christian authors too: Hier., *Epist.* 46,2 (corruere) *in faciem*; Greg. Magn., *Moral.* 2,29-58 *in terram*. In hagiography: Mombr. I 74,1 *et corruebant ad pedes eius* (sc. Anastasii monachi et martyris) *et osculabantur pedes eius*. The gesture itself of προσκυνεῖν (cf. J. Horst, προσκυνεῖν, *Neutestamentische Forschungen* 3,2, Gütersloh 1932) occurs frequently in the Greek Novel (cf. 9, RA 15/RB 15-16 *prostravit se pedibus Apollonii* [comm.]), esp. regarding a god or goddess or a person identified with the gods: Charit. 3,2,14 Βαδίζουσαν δὲ αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τεμένους ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἰδόντες οἱ ναῦται δείματι κατεσχέθησαν, ὡς τῆς Ἀφροδίτης αὐτῆς ἐρχομένης ἵνα ἐμβῇ, καὶ ὥρμησαν ἀθρόοι προσκυνῆσαι 'As they saw her (sc. Calirrhoe) going from the temple precinct to the sea, the boatmen were awestruck, as though Aphrodite herself was coming to embark, and as one man they made to worship her'; cf. id. 1,1,16; Xen. Eph. 1,2,7 (parallel adduced by Riese [1893], Praef. XIV n.4) Πολλάκις αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ τεμένους ἰδόντες Ἐφέσιοι προσεκύνησαν ὡς Ἄρτεμιν 'Often as they saw her in the sacred enclosure the Ephesians would worship her as Artemis'; Achill. Tat. 3,23,1 τὸ δ'οὖν κοινότατον, προσπεσὼν κατησπαζόμην καὶ προσεκύνουν ὡς θεόν 'I did the most obvious thing: fell into his arms with a tremendous hug and then knelt in humble adoration, as if he were a god' (more material, Garin, loc. cit. p.208).

splendor pulchritudinis (**Rα [φF, L]**: *pulcrituni* **P**) **éius emanábat** (RA) ~ *pulchritudinis eius emanabat splendor* (RB): A Platonic formulation, cf. Plato, *Phaedr.* 251^{b} ἀπορροὴ τοῦ κάλλους 'emanation of beauty'. No doubt Romans will have understood the image, cf. ThLL V,2 446,56: Tert., *Cult. fem.* 2,13 *tanta <…> debet esse <…> pudicitia, ut emanet ab animo ad habitum et*

eructet a conscientia in superficiem; Greg. Magn., *Dial.* 4,47 (p.448 B.) *tanta* <...> *de sepulcro illius fragrantia odoris emanavit, ac si*. We can probably go much further and see *emanare* (and the image) as a translation of ἀπορρέω, cf. LSJ, s.v. '*flow* or *run off*': Plato, *Tim.* 67[c] φλόγα τῶν σωμάτων ἀπορρέουσαν 'a flame emanating from the body'. The noun *emanatio* often serves to translate ἀπορροή/ἀπόρροια, cf. ThLL V,2 440,66: e.g. Iren. 1,14,5 *emanationes* (Gr. ἀπορροίας); Vulg., Wisd. 7:25 (*sapientia*) *emanatio* (Gr. ἀπόρροια) *quaedam est claritatis* <...> *dei sincera*. Many examples in Hoppe (1938), p.135. The Glossaria also suggest *emano* as translation of ἀπορρέω, cf. ThLL ibid., p.445. The image itself is particularly popular in amorous writings: Aristaen. *Epist.* 2,18 (ed. Herscher, p.168) ὁ Πάμφιλος <...> ἠράσθη ταχύ· δεξάμενος γὰρ τοῦ κάλλους τὴν ἀπορροὴν διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων ἐρωτικῶς διεθερμάνθη 'A certain person, called Everybody's Friend, soon was love-lorn: in fact once having received the flux of beauty through his eyes he was inflamed'; Philostr., *Epist.* 10 (ed. Herscher, p.470) κάλλος δὲ ἅπαξ ἐπ' ὀφθαλμοὺς ῥυὲν οὐκ ἄπεισιν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ καταγωγίου 'beauty, once it has flowed through the eyes, never leaves this resting-place'. Naturally this image plays an important role in the Greek Novel. We can point to Charit., whose heroine Καλλιρόη owes her name to this image, cf. G.P. Goold's witty paraphrase 'Lady Lovely Stream' (Loeb, *Classical Library*, 1995, p.10). See also Xen. Eph. 1,3,2, ὅλοις μὲν καὶ ἀναπεπταμένοις τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸ Ἀβροκόμου κάλλος εἰσρέον δεχομένη '(and Anthia too was in a bad way,) as she let Habrocome's appearance sink in, with rapt attention and eyes wide open.' Esp. Achill. Tat. 1,4,4 κάλλος γὰρ <...> διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν καταρρεῖ· ὀφθαλμὸς γὰρ ὁδὸς ἐρωτικῷ τραύματι 'beauty penetrates into the soul through the eyes: it is through the eye that love's wound passes', cf. 1,9,4 (Vilborg, comm.; O. Bychkov, 'ἡ τοῦ κάλλους ἀπορροή: a note on Achilles Tatius 1,9,4-5; 5,13,4', *CQ* 46,1 (1999), pp.339-41.). It is clear that the image could in theory be ascribed to **R(Gr)**, but in actual fact belongs to the legacy of **HA(Gr)**, cf. Introd. VI.3.

ut ipsam esse putarent déam Diánam (*pl.*) (RA) ~ *ut ipsa dea esse videretur* (RB): A similar reaction in Xen. Eph. 1,2,7 τῶν μὲν ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως τὴν θεὸν εἶναι λεγόντων 'some were amazed and said it was the goddess in person'. *RB* can omit *Diana* because the encounter and recognition take place in the temple of Artemis in Ephesus. (Klebs's [p.297 n.1 and p.321 n.3] 'refutation' of influence from Xen. Eph. 1,2,7 is disgraceful.)

48, RA 23-24 Interea aperto sacrario oblatisque muneribus coepit in conspectu Dianae haec effari atque cum fletu magno dicere: 'Meanwhile the sanc-

tuary had been opened and gifts had been offered. In Diana's presence Apollonius began to speak, while weeping profusely:'

48, RB 16-17 Et aperto sacrario oblatisque muneribus coepit dicere:

in conspectu Dianae haec effari atque cum fletu magno (RA) ~ (RB /): After the necessary preliminaries Apollonius, in accordance with the task, prepares to recount his life story in chronological order. Such an account is a τόπος throughout ancient literature, Greek and Latin, pagan and religious, cf. R. Merkelbach, 'Novel and Aretalogy' in: J. Tatum, *The Search for the Ancient Novel* (1944), p.287. Under the heading *Confessiones* he quotes very different examples from various sources, e.g. Apul., *Met.* 11,19,1; Achill. Tat. (see n.25); the HA; the *Recognitiones* (n.26); Christian miracle stories (n.27); as well as a parodistic use in Petronius, *Satyrica* and Iolaos. The account in the *HA* (RA, ll.24-42; RB, ll.17-33) is strictly structured, in long periods, rhythmical, in the form of an aretalogy addressed to Artemis/Diana, who is addressed directly (cf. l.33 *magna Diana*; l.42 *reddidisti*). In the opening lines *RA* rightly pulls out all the stops; *RB* reduces to a sober *coepit dicere*, leaving out [*in conspectu Dianae* <...> *cum fletu magno*]. The combination *fletu magno* is mainly found in poets and ecclesiastical authors, cf. ThLL VI,1 902,40; 904,27. From the Concord. we can mention 4 Kgs. 20:3 *Flevit itaque Ezechias fletu magno* (Gr. κλαυθμῷ μεγάλῳ); 1 Esdr. 10:1; Judith 14:16; Isa. 38:3; Acts 20:37. (Klebs, p.298 dismisses the τόπος as 'das abgeschmackte Mittel'; the *abundantia* in *RA* is regarded as interpolated and described as [Klebs, p.47 n.1] 'unerträglich'. Quite wrongly, Garbugino, p.167 n.61 talks about '*loci communes* della grammatica narrativa antica' in this context. Though the procedure of recapitulating adventures is characteristic of Charit., Achill. Tat. and Heliod., Apollonius' speech before the statue of Diana must have been highly personal, otherwise Archistratis would never have recognized her husband!)

48, RA 24-27 “Ego cum ab adulescentia mea rex nomin<e> appellarer et ad omnem sciéntiam perveníssem (*v.*), quae a nobilibus et régibus exercétur (*v.*), regis iniqui Antiochi quaestiónem exsólvi (*pl.*), ut filiam eius in matrimonio acciperem. ‘From the very beginning of my youth I was proclaimed king by name and I had mastered all the arts which are practised by nobles and kings. Then I solved wicked King Antiochus’ riddle in order to gain the hand of his daughter in marriage.’

48, RB 17-21 “Ego ab adolescentia mea rex, natus Tyro, Apollónius appellátus (*v.*), cum ad omnem sciéntiam perveníssem (*v.*), nec ess<e>t a<r>s aliqua, quae a nobilibus et regibus <excercere>tur, <quam égo nescírem (*pl.*)>, regis Antiochi quaestiónem exsólvi (*pl.*), ut filiam eius in matrimónio cáperem (*t.*). ‘From the very beginning of my youth I was king, born in Tyre, Apollonius by name. When I had mastered all arts, without there being any skill, practised by nobles and kings which I did not pursue, I solved King Antiochus’ riddle in order to take his daughter in marriage.’

cum <…> **rex nomin<e> appellarer** <…> **et pervenissem** (RA) ~ *rex, natus Tyro, Apollonius appellatus, cum <…> pervenissem* (RB): The formulation of *RA* probably goes back directly to **R(Gr)**, who must be held responsible for introducing Apollonius’ kingship. The way he introduces this here is perfectly acceptable: from his youth Apollonius was regarded as a ‘king-to-be’. It is unclear how **HA(Gr)** formulated this part of Apollonius’ confession. Apollonius rightly keeps silent here about the two principal *signa recognitionis*: name <u>and</u> position. These must follow at the end of the *recognitio* (c.49, RA 4). *RB* simplifies the construction, but disrupts the story’s logical structure, cf. Riese (1893), p.107, RA 3, *app. crit.*: ‘*nomen* <…> *in* β *inculcatum*’.

ab adulescentia mea (RA/RB): From Gr. (?) ἐκ παιδός/παίδων, very popular in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. παῖς. Other synonyms are possible too of course, cf. the next note. No change is necessary. (Schmeling, p.40,23 proposes: *in infantia* **Va**).

rex nomin<e> appellarer (RA) ~ *rex, natus Tyro, Apollonius appellatus* (RB): Though it cannot be proved, the expression *rex appellari* probably goes

back to (?) βασιλεὺς ἀναγορεύεσθαι, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀναγορεύω 'to proclaim publicly': Plut., *Galba* 2 ἀ. τινὰ αὐτοκράτορα 'to proclaim one as absolute monarch'; id., *Mar.* 45 ὕπατος ἀνηγορευμένος = *consul designatus*; id., *Macrobii* § 17 Ἄσανδρος δὲ <...> βασιλεὺς ἀναγορευθεὶς 'Asander <...> proclaimed king': Marc. Diac., *vita Porphyrii episcopi Gazensis* (ed. Gregoire), p.38,24 ὁ δὲ γεννηθεὶς νέος Θεοδόσιος ἐν τῇ προφύρᾳ ἐτέχθη, ὅθεν καὶ ἀπὸ λοχείας βασιλεὺς ἀνηγορεύθη 'but the new Theodose was born in the purple, whence he was called emperor from his very birth'. *Rex*/βασιλεύς has the meaning 'future king/emperor' here. This can also be expressed in so many words, cf. Staphulos (ed. Stephens, p.434), col.III 8-10 καὶ Στάφυλος | μὲν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τοῖς | Δρυάντος τρέφεται, ὡς νεώ | τερος βασιλεύς 'And Staphylos is reared in Dryas' palace, as the heir apparent'. Besides ἀναγορεύω the verb προσαγορεύω is also possible, cf. CGL VI 82; LSJ, s.v. (2): '*great* as so and so: Plut., *Aem.* 8 βασιλέα προσαγορεύω τινά; id., *Pomp.* 8 προσαγορευθεὶς αὐτοκράτωρ (*imperator consalutatus*).' *RB*'s 'correction' obviously goes back to the title: *Apollonii, regis Tyrii*. For *Tyro* (RB) instead of a locative *Tyri*, cf. Garbugino, p.106 n.73.

nomin<e>: A minimal conjecture for *noı̃s* (i.q. nominis) **P**, arguable on confusion in a much-used abbreviation. It is worth considering *rex novus* (**Rα [φ]**: *novus rex* **[F]**), as corresponding to νέος βασιλεύς 'the crown prince'. A similar reading *rex novus* is offered by RC: *rex novus tyriu* (**Va** 1984: s *add.* **Va**^{c}) (Schmeling [1988], pp.40,24 and 131,5 requires correction.) A conjecture like *nobilis* (Riese [1893]), followed by many translators, is dubious.

cum <...> **ad omnem scientiam, quae a nobilibus et regibus exercetur** (*exerceretur* **P**) **pervenissem** (RA) ~ *cum ad omnem scientiam pervenissem, nec esset ars aliqua, quae a nobilibus et regibus excerceretur, <quam égo nescírem>*, (RB, ex coni.)

ad omniam scientiam (RA) is probably a direct translation of εἰς πᾶσαν ἐπιστήμην: ἐπιστήμη (cf. LSJ, s.v.) represents both the all-round development (παιδεία) required of the upper classes in the Greek Novel and a certain skill in appropriate activities like μουσική, ἱππομαχία 'horse-fight, a cavalry action', ὁπλομαχία 'fighting with heavy arms, the art of using them', cf. Pap. Oxyrr. 1826 (Sesonchosis novel), col.II, 4-7 (ed. Zimmermann, p.39; Stephens, p.252) Σεσόγχωσις <...> αὐτόν τε παιδευ/[θῆναι] εἴα λοιπὸν μετὰ τῶ[ν ἡλικιωτῶν ὑ/πὸ τῶν] ἱππομάχων καὶ ὁπλομ[άχων κατὰ / τὰ εἰω]θότα βασιλεῦσιν 'For the rest Sesonchosis <...> allowed his son to be educated together with boys of the same age, by training masters in cavalry and infantry, as customary for kings.' It is relevant that precisely Tyre was regarded as a centre for the practice of sports

(cf. Heliod. 4,16,4 with note J. Maillon in Budé edition). (Klebs, p.208 regards Apollonius as a 'Märchenprinz'.)

exercetur Rα(F): The actual reading is *exercētur* **P** = *exerceretur* (Schmeling, *Notes*, p.387 [on ed. 40,25] insists on subjunct.; but **P** is demonstrably careless in his use of abbreviation signs [cf. ed. m. [1984], p.31].

The changes made by *RB* (ll.17-20) derive partly from literary skill, partly from a failure to understand *RA*.

cum (M, RTegerns.: Et cum βπ) ad omnem scientiam pervenissem (RB): Most likely *RB* has failed to recognize the specific meaning of *scientia* 'knowledge and skill' and interpreted it as *scientia litterarum*, cf. 4, RB 3 *fidus habundantia litterarum*; 5, RA 10-16/RB 8-17. As a result, the concept of 'skill' had to be formulated separately, including *quae a nobilibus et regibus exercetur*.

nec esset (RSt; *est* v.l.) **ars aliqua, quae a nobilibus et** (*vel* v.l.) **regibus exercetur** (*exerceatur* v.l.), **quam ego** (γ; *om.* RSt.) **nescirem** (*ignorarem, nesciam* v.l.): Riese (1893), ad loc., followed by Klebs (p.88 n.1) and Schmeling (1988), ad loc., prefers this RSt. reading to the actual reading of *RB*: *necessitas aliqua, quae a nobilibus et regibus agebatur, me attigit et* **βMπ**. Despite close similarity it is clear that the *RB* reading *necessitas* ('conspiracy') follows from *nec esset ars* and that is merely an attempt to make sense of the puzzling events in the first chapters of the *HA*. There is no question of a conspiracy of other nobles and princes in the *HA*. It is unfortunate that **b**, as the earliest codex (9th c.), is lacking against the others (12th c. and later) at this important place. (My earlier position [cf. ed. m. [1984] p.401,26-27] endorsing **βMπ** needs to be revised.)

regis iniqui Antiochi (RA) ~ *regis Antiochi* (RB): *Iniquus* 'unjust' may stem directly from ἄδικος, cf. LSJ, s.v.: 'wrong doing, unrighteous', which is rightly used to describe Antiochus. Did the adjective have too many legal overtones for *RB*? For *iniquus* in the *HA*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. Interestingly, **T** has *inquit*, which can also be seen as an attempt to eliminate the awkward adjective (*aliter* Klebs, p.66: 'verderbt').

nobilibus et regibus (RA/RB): Perhaps *reges* is based on βασιλεῖς, cf. LSJ, s.v. βασιλεύς (2): 'as a title of rank, *prince* Hom., *Od.* 1,394; 8,390 *etc.*'

quaestionem exsolvi (RA/RB): Cf. Vet. Lat. Judg. 14:14 (Lugd.) *non potuerunt exsolvere quaestionem* (Gr. ἀπαγγεῖλαι; Vulg. *solvere*; Iren. 2,10,2). For *quaestio* in the sense of 'riddle', cf. 41, RA 33 *parabolarum* (comm.).

Apollonius' resolute words probably reflect his belief that he had completely solved Antioch's riddle (5, RA 6-8) (Schmeling *aliter*).

ut filiam eius in matrimonio acciperem (RA: *in matrimónio cáperem* (*t.*) RB) (RA/RB): *eius*: sc. Antiochi; *in matrimonio* (RA/RB): Classical Latin would have preferred *in -nium*. As regards *acciperem* (RA) ~ *caperem* (RB): various reasons may have led *RB* to make this apparently slight but actually drastic change. We have already seen his preference for simple verbs and his changes for the sake of the rhythmical cursus. In my view, the most important reason is not formal but material: a king does not receive his bride but takes her in marriage.

48, RA 28-30 Sed ille, foedissima sorde sociatus ei, cuius pater a natura fúerat constitútus (*v.*), per impietatem coniunx effectus est atque me machinabátur occídere (*t.*). 'But he had a relationship of the most horrible kind with the girl whose father he had been appointed by nature; flouting morality, he became her husband, and plotted to kill me.'

48, RB 21-23 Sed ille ei foedissima sorte sociatus, cui pater natura fúerat constitútus (*v.*), per impietatem coniunx effectus est et me machinabátur occídere (*t.*).

sorde (**P**) ~ *sorte* (RB; **Rα (φF, L)**): For *sorde*, cf. 41, RA/RB 2 *Per sordes gradior, sed* (RA: RB *et*) *sordis conscia non sum*; in Christian Latin *sordes* often has the meaning '(carnal) sin', cf. Blaise, *Manuel*, p.43; *Dict.*, s.v. *sordes* (II.3): Vulg., Rev. 22:11 *et qui in sordibus est* (Gr. ὁ ῥυπαρός), *sordescat adhuc* (Gr. ῥυπανθήτω ἔτι); Vulg., 1 Pet. 3:21 *non carnis depositio sordium*. So we should follow Riese (1893), *Praef.* VIII in preferring *RA*.

sociatus (RA/RB); cf. 23, RA 6 *filia mea <…> sociatur viro prudentissimo*.

cuius pater (RA) ~ *cui pater <…> (fuerat constitutus)* (RB): Literary connoisseurship.

a natura (RA) ~ *natura* (RB): In classical Latin, too, nature is sometimes felt to be such an overwhelming force that *a* is used, as for a living being: Varro, *De ling. Lat.* 10,61 *a natura libido humana corrigetur, non a libidine natura*; *Rhet. Her.* 3,26 *a natura datum*; Cic., *De orat.* 3,31 *ut unus ad dicendum instructissimus a natura esse videatur*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *a* (VII). Naturally *RB* 'corrects'.

fuerat constitutus (RA/RB): 'verschobenes Plusquamperfectum', where classical Latin would have used *erat constitutus*. For *constitutus* (RA/RB) we can perhaps compare 24, RA 20 (comm.). In that case the translation would simply read: 'was'. (Klebs, p.262: 'entschieden falsch').

per impietatem (RA/RB): From (?) δι' ἀσέβειαν.

me machinabatur occidere (RA/RB): For *machinari* + inf., cf. ThLL VIII 17,55 (very late). Obviously, as the Glossaria also indicate, it corresponds to μηχανάομαι 'to contrive' 'to plot', often used in the Greek Novel, cf. *Less.* s.v. μηχανάομαι.

48, RA 30-32 Quem dum fugio, naufragus factus sum et eo usque a Cyrenensi (Quirenense **P**) rege Archistrate susceptus sum, ut filiam suam meruíssem accípere (*t.*). 'While I was fleeing from him I was shipwrecked, and was taken in by Archistrates the king of Cyrene, so that I was found worthy of marrying his daughter.'

48, RB 23-25 Quem dum fugio, naufragus a Cyrenensi rege Archistrate eo usque gratissime susceptus sum, ut filiam eius merérer accípere (*t.*).

eo usque <…> **, ut** (RA) ~ *eo usque gratissime, ut* (RB): *RA* is perfectly acceptable, cf. OLD, s.v. *usque* (7,8) 'to such an extent that': Liv. 22,57,3 *eo usque in comitio caesus erat, ut inter verbera exspiraret*; Sen., *Benef.* 2,29,2. The addition *gratissime* is literary, cf. ThLL VI,2 2264,56: Heges. 1,28,7 *advenientem* <…> *gratissime satis* (Gr. 244 φιλοφρόνως) <…> *hospitio recepit*; Sulp. Sev., *Mart.* 7,1 *Cumque ab eo gratissime fuisset susceptus*; Cassiod., *Var.* 7,34,1 *gratissime suscipi*. In hagiography: Mombr. I 565,37 *gratissime ab eo susceptus est*; II, 492,9 *a Fausto* <…> *gratissime hospitio recepti sunt*.

a Cyrenensi (Quirinense **P**) **rege** (RA/RB): The **P** reading could be original: the alternation *c-/qu-* occurs in earliest Latin (*secundus/sequndus*; *cotidie/quotidie*), prevails in Vulgar Latin and plays an important role in the development towards the Romance languages, cf. *App. Probi* 37 '*equs*, non *ecus*'; 38 *coqus*, non *cocus*'. Forms similar to **P** are recorded in contemporary writings, cf. Diosc. 315,12 *Quirenaicus* (see Arnaldi, s.v. *Cyrenaicus*); Reg. Ben. 9,23 *Quirie* (v.l. for *Kyrie*) *eleison* (see Linderbauer, p.236); Greg. Tur., *Hist. Fr.* 2,21 *Quiricus* (= *Cyricus*) (see Bonnet, p.139 n.7). In Roman hagiography: *Passio SS. Abdon. et Sennem.*, 10 *venit quidam Quirinus* (*Cyrinus* v.l.) (see *AB* 51, 1933, p.80). For the broader context, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, §§ 91-93.

suam meruissem (RA) ~ *eius mererer* (RB): Two birds with one stone. For *suus*, where classical Latin would have used *eius*, cf. 2, RA 14/RB 13 *patris sui* (i.q. eius). Alongside *mereor* we already find *mereo* in classical Latin. *RB*'s second 'correction' concerns the use of tense, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. tempora verborum (4). *Mereor* here means *dignus habeor*, cf. 23, RA 11 *qui talem meruit habere coniugem* (comm.); Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *mereo/mereor* (4).

48, RA 32-35 Quae mecum ad regnum percipiendum veníre desíderans (*t.*), hanc filiam parvulam – quam coram te, magna Diana, praesentari in somnis angelo admonente iussisti –, postquam in navi eam peperit, emisit spiritum. 'She wanted to come with me to take possession of my kingdom: after she bore this little daughter (whom you ordered me in a dream at an angel's bidding to bring before you, great Diana) on board ship, she breathed her last breath.'

48, RB 25-27 Qu<ae>, cum desiderassem properare ad patrium regnum, hanc filiam meam – quam coram te, magna Diana, praesentare iussisti – postea in nave <pe>perit et emisit spiritum.

Quae (RA, **Mπ**) <…> *emisit spiritum*: The sentence in *RA* is a syntactic jumble. Construe: *Quae, postquam <…> peperit* (sc. *hanc filiam parvulam*), *emisit spiritum*. *RB* normalizes: *Quae <…> postea peperit et emisit spiritum*. The reading *Quam* **β** (l.25) is probably due to the *quam* that follows (RB 26).

mecum <…> **venire desiderans** (RA) ~ *cum desiderassem properare* (RB): *RB* is more accurate, since the initiative was in fact taken by Apollonius, cf. 24, RA 17/RB 14.

ad regnum percipiendum (RA) ~ *ad patrium* (**βπ**: *proprium* **M**) *regnum* (RB): For *RA*, cf. 24, RA 17-18 *ad regnum devotum percipere* (comm.). Apollonius was entitled to the realm of Antioch, because he had solved the riddle, cf. Oenomaos-Pelops ~ Hippodameia, cf. Introd. VI.1. Earlier scholars attached great value to *patrium* (RB) (cf. Rohde[3], p.446 n.3; Merkelbach, *Roman und Mysterium*, p.161 n.3 'eine Spur der ursprünglichen Fassung'). Like *proprium*, it is merely a 'Schlimmbesserung', based on what seems most likely, without any knowledge of an original Greek text.

hanc filiam parvulam (RA) 'this little daughter' ~ *hanc filiam meam* (RB): It is difficult to retain the *RA* reading in relation to a marriageable (and

now married) daughter: the adjective was probably introduced 'pour besoin de la cause' by **R(Gr)** (see the next note), possibly by **HA(Gr)**. *RB*'s correction is well thought-out.

magna Diana (RA/RB): Probably an element from the original aretalogy (**HA(Gr)**): the goddess was widely known as ἡ μεγάλη 'the great goddess', cf. Xen. Eph. 1,11,5 Ὡς ὀμνύω τέ σοι τὴν πάτριον ἡμῖν θεόν, τὴν μεγάλην Ἐφεσίων Ἄρτεμιν 'I swear to you by the goddess of our fathers, the great Artemis of the Ephesians'; Acts 19:28 Μεγάλη ἡ Ἄρτεμις Ἐφεσίων. In an inscription found at Ephesus in 1877 she is called ἡ μεγίστη θεός 'the greatest goddess' (Page, p.208).

praesentari (RA) ~ *praesentare* (**β**: *-i* **Mπ**): *praesentare* (cf. 41, RA/RB 19) is the technical term in the *Passiones* for 'to lead before a magistrate, judge', (cf. Souter, s.v. *praesento*) esp. in Roman hagiography (ed. Delehaye): Pass. Caeciliae, c.17 (p.208) *Quod audiens praefectus iussit illos venire et statim ab apparitoribus praesentantur*; Pass. Anastasiae, c.10 (p.228) *iussit eas suis obtutibus praesentari*; c.12 (p.230) *gesta <…> trium sororum <…> praesentatas aspectibus* (sic); c.15 (p.232) *cum fuissent praesentatae*; Pass. Pimenii, c.3 (p.261) *Quod cum Iulianus audisset, praesentato Fausto, ait*; c.4 (p.261) *duasque filias eius sibi praesentari iussit*; Pass. Pastoris (p.267) *praesentatur Diocletiano*; (p.268) *mane vero praesentatus imperatori*; see also Le Blant, pp.129,142,151. (A similar much-used term is *in conspectu (alicuius) adducere*, cf. 50, RA 20 [RB *aliter*]). The corresponding Greek term is often παρίστημι, cf. Lampe, *Patristic Dict.*, s.v. (5): "'bring forward' 'produce', for trial of punishment". For the no longer recognized distinction *iubere* + act. inf. / pass. inf., cf. above *RA* 14 *aperiri* / RB 9 *-re*.

in somnis angelo admonente (RA) ~ (RB /): For a similar combination of pagan and Christian elements, cf. above *RA* 2-3 *in somnis quendam angelico habitu* ~ RB 2 *in somnis quendam angelico vultu* (comm.). On account of the preceding words to Diana (RA 33/RB 26 *coram te, magna Diana*) it is clear that *RA*'s reading here has an extremely puzzling, even intrusive effect; this is probably why *RB* omits. *RA*'s strikng formulation can probably be ascribed to **R(Gr)**, cf. above *RA* 33 *hanc filiam parvulam*. (Klebs, p.189: '*angelo admonente* interpoliert RA' (= Garbugino, p.96 n.18); he takes *in somnis* as the reading of *RA* and *RB* [see also Klebs, p.225], which is factually incorrect: *RB* omits both elements).

postquam in navi eam peperit (RA) ~ *postea in nave <pe>perit* (**M**, **RErf.**: *periit* **βπ**) *et* (RB): The construction in *RA* is anacoluthic: the subject of *peperit* has already been given in l.32; the object of *peperit*, viz. *eam*, has already been presented in l.33 *hanc filiam parvulam*. Perhaps the sentence

structure can be traced back to **R(Gr)**, on account of the repetitive pronoun *eam*, cf. 40, RA 12 *amabili aspectu eius*. The parenthetical clause (RA 33-34) – *quam* <…> *praesentari* <…> *iussisti* – may be to blame for the laborious formulation. Compare also E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, Band II 3, *Satzlehre*, Berlin-Leipzig 1934 (repr. 1970), §169, p.198.35: 'angekündigter, aber nicht festgehaltener Akkusativ (besonders vor einem Relativsatz)'. *RB* has regularized the sentence structure by replacing *postquam* (RA) with *postea* and leaving out (the actually superfluous) *eam*. The reading *periit* **βπ** is an amusing example of misapplied knowledge of what actually happened (cf. 25, RB 9-10), facilitated by verbal similarity.

emisit spiritum (RA/RB): This phrase also occurs in pagan authors. ThLL V,2 503,69 mentions: Sen., *Epist.* 24,8 *generosum illum* <…> *spiritum non emisit* (sc. Cato), *sed eiecit*; Marcian., *Dig.* 34,5,18. But it is esp. popular with Christian authors, cf. Vulg., Matt. 27:50 *clamans voce magna emisit* (sc. Iesus) *spiritum* (Gr. ἀφῆκεν τὸ πνεῦμα 'he gave up the spirit'); Vitae Patr. 5,11,2 (Gr. ἐτελειώθη). Classical Latin prefers *emittere animam*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *emitto* (1).

48, RA 35-37 Indui eam honestum, regium dignumque habitum sepulturae e<t> i<n> loculum deposui cum xx sestertiis auri, ut, ubi inventa fuisset, ipsa sibi testis esset, ut dígne sepelirétur (*v.*). 'I dressed her in a royal winding sheet, honest and worthy, and put her in a coffin with twenty thousand gold sesterces, so that wherever she was found, she would be her own witness, so that she would be suitably buried.'

48, RB 27-29 Quam ego regio indui habitu, et in loculum cum XX sestertiis d<e>misi in mare, ut inventa dígne sepelirétur (*v.*).

Indui eam <…> **habitum** (RA) ~ *Quam indui* <…> *habitu* (RB): For the construction *induere aliquem aliquid*, modelled on Greek, cf. above RA 18 (RB *aliter*).

honestum, regium dignumque habitum sepulturae (RA) ~ *regio* <…> *habitu* (RB): A long paraphrase of shroud in *RA*, cf. Charit. 1,6,4 πλοῦτος ἐνταφίων βασιλικός· πρῶτος μὲν ὁ τῆς φερνῆς χρυσός τε καὶ ἄργυρος· ἐσθήτων κάλλος καὶ κόσμος 'Then there was a royal profusion of funeral offerings: first, the gold and silver from the dowry; beautiful clothing and

jewelry.' *RB* has reduced the long paraphrase to the bare minimum (in the form of a hyperbaton).

et in loculum deposui cum XX sestertiis auri (RA) ~ *et in loculum cum XX sestertiis demissi in mare* (RB): For a similar wording, cf. 25, RA 28-29,32/RB 22-23,25. In both places *RB* omits *auri* (cf. 25, RB 23 comm.). See also 44, RA 11-13/RB 13-14.

ut, ubi inventa fuisset, ipsa sibi testis esset, ut digne sepeliretur (RA) ~ *ut inventa digne sepeliretur* (RB): For *ubi* (RA) = *ubicumque*, cf. LSJ, s.v. *ubi* (10): 'In any place' 'at any time'. For *inventa fuisset* = *inventa esset*, cf. above *RA* 29 *meruissem* (comm.) (the subjunct. is probably due to *attractio modorum*). For *sibi testis esset*, cf. 29, RA 17 (comm.). The conj. *ut*[2] (RA) is probably final or perhaps consec. *ut*. *RB*'s reduction is the absolute minimum.

48, RA 37-40	Hanc vero meam filiam commendavi iniquissimis homini<bus St>ranguillioni et Dionysiae, et duxi me in Aegypto, per annos XIIII uxorem flens fortiter, et postea venio, ut filiam méam recíperem (*t.*). 'As for this daughter of mine, I entrusted her to the care of Stranguillio and Dionysias, most wicked creatures, and went to Egypt, for fourteen years, deeply mourning my wife. Then I returned to fetch my daughter.'
48, RB 29-31	Hanc vero famulam tuam, filiam meam, nutriendam iniquis hominibus commendavi, et in Aegypti partibus luxi XIIII ánnis uxórem (*pl.*).

meam filiam (RA) ~ *famulam tuam, filiam meam* (RB): A respectful addition vis-à-vis Diana. For *famula,* cf. above *RA* 19 *stipata catervis famularum*. For *commendavi* (RA) ~ *nutriendam commendavi* (RB), cf. 28, RA 11/RB 9 *commendo vobis* <…> *nutriatur*. This use of the gerundive, which disappeared in the Romance languages, is typical of *RB*.

iniquissimis hominibus (RA) ~ *iniquis hominibus* (RB): For this sober use in relation to the superlative, cf. Ind. gr. s.v. gradus comparationum.

duxi me in Aegypto (RA) ~ *in Aegypti partibus luxi* (RB): *Ducere se*: a popular expression for 'to skedaddle' since earliest Latin, cf. ThLL V,1 2146,20-49: Plaut., *Amph.* 1042 *ad regem recta me ducam*; Ter., *Hec.* 522 *se*

duxit foras (with Donatus' comment '*verbis usus est intra domesticos parietes ortis*') in use through to Novell. Iustin. app. 6 *ad alienam terram se ducere*; *Exc. Troi.* 36,9: *inter ipsum* (sc. Aenean) *et Didonem odia excitavit* (sc. Mercurius), *ut diceret Didoni "Dimittere te vult Eneas et ducere se."* The Glossaria also testify to this popularity: Gloss. III 47,3 ἂν ἀπέλθῃς *si te ducas*; 286,20 *duco me* πορευόμαι, cf. Heraeus, *Kleine Schriften*, p.119 n.3. Official everyday speech avoids this expression. Thus Jerome consistently corrects this usage in the Vet. Lat.: Vet. Lat., Deut. 10,11 (cod. Monac.) *duc te* (Vulg. *Vade*; Gr. βάδιζε); Vet. Lat., John 7:53 (cod. c) *duxerunt se* (Vulg. *reversi sunt*; Gr. ἐπορεύθησαν), cf. Rönsch, *Itala und Vulgata*, p.361; *Sem. Beiträge* III, p.32. For the broader context, i.e. the obolescence of *eo, ire*, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 141. It may even be that this popular *se ducere* overlies a similar Greek phrase, viz. ἄγειν ἑαυτόν, cf. Xen. Eph. 5,10,3 σαυτὸν ἤδη παρ' αὐτὴν ἄγε 'bring yourself to lie beside her' (in Dalmeyda's translation 'va sans tarder la rejoindre'); similarly with compound verbs like ἐξάγω ἐμαυτόν, περιάγω ἐμαυτόν, προσάγω ἐμαυτόν: Heliod. 2,29,5 ἐμαυτὸν μὲν οὐκ ἐξάγω τοῦ βίου 'but I did not put an end to my life'; id. 10,4,3 (with ellipsis of ἑαυτόν, cf. *Less.*, s.v. προσάγω 'avvicinarsi') 'Αλλ' ὅταν αἴσθωμαι προσάγοντα 'Υδάσπην 'When I hear that Hydaspes is at hand'; Achill. Tat. 5,1,5 περιάγων οὖν ἐμαυτὸν εἰς πάσας τὰς ἀγυιάς 'Turning round and round to face all the streets'. A reflexive formation similar to that of ἄγω is found in many verbs in later Greek. The beginning of this development is clearly noticeable in the Greek Novel: ἐλαύνω ἐμαυτόν, στέλλω ἐμαυτόν, φέρω ἐμαυτόν, cf. *Less.*, ss.vv. If the above hypothesis is true, *RB*'s correction has not only removed a vulgarism, but also an *indicium graecitatis*. The reading *luxi*, based on almost the same word shape as *duxi me*, would even meet with the approval of a Jerome, the more so where *in Aegypto* has been replaced with *in Aegypti partibus*, grammatically more correct, and *uxorem flens fortiter* with the omission of *flens fortiter* has been incorporated within *luxi*. (Riese [1893] wrongly deletes: † *duxi me* **P**, to which he prefers *luxi* [app. crit.], followed in text editions by many editors [Tsitsikli; Schmeling; Garbugino, p.163 n. 43; also Hunt (1999), pp.353-5].)

in Aegypto (RA) ~ *in* (**π**: *om.* **β**, **RErf.**) *Aegypti partibus* (RB): *pars = regio* emerges in Late Latin in particular, cf. Löfstedt, *Per.* p.245; *Synt.* II, 440; Salonius, *Vit. Patr.* 418; Svennung, *Palladius*, p.593. Originally as the translation of τὰ μέρη (cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. μέρος: τὰ μέρη 'die Teile eines Landes, das Gebiet') it also occurs independently, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. (6): Aug., *c. Cresc.* 3,56,62 *in Assuritanis partibus*; Mombr. II 171,19 *Largus et Smaragdus perrexerunt ad Persidis partes*; 241,3 *venit quidam vir de Persidis partibus*; 205,55 *cum essem, inquit, in remotis Aegypti partibus*. So there is no reason to stipulate a Greek *Vorlage* as the basis of *RB*.

flens fortiter (RA) ~ (RB /), cf. 45, RA 1 ~ (RB /): The combination *flere* + *fortiter* is very rare: ThLL VI,1 1166,7 does not list any parallels. Compare 28, RA 13-14 *iuravit fortiter*, where RB 14 also omits *fortiter*. The meaning must be: 'loudly, intensely', cf. Peters, 169 'bitterlich'. From (?) ἰσχυρῶς 'very much', cf. LSJ II, Adv. 2: 'with verbs'.

et postea venio ut filiam meam reciperem. (RA) ~ *Vnde adveniens, ut filiam meam repeterem,* (RB): A difficult construction in *RA*, since the *consecutio temporum* is disrupted, as in 51, RA 15 *iubet* <...>, *ut* <...> *comprehenderent* <...> *et ducerent*. (RB /). Perhaps the construction can be defended from a Latin point of view, cf. Catull., *Carm.* 101,1 *multas per gentes et multa per aequora vectus / advenio*, where *advenio* = *adveni* (cf. Friedrich, comm. p.531: influence from (?) ἱκάνω). In my view, we must also assume Greek influence here: (?) καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἥκω, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἥκω '*I come* and *I have come*', the more so because ἥκω often means (LSJ, ibid. [3]) 'I have returned from exile', which makes excellent sense in view of Apollonius' voluntary exile, cf. Introd. VI.1. As usual, *RB* has increased the focus of *RA*: the three nondescript words in *RA* are changed to an adjunct of place *unde* and to a sharp verbal form *adveniens* (= *reveniens* = *postquam reveni*), so that the *consecutio temporum* is saved. The statement itself is incorporated in a new sentence in the form of a *nominativus pendens* (cf. 14, RA/RB 11; 40, RA 27), to be connected with *dixerunt* (RA/RB) as *RB* does elsewhere too (cf. Ind. gr., s.v. nominativus).

48, RA 40-41 Dixerunt mihi, quod esset mortua. 'They told me that she was dead.'
48, RB 31-32 dixerunt ésse defúnctam (*pl.*) (**βπ**: mortuam **M**).

mihi (RA) ~ (RB /): The omission of *mihi* by *RB* is the logical consequence of an opening with nom. abs., based on *ego*.

Dixerunt, quod esset mortua (RA) ~ *dixerunt esse defunctam*: A classical 'correction' of a long existing analytical construction, cf. ThLL V,1 985,78 (not only in popular writings like Vet. Lat., *Per. Egeriae*, but also in major authors like Hier., Augustin., Venan. Fort.). It may be that *RA* goes back to (?) εἶπον, ὅτι, cf. Jannaris, § 2032. An explanation of *esset* in the sense that 'the subjunctive indicates that Apollonius does not report the allegation as a fact' (Konstan, p.108) goes too far.

48, RA 41-42 Iterum cum rediviv<o> invólverer lúctu (*pl.*), post matris atque filiae mortem cupienti

(**Rα[φ]**: *capienti* **P**) exitum vitam mihi red<di>disti." 'Again I was plunged into renewed grief and longed to die now that mother and daughter were dead, but you have given me life back."'

48, RB 32-33 Et dum redivivo (**Rα [φF, L]**; *redivi ut* **P**) lúctu (**β**: *luctu lugubris* **Mπ**) invólverer (*t.*), mori cupienti filiam meam reddidisti."

Iterum (RA) ~ (RB /): Factually speaking, *RA* is more correct, cf. 38, RA 13-20/RB 11-16. Perhaps *RB* omits *iterum* due to the influence of *redivivus*.

redivivo luctu (RA/RB) cf. 47, RB 4 *redivivis vulneribus rediviva vita* (comm.). The reading *lugubris* **Mπ** seems to be an addition: Apollonius' mourning was far from *communis*.

post matris atque filiae mortem (RA) ~ (RB /): A causative detail in *RA*, excluded by *RB*, probably as a superfluous element.

cupienti exitum (RA) ~ *mori cupienti* (RB): *Exitus* (RA) is a standard euphemism for *obitus, mors* (cf. ThLL V,2 1535,58 ff.), perhaps suggested by Gr. ἔξοδος, cf. LSJ, s.v. (III): 'departure' 'death' (not used as such in the Greek Novel). The expression *mori* (RB) is probably based on *mortem* (RA).

vitam mihi red<di>disti (*edd.*: *reddisti* **P**) (RA) ~ *filiam meam reddidisti* (RB). *RA* has a clever pun, inasmuch as *vita*/βίος can be used both for 'life' and for 'child', cf. 45, RA 5 *quia rediviva mihi spes est reddita* (comm.); Catull., *Carm.* 68,155 (comm. Kroll); Heliod. 4,19,9 Χαρίκλειά μοι βίος ἦν, ἐλπὶς καὶ διαδοχὴ τοῦ γένους 'Charikleia was my life, my hope, the continuation of my line.' *RB* is prosaically direct, and probably disrupts a phrase from **HA(Gr)**.

red<di>disti (*reddisti* **P**, **π**) ~ *reddidisti* (**βM**): The form *reddisti* could be authentic, cf. F.G. Banta, *Abweichende spät- und vulgärlateinische Perfektbildungen*, Freiburg i.d. Schweiz, 1952, pp.15, 79. As Klebs, pp.224-225 already observed, *reddidisti* is only comprehensible with Diana/Ἄρτεμις as subject, cf. also Merkelbach, *Roman und Mysterium*, p.169: 'Hier hat der christliche Bearbeiter vergessen eine Spur der alten heidnischen Fassung zu tilgen.' In my view, *RA* (even more than *RB*) has retained a feature of the original aretalogy addressed to Diana in her role of Ἄρτεμις Σώτειρα 'Saviour' (cf. LSJ, s.v.).

CHAPTER 49

49, RA 1-2	Cumque haec et his similia Apollonius narrans diceret, 'While Apollonius was recounting this and other things of the same sort,'
49, RB 1	Cumque haec et his similia narrat,

haec (**RA**, **π**; *hoc* **M**; om. **β**) **et his similia** (RA/RB), cf. (?) ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, cf. 25, RA 19/RB 14 (comm.).

narrans diceret (RA) ~ *narrat* (**βπ**: *narrasset* **M**) (RB): Sometimes *narro* has the meaning *dico* in Latin, cf. OLD, s.v. (3): 'in colloq. idiom, esp. in an indignant question: Plaut., *Curc.* 613 *quod argentum* <…> *narras?* What is this money you are talking about?': cf. Löfstedt, *Synt.* II 379 and 24, RA 23/RB 17 *Quid narras, pessime hominum*? In biblical Latin, as here in *RA*, the two verbs are found alongside each other: Vulg., Gen. 37:9 *Vidit somnium, quod narrans fratribus ait* (Gr. διηγήσατο <…> καὶ εἶπεν;) Ex. 13:8 *Narrabisque* <…> *dicens* (Gr. ἀναγγελεῖς <…> λέγων); Num. 13:28 *narraverunt dicentes* (Gr. διηγήσαντο <…> καὶ εἶπαν); ibid. 22:10; Ps. 144:6. The semantic equivalence *narrare* = *dicere* and the biblical juxtaposition probably prompted *RB*'s reduction.

49, RA 1-2	mittit vocem magnam clamans uxor eius dicens: 'his wife gave a great cry and said:'
49, RB 1-3	levavit se Archistrat<i>s uxor ipsius et rapuit eum in amplexu. Apollonius coniugem suam repellit a se. At illa cum lacrimis voce magna clamavit dicens: 'his wife Archistratis got up and seized him in her arms. Apollonius pushed his wife away. But she wept and <…>'

mittit vocem magnam clamans (RA) ~ (RB /): An ecstatic cry of recognition, the climax of the *recognitio*, couched by *RA* in biblical terms. Though the phrase *mittere vocem* also occurs in pagan authors (cf. ThLL VIII 1174,80) and corresponds to Gr. ἀφίημι φωνήν, cf. *Less.* (Achill. Tat. 3x; Charit. 4x; Long. 2x), the phrase *mittere vocem* connected with *magnam* is only recorded in ThLL, loc. cit. for Vet. Lat., Mark 15:37 (codd. d, ff^2) *missa voce magna* (Gr. ἀφεὶς φωνὴν μεγάλην), where the Vulgate normalizes (*Iesus autem*) *emissa voce magna* (*expiravit*). The phrase εἰπεῖν μεθάλῃ (τῇ)

φωνῇ 'to shout loudly' is very frequent. The combination *clamare* and *dicere* is particularly frequent in biblical Latin (Concordance 8x), e.g. Matt. 14:30 *clamavit dicens* (Gr. ἔκραξεν λέγων); id., 15:22 *clamavit dicens* (Gr. ἔκραζεν λέγουσα; Luke 8:54 *clamavit dicens* (Gr. ἐφώνησεν λέγων) (Klebs, p.47 n.1 'erweitert <…> bis zur Unerträglichkeit').

levavit se Archistrat<i>s (*-tes* **β**; *-chitrates* **M**; Cleopatra **π**), **uxor ipsius** (**βM**; *eius* **π**): *RB* increases the tension by means of a literary device well-known from novelistic literature. For *levavit*, cf. OLD, s.v. *levo* (1): Verg., *Aen.* 4,690 *ter sese attollens <…> elevavit*; Liv. 7,26,5 *ales elevans se alis*; Ov., *Fast.* 4,528 *se <…> elevat saxo*. Though this is not explicitly mentioned, Archistratis is apparently imagined kneeling before the statue of Diana. For the confusion in the manuscripts regarding 'Αρχεστρατίς, daughter of King 'Αρχεστρατής, cf. 18 RA/RB 1 (comm.). The name *Cleopatras* **π** (likewise ll.4, 10, see app. crit.) is probably borrowed from Godfrey of Viterbo, *Pantheon* (written in the years 1186-1191), str. 45,46,82,106 *Cleopatra*, to eliminate the confusion of names (cf. ed. m. [1984], n.8).

rapuit eum in amplexu (RB), cf. 45, RA 1 *in amplexu illius ruens* (comm.). In view of what immediately follows, classical Latin probably would have used a conative imperfect here. The expression is rare: ThLL 1998,71 refers to Iuv. 9,75.

Apollonius coniugem suam repellit (*eam* eras.) **a se β**; *Apollonius repulit* (*rēpulit* **M**) *eam a se* **M**; *Apollonius nesciens esse coniugem suam repellit eam a se* **π**: A painful situation, not uncommon in the Novel. For the *HA*, see c.44, RA 5 (comm.). Garin, p.208 cites as a striking parallel the recognition scene in Heliodorus between Chariklea and Theagenes, where the latter fails to recognize his lover, disguised as a beggar, and repels her: Heliod. 7,7,5 <ἡ Χαρίκλεια> ἐπ' αὐτὸν (sc. τὸν Θεαγένην) ἵεται καὶ περιφῦσα τοῦ αὐχένος ἀπρὶξ εἴχετο καὶ ἐξήρτητο <…> ὁ δὲ <…> διωθεῖτο καὶ παρηγκωνίζετο· 'she threw herself upon him, flung her arms around his neck and hung in a clinging embrace <…> he tried to push her away and elbow her aside.' Kerényi, *Die griechisch-orientalische Romanliteratur*, Tübingen 1973[2], pp.73-4, p.235 n.24 refers to a Christian parallel, *Recognit.*, 7,21,1-23,2 where the youthful Clement does not recognize his mother Mattidia, in the presence of the apostle Peter, cf. Boulhol, 'Αναγνωρισμός, loc. cit. pp.170-1. The passage in question reads (*Recogn.* VII,22,2 καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἅψασθαί με τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῆς ὀλολύξασα ὡς μήτηρ μέγα (cf. 49, RA 1-2 *mittit vocem magnam clamans*) καὶ περιπλακεῖσα (cf. 49, RA 3 *mittens se in amplexus eius*) σφόδρα κατεφίλει με τὸν αὐτῆς υἱόν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀγνοῶν ὅλον τὸ πρᾶγμα (cf. 49, RB 2 *nesciens esse coniugem suam* **π**) ὡς μαινομένην ἀπεσειόμην (cf. 49, RB 2 *Apollonius coniugem suam repellit a se*)

'Lorsque je lui touchai le bras, elle poussa un gran cri, sauta dans mes bras et se mit à m'accabler de baisers maternels. Moi, ignorant toute l'affaire, je la repoussai' (translation Boulhol [1996], p.170). It is probably going too far to assume that *RB* owes this phrase (and situation) to a Greek *Vorlage* or otherwise. It is more probable that he introduced it from his own literary reading, cf. *Exc. Troiae* 18,11 *Ille* (sc. Aeneas) *vero uxorem suam a se repellens*. For the broader context, cf. Introd. VII.2. A motivation is lacking in **βM**. It (underlined here) was probably cleverly added at a later stage: *Apollonius nesciens esse* (**π**, cf. RErf. *non credens esse*) *coniugem suam repellit eam* (**Mπ**) *a se* 'Apollonius, not knowing that she was his wife, pushed her away.' This **π** reading is accepted by many scholars, cf. Klebs, p.124 n.1; Kortekaas (1984), ad loc.; Schmeling (1988), ad loc. But perhaps it is better to retain the **β** reading, supported by **M**, for a number of reasons: (1) the textual corruption **βM** would have to have occurred in two places separately from each other: <*nesciens esse*> and <*eam*>; (2) it is almost inconceivable that such a smooth, logical text in **π** could become the object of such a mutilation; (3) the **π** reading may have arisen as a learned correction, the corrector possibly basing himself on *Recogn.* VII,22,3 in the translation by Rufinus: *Homil.* VII,22,3 *at ego ignorans omne negotium* (Gr. ἀγνοῶν ὅλον τὸ πρᾶγμα 'not knowing what was happening') *quasi insanientem mulierem repellebam*; (4) on crucial points the emendations of **π** (13th c.) can only be designated as classical emendations (cf. 42, RB 2-13, where '*hexametri populares*' are corrected in the style of classical hexameters). It is interesting that the later situation also occurs with motivation in the *Gesta Romanorum*, no.183. For an overall picture of the relation *HA* ~ *Pseudoclementina*, cf. M. Vielberg, *Klemens in den Pseudoklementinischen Recognitionen, Studien zur litterarischen Form des spätantiken Romans*, Berlin 2000, esp. pp.339-41. As regards the Pseudo-Clementine writings (Homilies and Recognitions), their connection with various Greek novelists (Charit., Xen. Eph., *HA* at various stages), and the contact with and influence from the Ancient World in religion and philosophy, see the recent study conference: *Colloquium on Christian Apocryphal Literature*: *The Pseudo-Clementine Romance*, August 30th – September 2nd 2006, Lausanne – Geneva Switzerland. A bibliography on *Recognitiones* and the connection with the *HA* is found in Garbugino, pp.169-70 with nn.71,73.

At ille cum lacrimis voce magna clamavit dicens (RB): Contrary to his usual practice, *RB* does not eliminate here, but gives the biblical formulation in its full scope: Vulg., Acts 16:28 *clamavit autem Paulus voce magna dicens* (Gr. ἐφώνησεν δὲ Παῦλος μεγάλῃ φωνῇ λέγων); Rev. 14:18 *et clamavit voce magna* <…> *dicens* (Gr. καὶ ἐφώνησεν φωνῇ (κραυγῇ v.l.) <…> λέγων; with minor variations, e.g. Luke 1:42 *et exclamavit voce magna et dixit* (Gr.

καὶ ἀνεφώνησεν κραυγῇ [φωνῇ v.l.] καὶ εἶπεν), reinforced by *cum lacrimis*, cf. e.g. Judith 14:14 *Exclamavit voce magna cum fletu* (Gr. καὶ ἐβόησεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ καὶ στεναγμοῦ).

49, RA 2-3 "Ego sum coniunx tua [*Lucina* **P**], Arch<i>stratis regis filia!" '"I am your wife, the daughter of King Archistrates!"'
49, RB 3-4 "Ego sum coniunx tua Archistrat<i>s, regis Archistratis filia!",

Ego sum (RA/RB): Probably a deliberate echo of the solemn, revelatory cry: *ego sum*, cf. Rev. 1:8 *Ego sum* α *et* ω, *principium et finis* (Gr. Ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ὦ); Plut., *Mor.* 354^{c} (*De Is. et Os.* 9) ἐγώ εἰμι πᾶν τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ ὂν καὶ ἐσόμενον 'I am all that has been, that is and that will be', cf. E. Schweizer, Ego Eimi, *Die Religionsgeschichtliche Herkunft und theologische Bedeutung der johanneischen Bildreden.* Forschungen zur Religion and Literatur des A. und N.T., N.F. 38, Göttingen 1939; Betz, p.139 n.1.

Lucina P: On this gloss (also indicated as such by Riese [1893] ad loc.; Klebs [p.42]), see 29, RA 13 (comm.). *RB* gives the exact names to avoid any misunderstanding.

49, RA 3 et mittens se in amplexus eius coepit dicere: 'And throwing herself into his arms she began to speak:'
49, RB 4-5 et mittens se iterum in amplexu eius coepit dicere:

mittens se (RA/RB), cf. 45, RB 16 (comm.).

iterum (RB): Rightly added, after he himself had mentioned a first, failed embrace, cf. above RB 2. For the phrase *se mittere in amplexu(s)*, cf. 45 *RA* 11 *ruere in amplexu.*

49, RA 4-6 “Tu es Tyrius Apollonius meus; tu es magister, qui docta manu me docuisti; tu es, qui <me> a patre meo Arch<i>strate accepisti; tu es, quem adamavi non libídinis caúsa (*pl.*), sed sapiéntiae dúcem (*pl.*)! ‘“You are my Apollonius of Tyre; you are the master, who taught me with skilful hand; you are the man, who received me from my father Archistrates; you are the man with whom I fell in love, not out of lust, but as a guide to wisdom!’

49, RB 5-8 “Tu es Tyrius Apollonius, meus Apollonius; tu es magister meus, qui mé docuísti (*pl.*); tu es, qui me a patre accepisti Archistrate; <tu es>, quem naúfragum adamávi (*v.*), non caúsa libídinis (*t.*), sed sapiéntiae dúcta (*pl.*)!

Tu es <…> **tu es** <…> **tu es** <…> **tu es** (RA/RB): A strongly rhythmical period, with fourfold anaphora/epanalepsis, cf. Blaise, *Manuel* § 31; the cry represents the most salient moments from Archistratis’ life, in an order that is not strictly chronological. For *magister,* cf. c.18; for *accepisti*, cf. cc.22-23; for *adamavi,* cf. c.17-18. It is curious that Archistratis says nothing about Apollonius’ (problematical) kingship. For the form, cf. Heliod. 10,13,2 Ἡ δὲ «Ὦ βασιλεῦ» εἶπε «καὶ δέσποτα καὶ ἄνερ, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποιμι πλέον <…> » ‘“Sire,” she answered, “Lord, husband. I have nothing more to say <…>.” In Late Greek authors too: thus Gelzer (1893), p.189 s.v. συγκροτητής ‘supporter’ quotes from Leontios of Neapolis (ob. post 668), *Vita Symeonis Sali* (Migne 93, 1692 A): σὺ δεσπότης, σὺ συγκροτητὴς, σὺ χειραγωγὸς, σὺ ὁδηγός “you are my Lord, my supporter, my leader, my guide.”

Tyrius Apollonius (RA/RB), cf. Ind. nom., s.v. Apollonius.

docta manu me (**Rα [φF, L]**: *doctam manum meam* **P**) (RA) ~ (RB /): The correction of **P** via **Rα** urges itself (cf. Klebs, p.38 n.4). Periphrastic *manu* is very common in Latin, esp. in poets, cf. ThLL VIII 350,79 (Hor., *Ars* 269 *vos exemplaria graeca nocturna versate manu, versata diurna*; Prop., Ov.). The phrase *docta manu* is particularly used by Ov., *Am.* 2,4,28 for playing the lyre: (27) *haec* (sc. puella) *quaerulas habili percurrit pollice chordas*; (28) *tam doctas quis non possit amare manus?* (Klebs, p.38 considers the expression ‘unsinnig’ and assumes interpolation from 13, RA 17.20/RB 16; Riese [1893] ad loc.: ‘*docta mente* puto’.)

quem adamavi (RA) ~ *quem naufragum adamavi* (RB): The insertion *naufragum* specifically reminds the listener (and reader) of the previous

history. The verb *adamare* was probably chosen on purpose, in that it expresses both spiritual and physical love, cf. OLD, s.v. *adamo* (1) 'admire greatly'; (2) 'conceive a sexual passion for'.

non libidinis causā (RA) ~ *non causā libidinis* (RB): This kind of observation is often found in Antiquity, but is usually made from the perspective of begetting legitimate children: Plut., *Sol.* 22 (p.90 F) ὁ γὰρ ἐν γάμῳ παρορῶν τὸ καλὸν οὐ τέκνων ἕνεκα δῆλός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἡδονῆς ἀγόμενος γυναῖκα 'in fact he who disregards the scope of matrimony, it is clear that he is not marrying a wife to get children, but for lust.' In the Greek Novel: Heliod. 1,19,7 οὐ τῆς καθ' ἡδονὴν χρείας, ἀλλὰ τῆς εἰς διαδοχὴν σπορᾶς 'it is not for bodily pleasure that I have decided she should be mine, but for the continuation of my line'; cf. Tob. 6:22 *accipies virginem cum timore Domini, amore filiorum magis quam libidine ductus*. The idea of *HA* is well rendered in e.g. Greg. Tur., *Glor. confess.* 75 (Bonnet, p.955) *(femina) cum qua spiritalis dilectionis conhibentia* (= accord), *non luxuria copulatur*. For prepositive *causā* (RB), see 46, RA 6 *causa lenonis* (comm.).

sed sapientiae ducem (RA) ~ *sed sapientiae ducta* (RB): Romans will have understood *RA*, though the construction is difficult: *sapientiae* is obj. gen., cf. ThLL V,1 2138,21 '*dux alicuius rei* (i. *ad aliquam rem*)'. There are few direct examples of this construction in Latin: Tac., *Ann.* 1,59 *Arminium potius gloriae ac libertatis, quam Segestem flagitiosae servitutis ducem sequerentur*. See also ThLL, loc. cit., 28.44.47. We are probably dealing with a translation from Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἡγεμών (I.2) 'one who shows the way to others': Plato, *Ly.* 214 οὗτοι γὰρ ἡμῖν ὥσπερ πατέρες τῆς σοφίας καὶ ἡγεμόνες 'in fact, they (sc. the poets) are the fathers and show us the way to wisdom.' Other synonyms are also possible, e.g. ἀρχηγός, ὁδηγός, προστατής. The construction is smoothed away by *RB* (where *causa* must be supplied), as usual almost preserving the form of the letters, cf. Introd. III.5.

49, RA 6-7	Ubi est filia mea?" Et ostendit ei Tharsiam et dixit ei: "Ecce, <haec> est!" 'Where is my daughter?" He showed her Tarsia and said to her: "Look, here she is!"'
49, RB 8-9	Ubi est filia mea?" Et ostendit ei Tharsiam dicens: "Haec est!"

Ubi est <…> **Et ostendit** (RA/RB): An extremely laconic procedure, doubtless due to influence of the epitome phase **R(Gr)**.

<**haec**> (RA): The addition *haec* is suggested by **Rα (φF, L)**: esp. in an Italian manuscript like P, *haec* can be regarded as a (superfluous) aspiration, cf. L. Traube, *Perrona Scottorum*, p.496. On the other hand the ellipsis of a pronoun is very common in Vulgar and Late Latin, cf. Svennung, *Unters.*, p.531.

Et flebant invicem omnes (RB): In the view of *RB*, brevity should not exclude the element of mutual tears. Naturally this is a standard motif in the *recognitio*, cf. Boulhol, Ἀναγνωρισμός, pp.26-28.

49, RA 7-9 Sonat in tot<a> Ephes<o> Tyrium Apollonium recognovisse suam coniugem, quam ipsi sacerdótem habébant (*pl.*). 'All Ephesus was ringing with the news that Apollonius of Tyre had recognized as his wife the woman whom they themselves had as a priestess.'

49, RB 9-11 Sonuit Ephesum Tyrium Apollonium regem uxorem suam Archístratem cognovísse, quam ipsi sacerdótem habébant (*pl.*).

Sonat (RA) ~ *Sonuit* (RB): Very late language: 'it is rumored' (Konstan), cf. Dutch 'het gonst'; the best parallels are offered by Greg. Tur. (538-594), *Hist. Fr.* 3,9 *sonuit eum interfectum esse*; 5,18 *sonuit, quod Merovechus iterum basilicam conaretur expetere*; 7,14 *sonuerat Gundovaldum manifeste regem levatum*, cf. Introd. II.a; VII.1. A few examples are found in hagiography: Mombr. II 145,47 *sonuit in civitate quod factum est et commota est universa ad inopinatam novitatem*. The expression probably came about as an ellipsis of *rumor sonat*; sometimes *sonus* also has the meaning *rumor, fama*. (Riese [1893], Praef. XIV wrongly regards the expression as a hapax legomenon.) A Greek substrate text is highly subjective, cf. (?) Aesch., *Agam.* 1106 πᾶσα γὰρ πόλις βοᾷ; Theophr., *Char.* 8,7 βοᾶσθαι γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει; id., *De caus. plant.* 6,9,2 συμφωνοῦσι πάντες; Herond. 3,47 ἓν γὰρ στόμ' ἐστί (cf. Headlam, p.140). For the Greek Novel, cf. Charit. 8,1,11 Φήμη δὲ διέτρεχε ὅτι ὁ ναύαρχος εὕρηκε τὴν γυναῖκα 'The rumour spread that the admiral had found his wife'; Xen. Eph. 1,12,1 Ταχὺ δὲ δι' ὅλης τῆς πόλεως διεπεφοιτήκει τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἁβροκόμου καὶ Ἀνθίας 'and soon the names of Habrocomes and Anthia had travelled all through the city.' Adduction of a Homeric parallel probably goes too far: *Od.* 23,362 φάτις εἶσι 'the report goes'.

in tot<**a**> **Ephes**<**o**> (RA) ~ *Ephesum* (**β**): The reading *in toto Ephesu* **P** is explicable via assimilation of the ending. Complying with the classical norm, **β** has the acc. of direction (see also app. crit. RB 10). In particular the locative *Ephesi* **M** is remarkable, cf. 7, RA 5/RB 6 *Tyro* (comm.).

recognovisse suam coniugem (RA) ~ *regem uxorem suam Archístratem cognovísse* (*v.*) (RB): *RB* changes probably for reasons of precision and the rhythmical cursus: for the addition *regem* to *Apollonium,* cf. above 48, RA 16.25/RB 17; for *recognoscere,* the technical term in *recognitiones*, changed to *cognoscere*, cf. OLD, s.v. *cognosco* (8): 'recognize (a person or thing one already knows)': Plaut., *Poen.* 1265 *vostra nutrix primum me cognovit*; Varr. *apud* Non. p.276,9 *vereor ne me quoque, cum domum ab Ilio* <...> *revertero, praeter canem cognoscat nemo*; Cic., *Att.* 9,11,1 *se* <...> *eum in Appia* <...> *cognosse*; Verg., *Ecl.* 4,60 *incipe, parve puer, risu cognoscere matrem*. Likewise ἀναγιγνώσκειν 'to know again, recognize' in Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. (2); *Less.*, s.v. (1)

quam ipsi sacerdotem habebant (RA/RB): *Sacerdos* is a probably a direct translation of ἱέρεια, cf. below 13/14. *Ipsi* has a direct thrust: whom they, in their ignorance, etc.

49, RA 9-11	Et facta est laetitia omni civitati maxima, coronantur plateae, organa disponuntur, fit a civibus convivium, laetantur omnes pariter. 'There was great rejoicing throughout the city: garlands were hung in the streets, water organs were set up in several places, a banquet was organized by the townsfolk, all the citizens feasted and celebrated together.'
49, RB 11-13	Fit laetitia ingens, coronatur civitas, organa disponuntur, fit Apollonio convivium a civibus, laetantur omnes.

Et facta est laetitia <...> **maxima** (RA) ~ *Fit laetitia ingens* (RB): *RA*'s exuberant form is standard, cf. 1 Mac. 4:58 *Et facta est laetitia in populo magna valde* (Gr. καὶ ἐγενήθη εὐφροσύνη μεγάλη ἐν τῷ λαῷ σφόδρα); Acts 8:8 *Factum est ergo gaudium magnum in illa civitate* (Gr. ἐγένετο δὲ πολλὴ χαρὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ). This formula is very frequent in the various *Acta* and *Passiones*, cf. Bonnet, *Acta Thomae*, Leipzig 1883, Index; Blatt, *Acta Andreae*, p.148; in Roman hagiography, cf. *AB* 51, 1933, p.96.

coronantur plateae (RA) ~ *coronatur civitas* (RB): This and the following manifestations are paralleled in Greek, but are worded in the language of Latin hagiography, cf. AASS, *Vita S. Agnetis* XI Ian. p.353,16 *Fit laetitia ingens* (cf. above RB), *coronatur civitas* (cf. RB), *organa disponuntur* (cf. RA/RB). For *platea* = πλατεῖα '(main) street', cf. 13, RA/RB 3 (comm.). The activity *ornare plateas/civitatem* is amply paralleled in the Greek Novel: Charit. 1,1,13 μεσταὶ δὲ αἱ ῥῦμαι στεφάνων, λαμπάδων 'The streets were

filled with garlands and torches'; id. 3,2,14 πᾶσα ἦν ἡ πόλις ἐστεφανωμένη 'the whole town was decorated with garlands of flowers; id. 6,2,3 πάντα δὲ εὐθὺς μεστὰ θυόντων, ἐστεφανωμένων 'immediately the whole country was full of people garlanded and offering sacrifices', cf. id. 8,1,12; Xen. Eph. 1,7,3 (the marriage of Ἁβροκόμης and Ἀνθία) πάντα δ'ἦν ἐστεφανωμένα 'there were garlands everywhere'. These places, to which many could be added, show that the gesture may apply to both city and citizens: it may therefore be that *RA* follows from an original (?) στεφανοῦνται αἱ πλατεῖαι (cf. Charit. 1,1,13 ῥῦμαι), adjusted by *RB* to the broader term *civitas*, cf. D. Cass. LXII 20 §4 (de reditu Neronis) πάσης μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἐστεφανωμένης καὶ λυχνοκαυτούσης καὶ θυμιώσης 'The city was all decked with garlands, was ablaze with lights and reeking with incense.' This place is quoted with further material by J.E.B. Mayor ~ A. Souter, *Tertulliani Apologeticus*, Cambridge 1917, pp.363-4 (on Apol. I, 35).

organa disponuntur (RA/RB): The reference here is probably not in general to 'musical instruments' but specifically to 'water organs', cf. 23, RA 14 (comm.). This instrument is usually called *hydraulus*, cf. OLD, s.v. *hydraulus* and corresponds to Gr. ὕδραυλις, cf. LSJ, s.v. ὕδραυλις (there also the term ὑδραυλικὸν ὄργανον). This musical instrument was modest in size and therefore easily transportable, cf. Aug., *in psalm.* 41,9 (PL 36, p.470) *Festa cum hic homines celebrant* <...> *consuetudinem habent constituere organa ante domos suas* <...> *Et ubi audita fuerint haec, quid dicimus qui transimus? Et respondetur nobis* <...> *nuptiae hic sunt*. Compare 23,RA 13 (comm.). For general information: C.E. Ruelle, s.v. *Hydraulis*, in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict.* 3, pp.312-318; Tittel, s.v. *Hydraulis*, in Pauly-Wissowa 9,60-77; H. Leclercq, s.v. *Instruments de musique*, in Dict. d'Arch. chrét. et de Liturgie 7, 1161-1199. Possible Greek substrates for *dispono* are διατίθημι 'to arrange in several places' and καθίστημι 'to set down', cf. CGL VI,353 s.v. *dispono*.

fit a civibus convivium (RA) ~ *fit Apollonio convivium a civibus* (RB): For *convivium* (= συνδείπνον/συμπόσιον) *fit*, cf. ThLL IV 883,67. It is typical of the classical world to celebrate a shared meal on someone's safe return, in the Greek Novel too, cf. Xen. Eph. 5,13,5 (after the rediscovery of Ἀνθία and Ἁβροκόμης) ὡς δὲ ἔθυσαν ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ εὐωχήθησαν, πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα παρὰ πάντων τὰ διηγήματα 'When they sacrificed that day and feasted, there were many different stories from all of them.' The *epitomator* **R(Gr)** does not dwell on the event, cf. 51, RB 4. The addition *Apollonio* (RB) gives an official character to the joint meal. Typical of the drastic change in social circumstances is the 'change' in RC (Schmeling [1988], 132,15) *fit ab Apollonio convivium civibus*, the more so because this variant reading also entered the so-called *Middle English Fragment* (Archibald, p.193), cf. J. Raith, *Die alt- und mittelenglischen Apollonius-Bruchstücke*,

Munich 1956, (pp.73,78-84 verse 52: ‘<He ma>de a feste of gret plente / and fedde the citesaynes alle at ones.’ See also note on 49, RB 13.

laetantur omnes pariter (RA) ~ *laetantur omnes* (RB): For *pariter*, cf. Judg. 19:6 *ut hodie hic maneas, pariterque laetemur*. The Glossaria suggest ὁμοῦ ‘all together’, ὁμοίως, ὁμοθυμαδόν ‘with one accord’.

49, RA 11-12	Et constituit loco suo ipsa sacerdotem, quae ei secunda erat et cara. ‘And she herself appointed in her own function the priestess who was next to her in rank, and beloved.’
49, RB 13-14	Ipsa vero constituit sacerdotem, quae sequens ei erat et casta caraque.

An extremely important place (cf. ed. m. [1984], n.627) for determining the epitome character of the *HA*, its nature and its provenance, cf. Introd. V.2. The statement as found in *RA* contains a cluster of technical terms connected with the monastic life of women (*Acta Petri et Andr.*, [ed. Lipsius-Bonnet] c.22 μοναστήριον παρθένων) and is probably a direct translation from the Greek: (?) καὶ κατέστησεν ἐν τῷ ἑαυτῆς τόπῳ αὐτὴ ἱέρειαν, ἥτις αὐτῇ δευτεραρία ἦν καὶ φίλη. *RB* has ‘Latinized’ the sentence and so removed the Greek character of the statement.

constituit (RA/RB): A striking parallel both in language and in situation is offered by *Vita S. Melaniae* (SC 90), c.41 (p.206) καὶ δι’ ὑπερβολὴν ταπεινοφροσύνης μὴ καταδεξαμένη εἶναι ἡγουμένη, ἑτέραν κατέστησεν εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον, πνευματικὴν καὶ ζέουσαν τῷ εἰς Θεὸν πόθῳ ‘and out of an excess of humility, not accepting to be abbess, she appointed to that position another nun, spiritual and ardent in devotion to God’. (In my view, the Latin version is an adaptation of the Greek, cf. *Vita Melaniae Iun.* [ed. M. Card. Rampolla del Tindaro, *Santa Melania giuniore senatrice Romana*, Documenti contemporanei e note, Roma 1905], c.41 (p.23,29 ff.) *Et cum omnes ei subditae desiderarent esse, non adquievit prior esse monasterii sui propter multam humilitatem, sed statuit aliam quae eas regeret, et* (= ut?) *ipsa solum ad orationem et obsequia Sanctorum vacaret.*) For καθίστημι as a technical term, cf. Lampe, s.v. (1) ‘*appoint*, esp. clergy’; ibid., s.v. μοναστήριον (2): ‘of women: Basil., *Esp.* 55 (PG 32, 464^A) κατάστησον αὐτὴν ἐν μοναστηρίῳ “place her in a nunnery”.’

loco suo (RA) ~ (RB /): For the meaning ‘place’, cf. LSJ, s.v. τόπος (2): ‘place, function’: Nic. Dam., *Fr.* 127,4 J ἐνεγράφη εἰς τὴν ἱερωσύνην εἰς τὸν Λευκίου Δομιτίου τόπον τετελευτηκότος ‘he was inscribed in the priest-

hood in the position of the late Lucius Domitius'; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. τόπος (2.b): 'Stellung, Ambt: Ps. Callisth. 2,1,5 der τόπος der Priester-Prophetin'; Lampe, s.v. τόπος (G): 'position'.

ipsa (RA): Probably translating αὐτή 'by her own decision', i.e. without any consultation in the convent, cf. Melania's conduct. *RB* moves *ipsa* to the beginning of the sentence, so that its effect is completely diluted (i.e. 'Apollonius' wife').

sacerdotem (RA/RB): The standard name in the *HA* for the παρθένοι in Artemis' domain, cf. 27, RA 21/RB 19 (comm.). The most direct Greek form, viz. ἱέρεια 'priestess', is found in the *Martyrium S. Theodoti* (ed. Franchi de' Cavalieri, [Studi e Testi 6] Roma 1901), c.14 (p.70,3), cf. 48, RA 11/RB 9 (comm.).

ei secunda erat (RA) ~ *sequens ei erat* (RB): *RA* is probably a direct translation of the technical term δευτεραρία, cf. Lampe, *Patristic Dict.*, s.v.: 'prioress', 'deputy head of nunnery'. He refers to the *Vita Danielis* (p.69,20) edited by L. Clygnet, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 5 (1900), pp.50.254.370. The corresponding male position entitled δευτεράριος/δεύτερος 'prior of monastery' was mainly established by the influence of Pachomius and his followers Nilus and Orsiesius. His office and work, designated by δευτερεύειν 'to be second in the monastery', were self-evident, cf. *Hist. Laus.* (ed. Bartelink), c.32, l.33 ἠρώτα τὸν δεύτερον ὁ μειζότερος (cf. 48, RA 16 *maiori*) 'the abbot asked his second'; ibid. l.70 τὸ νῦν δευτερεύων ἐν τῷ μοναστερίῳ 'for the moment acting as second in the monastery' (Bartelink, cf. Comm., p.360 refers to B. Steidle, 'Der "Zweite" im Pachomiuskloster', *Benediktinische Monatschrift* XXIV [1948], pp.97-104, 174-9). The δεύτερος 'vice-superior' actually takes over when the abbot dies, cf. Cyrill. Scythopolis, *Vita Theodosii* (ed. Schwartz), p.112,6. This *secundus* is the usual term in Pachomius, cf. A. Boon, *Pachomiana latina. Règle et Épitres de S. Pachome. Texte latin de S. Jérôme*, Louvain 1932, Ind. s.v. *secundus* (17x). Naturally the term δευτερεύω is entirely appropriate in the Greek Novel too, cf. *Less.*, ss.vv. δεύτερος, δευτερεύω: Heliod. 5,30,1 τὸν δευτερεύοντα Τραχίνου λῃστήν '(to find the pirate) who was Trachinos' second-in-command.' So an occurrence of this phrase in **R(Gr)** is an entirely accceptable hypothesis. For another striking parallel with *RA* in the *Hist. Laus.*, cf. 51, RA 32-34 (comm.).

sequens ei erat (RB): *RB* probably did understand his *Vorlage*: whether a lay readership could appreciate the scope of this specialized monastic term is highly problematical: the lexicons do not record such a position. Hence *RB*'s paraphrase, using the by then widely accepted *sequi* + dat., cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. (1): '(avec *dat.*, hellén.); Heraeus, *GGA* (1915), p.482;

Norberg, *Syntaktische Forschungen*, pp.146-7; Blomgren, *Studia Fortunatiana*, p.153 n.2. This more or less hierarchical succession was sometimes disrupted in later developments of the *HA*. A distinctly romantic twist was introduced by Recensio Bern (cf. ed. m. [1984] p.19), e.g. Vat. Ottob. lat. 185 (= RBern 5), p.XIII: *Ipsa vero constituit sacerdotem* (i.q. abbatissam), *que* (= quae) *et sequens eius* ('her foundling') *erat et cara*. Curiously, the same twist can be found in the *Middle English Fragment* (loc. cit. ad 49, RA 10/RB 12), p.80, v.53 'her norry that sche loved mest'. This *Fragment* goes back to MS Oxford CCC 82 (mid-12th c.), the most important representative of RBern.

ei (RA): In translation this word has lost its specific function of *dat. ethicus/commodi* and *erat* has changed from a notional to an auxiliary verb in the paraphrase, cf. *Per.* 16,6 *invenerunt speluncam quam sequentes fuerunt* (Löfstedt, p.245 ff.), cf. Corbett, p.145.

cara (RA) ~ *casta caraque* (RB): *cara* is highly functional in *RA*'s sober statement: the addition *casta* in *RA* would have been almost insulting to the 'mère-assistante'! But Roman readers (like Klebs, p.282) will have doubtless enjoyed the alliteration, cf. Aug., *Conf.* 8,12 *Et convertisti luctum eius* (sc. matris) *in gaudium, multo uberius quam voluerat, et multo carius atque castius, quam de nepotibus carnis meae requirebat*; Martyrium b. Petri (ed. Salonius) p.23,13 *(Petrus) praecipue caritatis et castitatis gratiam audientium pectoribus inserebat*. Finally, we should mention the RC reading (Schmeling [1988], p.133,1), which simultaneously combines dependence on *RA* and *RB* and thus establishes its position: *sacerdotem, quae ei sequens erat* (RB) *et cara* (RA).

49, RA 12-14 Et cum omni<um> Ephesiorum (**P**, **Mπ**: Ephesorum **β**) gaudio et lacrimis, cum planctu amarissimo eo, quod eos relinquerent, valedicentes cum marito et filia et genero navem ascendit. 'Amid the rejoicing and tears of all the Ephesians and very bitter lamenting that they were leaving them, they said farewell and with her husband, daughter and son-in-law she boarded the ship.'

49, RB 14-15 Et cum Ephesiorum gaudio et lacrimis cum marito, filia et genero navem ascendit.

Et cum omnium (RA[**φ**], RB: *omni* P, **Rα [F]**) **Ephesiorum gaudio et lacrimis** (RA/RB): A τόπος since Homer's famous description of

Andromache Hom. *Il.* 6,484 δακρυόεν γελάσασα 'smiling tearfully': Dion. Hal. 4,84,1 δάκρυα ὑφ' ἡδονῆς; Xen., *Hist. Graec.* 7,1,32 κοινόν τι χαρᾷ καὶ λύπῃ δάκρυα; in the Greek Novel too: Charit. 3,4,15 Ῥηθέντων δὲ τούτων χαρὰ καὶ λύπη πάντας εἰσῆλθε· χαρὰ μὲν ὅτι ζῇ Καλλιρρόη, λύπη δὲ ὅτι πέπραται. 'At these words joy and grief came over everyone – joy that Callirhoe was alive, grief that she had been sold', cf. id. 4,7,4; Long. 2,24,1; Heliod. 4,9,1 ἡδονῆς δὲ ἅμα καὶ λύπης ἐνεπλήσθην καὶ πάθος τι καινότερον ὑπέστην ὁμοῦ δακρύων καὶ χαίρων 'I was filled with a mixture of pleasure and sadness and had the peculiar experience of being moved simultaneously to joy and tears', cf. id. 6,1,2. The phenomenon particularly occurs in farewell scenes, cf. Heliod. 6,1,2. For Latin, cf. ThLL VI,2 1719,58 ff. In Roman hagiography too: Pass. S. Anastasiae, c.7 (ed. Delehaye, *Le légendier romain*, p.226) *cum gaudio lacrimabili referebat*; Mombr. I 461,24 *mihi cum gaudio lachrymae*. In itself the combination with *cum* is consonant with the Latin sense of language (cf. ThLL VI,2 1716 ff.), but it also runs parallel with Greek μετά, σύν, cf. 1 Macc. 4:59 *cum laetitia et gaudio* (Gr. μετ' εὐφροσύνης καὶ χαρᾶς). The correction *omnium* is necessary on account of the context: for the opposite case, cf. 48, RA 12 *omnium* P instead of *omni*.

cum planctu amarissimo, eo quod eos reliquerent, valedicentes (**P**: -*dicens* **Rα [φF, L]**) (RA) ~ (RB /): Omitted by *RB*, probably for the combination of redundance and language errors. For *RA*, cf. Jer. 6:26 *planctum amarum* (Gr. κοπετὸν οἰκτρόν): Ezek. 27:31 *ploratu amarissimo*; 25, RA 31-32 *cum amarissimo fletu* ~ (RB /) (comm.). For *eo quod*, cf. 10 RA 18/RB 16 (comm.). Though the form *valedicentes*, instead of *valedicens* (sc. Archistratis), is an anacoluthon, it can be defended as a *constructio ad sensum*: not only Archistratis is the subject, but also her family: *maritus*, *filia* and *gener*, cf. 25, RA 12 *quod cum viderent familia* and W.A. Baehrens, *Beiträge zur lateinischen Syntax* 1912, p.464. Perhaps we have a translation error here, since *valedicentes* (? = εὐφημοῦντες) is often said of the remaining party (Heliod. 10,1,1 πάντων μὲν Συηναίων <...> σὺν εὐφημίαις προπεμπόντων: 'while all the population of Syene <...> escorted him, wishing him farewell'). So *RB* has many reasons to eliminate. (Klebs, pp.47,1; 267,271 assumes interpolation across an extended section of text.)

Strikingly lacking in this description of a happy ending is a word of thanks to the goddess Ἄρτεμις/Diana, who had stage-managed the entire reunion. Other Greek Novels do address this point: Charit. 8,8,15 «Χάρις σοί» φησι, «Ἀφροδίτη· πάλιν γάρ μοι Χαιρέαν ἐν Συρρακούσαις ἔδειξας, ὅπου καὶ παρθένος εἶδον αὐτὸν σοῦ θελούσης. Οὐ μέμφομαί σοι, δέσποινα, περὶ ὧν πέπονθα· ταῦτα εἱμαρτό μοι.» "Thank you, Aphrodite!" she (sc. Callirhoe) said. "You have shown Chaereas to me once more in

Syracuse, where I saw him as a maiden at your desire. I do not blame you, my lady, for what I have suffered, it was my fate.", cf. id. 8,7,2; Xen. Eph. 5,15,2 εὐθὺς ὡς εἶχον ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ᾖεσαν καὶ πολλὰ ηὔχοντο καὶ θύσαντες <...> 'they immediately went just as they were to the temple of Artemis, offered many prayers, and made their sacrifice'; Achill. Tat. 7,16,1 οἱ δὲ παρόντες τὸ πᾶν μαθόντες εὐφήμουν τε τὴν Ἄρτεμιν 'The people around who heard the whole story praised Artemis'; Heliod. 7,8,1. Naturally such acclamations are the order of the day in the Christian *Acta* and *Passiones*, e.g. Πράξεις Παυλοῦ καὶ Θέκλης (c.38) αἱ γυναῖκες πᾶσαι ἔκραξαν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος ἔδωκαν αἶνον τῷ θεῷ λέγουσαι· Εἷς θεὸς ὁ Θέκλαν σώσας 'The women cried all together at the top of their voices and as from one mouth they praised God saying: "Only He the God saved Thecla", cf. Söder, *Romanmotive*, p.102 f., p.163 f.; O. Weinreich, *Hermes* 55 (1920), p.327. In particular the *Nachleben* missed such a word of acknowledgement, cf. e.g. the cry in the *Gesta Romanorum* (ed. Oesterley, Berlin[2], 1963, p.531) '*benedictus sit altissimus qui mihi uxorem cum filia reddidit*'), cf. Klebs, pp.358-9.

We might think that the epitomator of the **HA(Gr)** neglected a detail here. Rather we should see it as a deliberate intervention by **R(Gr)** so as not to disrupt the delicate balance of pagan and Christian elements, cf. Introd. V.

CHAPTER 50

50, RA 1-3 <…> Et constituit in loco suo regem Athenagoram generum suum, et cum eodem et filia et cum exercitu navigans Tharsum civitatem venit. 'And he established his son-in-law Athenagoras as king in his place. Sailing on with him and his daughter and his army he came to Tarsus.'

50, RB 1-4 Veniens igitur Tyrius Apollonius Antiochiam, ubi regnum reservatum suscepit, pergit inde Tyrum et constituit regem loco suo Athenagoram generum suum. Et cum eo et cum filia sua et cum exercitu regio navigans venit Tharsum. 'So Apollonius of Tyre came to Antioch, where he received the kingdom which had been kept for him, and from there proceeded to Tyre.'

This chapter is devoted to the legal aspects involved in the violation of the *ius hospitii* by Stranguillio and Dionysias (50, RA 3-16), the production of Tarsia (50, RA 16-20), the testimony of Theophilus (50, RA 20-24), the punishment imposed on Stranguillio and Dionysias (50, RA 24-28), and the exemption of Theophilus from punishment (50, RA 28-32). Such a series of legal scenes, required by the story here, was a favourite topos in the ancient Greek Novel (Charit., Xen. Ephes., Longus, Achill. Tat., Heliod.), cf. S. C. Swartz, *Courtroom Scenes in the Ancient Greek Novels*, Columbia University (Ph. D. Diss.) 1998. In this regard, too, the *HA* proves its dependence on the Greek Novel.

<…> Et constituit (RA) ~ *Veniens igitur Tyrius Apollonius* (RB): Two versions which at first sight seem to have little in common. In my view, *RA* is typically the result of hasty epitomization: the place where Athenagoras is crowned vice-king, obviously Antioch (cf. 28, RA 6/RB 7), is left unspecified. On the return from Antioch to Tarsus the epitomator fails to mention Apollonius' wife explicitly. But the main objection is the geographical position of Antioch, that is, in a continuing line from Tarsus, deeper into the gulf: to reach Antioch from Ephesus it was therefore necessary to pass Tarsus. So it is highly remarkable that *RA* (in effect **P**) has Apollonius sail on to Antioch first, and then has him sail back from

there to Tarsus. For a similar geographical error by the epitomator, cf. 51, RA 11 ff. and 51, RA 24-28 (comm.). Also, a 14-year vacancy of the throne, followed by a hasty departure of the new vice-king, calls for extensive commentary. It is clear that **HA(Gr)** must have dealt with the situation, using as many reasonable arguments as possible. Only in this sense have I placed < > in the text to indicate that *RA* contains a lacuna in relation to **HA(Gr)**, a lacuna which *RA* found in his *Vorlage* **R(Gr)**, cf. ed.m. [2004], n.43 (*aliter* Klebs, p.222, followed by Schmeling [1988], p.41,24).

Both **Rα**, *RB* and other redactions and adaptations in the vernacular have tried, each in their own way, to explain this situation. Thus **Rα** adds: *Veniens igitur Tyrius Apollonius Antiochiam invenit sibi reservatum regnum. Constituit in loco suo* (**φF**: *in locum suum* **L**), etc. This addition seems authentic, but is in fact spurious: the words *invenit sibi reservatum regnum* are actually based on 28, RA 6 *regnum quod mihi servabatur*. There is no information about the highly curious situation.

cum exercitu (RA) ~ **cum exercitu regio** (RB): In actual fact it involved a punitive expedition against Tarsus, because of the violation of the *ius hospitii*, of which the entire city was guilty. The adjunct *regio* (RB) seems an addition as a status symbol. The term *regius exercitus* is taken up playfully by the Old English translation, cf. 51, RA 18/RB 14 (comm.).

Veniens igitur Tyrius Apollonius (RB): Though in *RB* Apollonius accepts the crown in Antioch (which is logical), he then travels on to Tyre, where he appoints Athenagoras as vice-king. It is hard to conceive of a reason for this drastic change in relation to *RA*. After this undoubtedly long intermezzo, Apollonius (as in *RA* without any mention of his wife!) goes to Tarsus for the final reckoning. (Klebs, pp.222-223 regards RB [*Et constituit* <…> *generum suum*] as an interpolation; Riese [1893], followed by Schmeling [1988], p.41,25 and p.81,8 adds *et coniuge* in both *RA* and *RB*.)

In particular later versions and adaptations, written for the nobility, have filled this gap with sieges, tournaments and romantic developments, cf. the so-called 'Brussel Redaction' (14th c.) (Archibald, pp.193-4) and the 'Vienna Redaction' (15th c.) (Archibald, pp.199-202); a starting-point for study of this material is C.B. Lewis, 'Die altfranzösischen Prosaversionen des Apollonius-Romans', *RF* 34 (1915), (pp.1-277), p.213; Nillson, op. cit. pp.90-2.

50, RA 3-4 Apollonius statim iubet comprehendere Stra<n>guilionem et Dionysiam, et sedens pro tribunali in foro adduci sibi illos p<rae>cepit. ‘At once Apollonius gave orders that Stranguillio and Dionysias be arrested and brought to him as he sat on front of the judgement-seat in the forum.’

50, RB 4-5 Et iussit statim comprehendi Stranguilionem et Dionysiadem uxorem suam et sedenti sibi adduci.

comprehendere (RA) ~ *comprehendi* (RB), cf. 48, RA 14 *aperiri* ~ RB 9 *aperire* (comm.); *comprehendere* is a technical term, cf. 51, RA 13/RB 12 (comm.); from Gr. (?) συλλαμβάνειν ‘to seize, arrest’, cf. Betz, p.97 n.6: ‘Polizeiausdruck’.

sedens pro tribunali in foro (RA) ~ *sedenti (sibi)* (RB): Official terminology in *RA* (‘officially, in judgment’), since the magistrate passes judgement seated. For *pro tribunali*, cf. OLD, s.v. *pro* (2) ‘On or from the front of the *tribunal*’; so the largest part of the *tribunal* is behind the speaker, cf. RB 16 (comm.). This τόπος is overwhelmingly paralleled in pagan literature, both Latin and Greek, and also in the *Acta* and *Passiones* in both languages, cf. E. Le Blant, *Les actes des martyrs: supplement aux Acta sincera de Dom Ruinart,* Paris 1882, pp.62-3. In pagan authors, e.g. Liv. 39,32,11 *quin ille sedens pro tribunali aut arbitrum aut tacitum spectatorem comitiorum se praeberet?*; id., 26,38,8: 27,19,11; Plin., *Epist.* 1,10 *sedeo pro tribunali*; obviously Dig., e.g. 18, *De quaestionibus*, § 10 *Pro tribunali sedet*. The phrase resonates strongly in the Passions of the NT, where Greek offers a corresponding term: Matt. 27:19 *Sedente autem illo pro tribunali* (Gr. καθημένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος); John 19:13 *et sedit pro tribunali in loco, qui dicitur Lithostratos* (Gr. καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ βήματος εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Λιθόστρωτον, cf. Acts 12:21 *Herodes* <…> *sedit pro tribunali* (Gr. ὁ Ἡρῴδης <…> καθίσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος). Of particular interest are the texts of Acts 25:6 and 25:17, because they also use *adducere* as a technical term: Acts 25:6 *sedit pro tribunali et iussit Paulum adduci. Qui cum perductus est* (cf. *RA* 5/RB 6 *Quibus adductis*) (Gr. καθίσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐκέλευσεν τὸν Παῦλον ἀχθῆναι. παραγενομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ); ibid. 25:17 *sedens pro tribunali iussit adduci virum* (Gr. καθίσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐκέλευσεν ἀχθῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα). For *adducere,* see the next note. Not surprisingly, the expression is very frequent in the *Passiones*: Passio Andreae (ed. Bonnet-Lipsius, II,2) p.18,10 *misit Aegeas et adduxit ad se sanctum Andream ac sedens pro tribunali dixit* (Gr. ἀπέστειλεν Αἰγέας καὶ ἤγαγεν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τὸν ἅγιον Ἀνδρέαν· καὶ καθίσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος εἶπεν). Even not officially recognized *Acta*

deliberately use this terminology, cf. Le Blant, pp.60,61,129,130,145-6. For more material, cf. Robert, *Pionios*, pp.107-8.

RA may have derived the grammatical anomaly *sedens <…> sibi* directly from his *Vorlage*, e.g. Acts 22:17 *Factum est autem revertenti mihi in Ierusalem, et oranti in templo, fieri me in stupore mentis* (Gr. Ἐγένετο δέ μοι ὑποστρέψαντι εἰς Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶ προσευχομένου μου ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ γενέσθαι με ἐν ἐκστάσει). *RB* has severely curtailed this official terminology and removed the grammatical anomaly *sedens <…> sibi* (RA): *sedenti sibi*. He was probably pleased with the alliteration, cf. 49, RB 14 *casta caraque*. The omission *in foro* is presumably *brevitatis causa* as well. Remarkable within all the corrections is *suam* (RB) instead of *eius*, cf. 2, RA 14/RB 13.

50, RA 5	Quibus adductis coram omnibus Apollonius ait: 'When they had been brought, he said in front of everyone:'
50, RB 5-6	Quibus adductis coram omnibus civibus dixit:

adduci. Quibus adductis (RA 4-5/RB 5-6): This kind of repetition, reinforced by a form of the relative (adverbial) pronoun, is the order of the day in the *Passiones*: Mombr. I 418,26 *iussit ad se adduci. Quo cum adducti fuissent beatus Donatus et Hilarianus monachus*; 454,53 *proconsul iussit adduci eos. Qui cum adducerentur*; 489,20 *Iulianus iussit duas eius filias ad se adduci. Quae cum adductae fuissent*; 545,1 *iussit <…> in conspectu suo adduci. Qui cum adducti fuissent*, cf. ibid. 546,17. There are many examples of synonymous legal variants too: Mombr. II 180,26 *iussit <…> intromitti. Quibus intromissis*; II 169,39 *iussit eum <…> aspectibus suis praesentari. Qui cum praesentatus fuisset*, cf. 241,49 *praesentari <…> qui praesentatus*. As the examples show, *adducere* is a technical term in this situation. The corresponding term in Greek is (προσ-)ἄγω (cf. ThLL I 594,74-78; Robert, *Pionios*, p.107), where the repetition mentioned above is also found in profane authors: Lucian., *Ver. Narr.* 2,6 ἀνῆγον ὡς τὸν ἄρχοντα <…> καὶ δὴ ἀναχθέντες ὡς αὐτόν 'They brought him to the archon <…> and being brought'; Charit. 7,2,2 ἠξίουν δὲ ἄγεσθαι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα <…> ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤχθησαν 'They asked to be taken to the king. When they were brought before him'; Heliod. 7,24,3 ἄγεσθαι τὸν Θεαγένην ἐκέλευσεν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤχθη, ἐπηρώτα 'She (namely Arsake) commanded that Theagenes be brought before her. On his arrival, she asked'. A few examples from martyr literature: 'Acta graeca S. Apollonii romani', *AB* 14 (1895), p.286 Ἀπολλὼς δὲ <…> συλληφθεὶς προσήχθη· οὗ προσαχθέντος Περέννιος ὁ ἀνθύπατος εἶπεν, cf. Knopf-Krüger, p.15,20; p.120,31. The conclusion seems warranted that *RA* (and consequently *RB*) follows on from **R(Gr).**

50, RA 5-7 “Cives beatissimi Tharsi, <numquid> Tyrius Apollonius alicui vestrum in aliqua re ingratus extitit?” ‘“Most fortunate citizens of Tarsus, Apollonius of Tyre surely has not shown himself ungrateful to any of you in any matter?”’

50, RB 6-7 “Cives beatissimi Tharsiae, nunquid Apollonio Tyrio exstitit aliquis ingratus vestrum?”

Cives beatissimi (RA/RB): Here begins the official ἐπιμαρτυρία ‘calling to witness’, which is followed by presentation of the case in 50, RA 11-12/RB 10-12. The connection of *beata* with *urbs/civitas* is frequent in Latin literature, cf. ThLL II 1913,8: Cic., *Fin.* 1,58 *neque civitas in seditione beata esse potest nec in discordia dominorum domus*; id., *Epist.* 5,21,3 *qui vita ingenua in beata civitate et libera viximus*; this collocation lives on via Liv., Sen., Flor., through to esp. Aug., *Civ.* 1,15 *virtus <…>, qua beata esse possit et civitas; neque enim aliunde beata civitas, aliunde homo*. The combination with *civis* is rare: Lucan. 4,807 *felix Roma quidem civisque habitura beatos*. It may be that *beatus* overlies Gr. (?) μακάριος, εὐδαίμων (Gloss., see ThLL II 1989,30), cf. Riese, Index, s.v. *beatissimi* (μακαριώτατοι); LSJ, s.v. μακάριος: (1) mostly of men ‘blessed, happy’; in addresses ὦ μακάριε ‘my good sir’.

Tharsi (RA) ~ *Tharsiae* (RB): For *Tharsiae* (sc. civitatis), cf. Ind. nom., s.v. T(h)arsius.

numquid: The reading *inquit* **P** could perhaps be retained, cf. Blatt, *Acta Andr.*, p.77,15 *ait <…> inquid*; id., p.136,17; Löfst., *Peregr.* p.59. The authority of **Rα (φF,- L)**/RB justifies the reading *numquid*, from Gr. (?) οὐκοῦν, cf. LSJ, s.v. οὐκοῦν (I): ‘in questions, inviting assent to an inference’ (see for other places 37, RA 17/RB 16 [comm.]).

Apollonius alicui <…> **ingratus** (RA) ~ *Apollonio aliquis <…> ingratus* (RB): Perhaps the formulation in *RA* is somewhat questionable: *ingratus* can be both active (‘unthankful’), cf. ThLL VII 1561,42 (‘i.q. *gratiam non referens*’), and passive (‘not acceptable’ ‘not agreeable’), cf. ThLL VII 1560,45 (‘*iniucundus, inamoenus, insuavis*’): e.g. active: Sen., *Benef.* 3,1 *ingratus est qui beneficium accepisse se negat, quod accepit*; passive: Tacit., *Ann.* 6,30 *Gaetulicus <…> exercitui <…> non ingratus*. In our place *ingratus* must be taken in an active sense (from Gr. [?] ἀχάριστος, cf. LSJ, s.v. (II.2): ‘ungrateful, thankless’). The general interpretation requires a mental leap: “Was I ungrateful to one of you?” “(No this is not the case), for we honoured you and will continue to do so because you repaired our city walls, so that we have called you *Pater Patriae*.” *RB* smoothly adjusts the reading by making the citizens subject from the outset, which also under-

lines the active meaning of *ingratus*. Naturally *RB* preserves the word form, cf. Introd. I.

50, RA 7 At illi una voce clamaverunt dicentes: 'But they shouted unanimously:'

50, RB 7-8 At illi omnes una voce dixerunt:

For a similar exuberance in *RA* and retrenchment in *RB*, cf. 32, RA 2-3 ~ RB 2; 46, RA 20 ~ RB 18-19.

50, RA 7-10 "Te regem, te patrem patriae et diximus et in perpétuum dícimus (*t.*); ‹pro› te mori optávimus et optámus (*v.*), cuius ope famis periculum vel mórtem transcéndimus (*t.*). 'We proclaimed that you were our king and the father of our country, and we say so forever; we were willing to die for you, and we still are, because with your help we overcame the danger of famine and even death.'

50, RB 8-10 "Te regem, te patriae patrem diximus: propter te et mori libénter optávimus (*t.*), cuius ope periculum fámis effúgimus (*t.*).

patrem patriae (RA) ~ *patriae patrem* (RB): A τόπος in both Latin and Greek, cf. OLD, s.v. *pater* (5.c): 'the father, protector, saviour of one's country'. Though at first it was also used for private citizens (Cicero, Marius), with Trajan it became an official title of the Roman emperor, cf. Plin., *Paneg.* 21 *at tu* (sc. Traianus) *etiam nomen patris patriae recusabas*; Sen., *Clem.* 1,14,2 *patrem quidem patriae adpellavimus, ut sciret datam sibi* (sc. Traiano) *potestatem paternam*, cf. id., *Caes.* 76; *Tib.* 26; *Nero* 8. This honorary title survives via the Middle Ages through to our time (William of Orange, Father of the Fatherland), cf. W. Ziegler, *Wesen und Bedeutung des Titels "Pater Patriae" in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, Heidelberg 1925 (diss.). Greek offers a direct parallel: πατὴρ πατρίδος / πατὴρ τῆς πόλεως, which is found not only in literature (e.g. Plut., *Cic.* 23), but also extensively in epigraphy. Both areas are relevant to the ***HA*(Gr)**. Thus the Greek Novel contains interesting parallels: Charit. 8,8,13 τὴν πατρίδα εὐηργέτηκας 'You are a benefactor of your country'; Heliod. 10,17,2 ὁ τοῦ δήμου πατήρ, γίνου καὶ κατ' οἶκον πατήρ 'We recognized you as our king; now recognize yourself as a father!' The phrase πατὴρ τῆς πόλεως (also used in ecclesiastical circles) is epigraphically concentrated in Asia Minor,

cf. Gregoire (1922), no.219 (Milete); no.309 (Attalia in Pamphylia); J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome,* Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1982, p.129 (Document 19. Letter of Severus Alexander to Aphrodisias), p.131 (Document 20. Letter of Gordian III to Aphrodisias), p.133 (Document 21. Letter of Gordian III to Aphrodisias, p.141 (Document 25. Letter of Traianus Decius and Herennius Etruscus to Aphrodisias). For more detailed information, cf. C. Dragon and D. Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie*, Paris 1987, pp.215 qq; Index p.272, ss.vv. πατήρ, πατρίς; C. Roueché, 'A New Inscription from Aphrodisias and the Title πατὴρ τῆς πόλεως', *Greek- Roman- and Byzantine Studies*, 20 (1), 1979, pp.173-85. The duty of assuring food levies could fall to the *pater civitatis* (cf. Roueché, *Aphrodisias*, p.140). Hence the Caracalla coin carries the letters Π.Π (πατὴρ πατρίδος/πατὴρ τῆς πόλεως), awarded to him in gratitude, cf. Introd. VI.4.2.2.

diximus et in perpetuum dicimus – optavimus et optamus (RA) ~ *diximus – optavimus* (RB), cf. 17, RA 5/RB 4 *permisi* ‹...› *permitto*: The omission of *in perpetuum* is an unhappy abridgement of the official formula by *RB* (poetically paraphrased by *RA*) δι' αἴωνος (or αἰώνιος), cf. LSJ, s.v. αἰώνιος (2): 'holding an office or title for life, perpetual': CP Herm. 62 γυμνιασίαρχος αἰώνιος 'gymnasiarch for life'; Lampe, *Patristic Dictionary*, s.v. αἰώνιος (C.2b): 'as a complimentary title to the emperor and empress': Athen., *syn.* 3 (p.232,32 Migne 26,685^{A}) 'αἰώνιον' αὐτὸν 'βασιλέα' εἰρήκασιν 'They have proclaimed (cf. *HA diximus*) him "Eternal Emperor".' Esp. in Asia Minor, this title is often used for lower, municipal offices as well, cf. L. Robert, *Documents de l'Asie Mineure Meridionale*, Paris 1966, p.83 sq.; id., *REG* 81 (1968), Bulletin Epigr. no.548; Pleket, *Epigraphica* II, p.32. It goes without saying that *RB*'s elimination has removed an authentic Greek element. His 'correction' also allows us to conclude that, in this place, *RB* did not consult a Greek original such as **R(Gr).** (Klebs, p.212 says all too laconically: 'Seit Augustus ist "*pater patriae*" bekanntlich ein regelmäßiger Bestandtheil der kaiserlichen Titulatur.')

pro (om. P) **te mori** (RA) ~ *propter te ét mori libenter optavimus* (**βM**: *optamus* **π**) (RB): The addition *pro* is urged by **Rα(φF)**, cf. e.g. John 13:38 *animam meam pro te* (Gr. ὑπέρ σου) *ponam*. *RB*'s emendations are apt (*libenter* should probably be connected with *mori*). This kind of assurance is of course found frequently both in the Novel and in the *Passiones*, cf. Martyrium prius Andreae (ed. MacDonald, *Acta Andr.* 1990, p.358 l.23): καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἕτοιμοί ἐσμεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀποθανεῖν 'in fact we all (sc. the inhabitants of Patrae) are willing to die for him (sc. Saint Andrew).'

famis periculum vel mortem transcendimus (RA) ~ *periculum famis effugimus* (RB): *famis periculum* (RA) should probably be interpreted as 'famine' (cf. Ter., *Haut.* 980 *periculum a fame*), and *vel mortem* = 'and even death', cf. Peters, p.171 'durch dessen Hilfe wir die Hungersnot oder besser gesagt den Tod überwunden haben' (Klebs, p.47 n.1: 'unerträglich'; id., p.38 n.3: '(*vel*) nur in Interpolationen'). For *vel*, see Ind. verb., s.v. Underlying *transcendimus* ('we have surmounted, overcome') is probably a Greek verb (?) ὑπερβαίνω 'to transcend', cf. CGL II 464,2; ὑπερέρχομαι LSJ (III): '*overcome* or *survive* a disease Aret., *SA* 1.10 ἣν ταύτην ὑπερέλθῃ ὁ νοσέων 'if the sick man survives that sickness'. *RB*'s reduction can probably be traced back to *periculum famis* 'death from starvation', cf. Sulp. Sev., *Dial.* 1,11 *se* <...> *intra periculum famis ipse concluserat*. For *periculum* i.q. *interitus*, cf. Löfstedt, *Arnobiana*, p.38 ff.; Blomgren, *Studia Fortunatiana*, p.148. The collocation with *effugere* is supported in ThLL V,2 209,37 by literary authors; Cic., *Phil.* 12,30 *haec tanta pericula*; Caes., *Bell. Gall.* 4,35,1 *celeritate periculum*; Val. Max. 1,8 ext. 9 *id periculi genus*; Sen., *Epist.* 5,9 *ferae pericula, quae vident, fugiunt: cum effugere, securae sunt*. These *acclamationes* are not mentioned in their proper place (cf. 10, RA 3/RB 12) as a result of the brief epitomization, cf. Introd. V.

50, RA 10	Hoc et statua tua a nobis posita <in biga> testatur." 'The statue representing you, which we erected upon a two-horsed chariot, also testifies to this gesture."'
50, RB 10	Pro (**β**; *Porro* **M**; *om.* **π**) hoc et statua a nobis posita in bíga testátur (*pl.*)."

Hoc <...> **testatur** (RA) ~ *Pro hoc testatur* (RB): *RA* can be traced back directly to Greek, cf. (?) μαρτυρέω 'to bear witness, give evidence', cf. LSJ, s.v. (3): *cum acc. rei* 'testify to a thing'. *RB* seems to be virtually unique: *Mombr.* II 413,35 (*Passio Primi et Feliciani*, 5th/6th c.) *illic* (i.e. in custodia) *autem pro nomine domini quasi in paradiso testatur* (sc. Felicianus). (Riese [1893], Index, s.v. *testari* regards the expression as a hapax legomenon.) Hence the reactions of the other codd. (*Porro* **M**; *om.* **π**). (Schmeling [1988], p.42,2 (RA): '<*pro*> addidi ex RB'; id., *Notes*, p.387 [on ed. 42,2] provides further argumentation: 'the sentence seems to require something like *pro hoc*.')

in biga (**Rα [L]**/RB), cf. 10, RA 15/RB 13.

50, RA 11-12 Apollonius ait ad eos: "Commendavi filiam meam Stranguilioni et Dionysiae suae uxori; hanc mihi reddere nolunt." 'Apollonius said to them: "I entrusted my daughter to Stranguillio and Dionysias his wife. They refuse to return her to me."'

50, RB 10-12 Et Apollonius ait: "Commendavi filiam meam Stranguilioni et Dionysiadi uxori eius: hanc mihi réddere noluérunt (*v.*)."

ad eos (RA) ~ (RB /): The usual abridgement, which also eliminates a Christianism, cf. 5, RA 1 *ait ad eum* ~ RB 2 *ait* (comm.).

Commendavi (RA/RB): The heart of the conflict, cf. 24, RA 8/RB 9 *commendo vobis filiam meam*, cf. Introd. VI.

Dionysiae: *diunigie* **P**, cf. 50, RA 19 *scelesta diunigia*: s>g, probably due to Italian pronunciation, cf. ed. m. [1984], pp.31-4.

suae uxori (RA) ~ *uxori eius* (RB): A casual correction by *RB*, following the classical standard, cf. 2, RA 14 (comm.).

nolunt (RA) ~ *noluerunt* (RB): A pedantic correction by *RB*: though the refusal took place in the past (cc. 37-38), its effect continues in the present.

50, RA 12-18 ~ RB 12-18: The two versions diverge widely: *RA* is clearly based on the Greek *Vorlage* **R(Gr)**; *RB* is a literary elaboration of *RA*. (Klebs, p.41 [exactly the other way round]: 'Diese nach Inhalt und Sprache antike Stelle [he means *RB*] ist von dem Bearbeiter von *RA* schmählich mißhandelt worden.')

The comm. first deals with 50, RA 12-18, then with RB 12-18.

50, RA 12-13 Stranguilio (Stranquilio **P**) ait: "Per regni tui clementiam, quia fati (faci **P**) munus implevit." 'Stranguillio said: "By the clemency of your kingship, (we could not even return her,) because she had used up her allotted span."'

For the Italian form *Stranquilio*, see above 32, RA 16 (comm.).

Per regni tui clementiam (RA) ~ (RB /): No doubt Romans understood this expression, since *Clementia*, together with *Pietas, Iustitia* and *Virtus*, constituted the four imperial virtues on which the empire was based. Precisely as such these virtues played an important role in coin inscriptions, cf. L.R. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, Philological Monographs published by the American Philological Association, 1. Middletown, Conn. 1931; M.P. Charlesworth, 'Providentia and Aeternitas', *The Harvard Theological Review*, 29 (1936), pp.107-132; C.H.V. Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy, 31 B.C. - A.D. 68*, London 1951. For the term *clementia Caesaris* in literary sources, cf. M. Treu, 'Zur Clementia Caesaris', *Mus. Helvet.* 5, 1948, pp.197-217; O. Leggewie, 'Clementia Caesaris', *Gymn.* 65 (1958), pp.17-36. But the expression really comes alive when compared with a possible Greek equivalent. The most eligible candidate here, according to the Glossaria, is ἐπιείκεια 'clemency', 'reasonableness' (alongside ἀνεξικακία 'forbearance', φιλανθρωπία 'benevolence'), cf. ThLL III 1335,79: compare Acts 24:4 (*breviter audias nos*) *pro tua clementia* (Gr. τῇ σῇ ἐπιεικείᾳ). The word ἐπιείκεια is often used as a personal title of address, cf. LSJ, s.v.; Bauer, s.v.; Lampe, s.v. (6). The adjuration μὰ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν τὴν τῆς σῆς βασιλείας (cf. 14, RA 2 *iuro per salutem meam* [comm.]) would be particularly appropriate: "But by the reasonableness of your rule (we could not return her) because she had died." There is no need to assume an ellipsis before *quia*, to be filled out with *dico, affirmo, iuro* (cf. Löfstedt, *Synt.* II, p.266): the brevity represents Stranguillio's indignation. Moreover, the ellipsis may go back directly to Greek, cf. *Hellenica* XIII, p.101 n.2; Tabachovitz (1943), p.43 *per salutem, quia*. (Klebs, p.41 n.1: 'Dieser absurde Ausdruck [he means *clementia regni*] ist zusammen gestoppelt aus ch.18 (RA 10) *iuro per regni mei vires* und ch.20 (RA 15/RB 13) *clementia tuae indulgentia*.')

fati munus implevit (RA) ~ (RB /): For *faci* **P**, cf. ed. m. [1984], p.32 (compare: *qui facinus adimplevit* **Rα** [φ]). Romans probably understood the expression itself, though parallel places are few and late (4th-5th c.), cf. ThLL VI,1 (s.v. *fatalis*) 334,27; ibid. (s.v. *fatum*) 360,20-24 (*fati munus implere/explere*); ThLL VII (s.v. *implere*) 637,4 (as a euphemism for *mori*). The phrase is more common in hagiographical circles (cf. Introd. II.1): *Pass. Seb.* (Migne PL 17, 1135[B]) *si* (sc. anima) *ignara Creatoris sui praesentis vitae impleverit munus*; AASS I Nov. Martyrium S. Ariadnes, p.203[a] *Socer tuus incolumis est, an iam ab hac luce migravit? Cui Tertullus: Iam fati munus implevit* (parallel adduced by P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Il martirio di S. Ariadne*, Studi e Testi 6, Roma 1901, p.113 n.6); Mombr. II 615,4 *Postquam Theobaldus fati munus implevit <...>, eligitur cancellarius*. Its occurrence in this circle is hardly surprising, since the phrase is originally Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. πληρόω 'to fulfil' (6): Plut., *Cic.* 17 τὸ χρεών 'destiny'; see also LSJ,

s.v. μοῖρα (III.2): 'man's appointed doom, i.e. death': Herod. 3,142 Πολυκράτης μέν νυν ἐξέπλησε μοῖραν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ 'Polycrates has now fulfilled his destiny', cf. id. 4,164. The phrase appears to go back to Hom., *Il.* 4,170 αἴ κε θάνῃς καὶ μοῖραν ἀναπλήσῃς βιότοιο 'if you die and fulfil your portion of life', cf. ibid. 8,34. The expression is found in Asian Minor funereal inscriptions, cf. Wilhelm, *Griechische Grabinschriften aus Klein-Asien* (1932), pp.64-5. The Greek Novel provides no direct parallel, cf. Heliod. 7,17,3. So it seems acceptable to assume that *RA* goes back to **R(Gr)** and perhaps to **HA(Gr)**. On the other hand Late and Byzantine Greek have a large store of euphemisms for death, cf. Thurmayer (1910), pp.17-21; Zilliacus, *Zur Abundanz*, pp.57-8. Practically speaking, it is impossible to pinpoint one particular expression.

50, RA 13-16 Apollonius ait: "Videte, cives Tharsi, non sufficit, quantum ad suam malig<ni>tatem, <quod> homicidium perpetratum fecerunt: insuper et per regni mei vires putaverunt periura<n>dum. 'Apollonius said: "You see, citizens of Tarsus, as for their wickedness, it is not enough that they have committed a murder: on top of that they have thought it fit to commit even perjury, by swearing falsely by the power of my kingship.'

non sufficit, quantum ad <...>**,** <**quod**> <...> **fecerunt** (RA): The construction *sufficit* <...>*, quod* (+ indic.) is acceptable in Latin, cf. OLD, s.v. *sufficio* (7.b): 'it suffices': Stat., *Achill.* 1,35 *nec sufficit, omnis quod plaga Graiugenum tumidis coniurat Atridis*; Quint., *Instit.* 5,13,6; cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *sufficio* (II). For *quantum ad*, cf. Ov., *Ars am.* 1,744 *quantum ad Pirithoum, Phaedra pudica fuit*; Sen., *Contr.* 5,34,16 *quantum ad ius attinet*; ibid. 3,16,1. But the sentence makes a Greek impression: (?) οὐκ ἀρκεῖ <...>, ὅσον (εἰς ὅσον, ἐφ' ὅσον, καθ' ὅσον) πρός <...>, ὅτι (+ indic.), cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀρκέω (5): 'imp.: it suffices': Xen., *Cyr.* 8,1,14 ἀρκεῖ, ἣν <...>, ὅτι; id., *Mem.* 4,4,9. (Schmeling [1988], p.42,7; id., *Notes*, p.387 [on ed. 42,7) *aliter*.])

malig<**ni**>**tatem** (*maligtatem* **P**), cf. *malignitate* **Rα (φF, L)**: From Gr. (?) κακουργία 'wickedness, malice'. The Glossaria (cf. CGL VII 672) suggest κακία 'badness'; κακοήθεια 'bad disposition', 'malignity'; πονηρία 'wickedness', 'vice'.

homicidium perpetratum fecerunt (RA): A tautological formulation: 'they have committed a perpetrated murder' to underline the atrocity. For *homicidium facere*, cf. ThLL VI,2 2869,82. For *homicidium perpetrare*, see

ibid., 2870 (literary/legal); ThLL X 1,2 1632,36-8. A Greek substrate is uncertain (can we compare ἐπιτελής 'completed, accomplished', cf. LSJ, s.v.: ποιεῖν τι ἐπιτελές, cf. Hdt. I.117 [same situation]?) The Glossaria (cf. CGL VII 525) offer a single equivalent: φόνος 'murder'.

insuper et (RA): An abundant phrase, cf. ThLL V,2 911,30. Sometimes this abundance accurately renders the Greek *Vorlage*, cf. Acts 2:26 *insuper et* (Gr. ἔτι δὲ καί). It characterizes Apollonius' indignation.

per regni mei vires putaverunt periurandum (*periurare dum* **P**) (RA): It is likely that Romans also understood this phrase to a certain extent (cf. 41, RA 18 *regni mei vires* [comm.]), cf. OLD, s.v. *peiero* (a more reliable form for *periuro*) 'to swear falsely' (b): Luc. 6,749 *Stygias peierat undas*; Plin., *Nat. Hist.* 2,21 *fulminantem periurant Iovem*. The full import is rendered by a possible Greek translation (?) τὰ κράτη τῆς ἐμῆς βασιλείας ᾠήθησαν ἐπιορκεῖν. Compare LSJ, s.v. ἐπιορκέω 'to swear falsely': Hdt. 4,68 τὰς βασιληΐας ἱστίας ἐπιώρκηκε 'he has sworn falsely by the royal hearth'; ibid., s.v. κράτος (II): 'especially of political power, rule, sovereignty': POxyr. 41 I 2 (3/4th c.) τὸ κράτος τῶν Ῥωμαίων; Lampe, *Patrist. Lexic.*, s.v. κράτος (B) 'imperial majesty': *Petitiones Arianorum* 1 (Migne 26, 820^{A}) δεόμεθά σου τοῦ κράτους καὶ τοῦ βασιλείου καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας σου 'We beseech Your Sovereignty, Your Majesty and Piety' (cf. 38, RA 7 *tua pietas* ~ RB /, comm.). Apollonius' response is therefore wholly understandable, since actually, in formulation too, Stranguillio has committed *crimen laesae maiestatis*, cf. P.E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*, I p.281 n.2.

50, RA 16-17 Ecce, ostendam (hostendam **P**) vobis ex hoc, quod visuri estis, et testimoniis vobis [ex hoc **P**] <ad>probabo." 'Look, I will show (the real course of events) from visible evidence and confirm it for you with witnesses."'

Most of the **P** tradition should be retained: [*ex hoc*] is a dittography.

adprobabo (**Rα(φ)**): A correction of *añ* (i.q. *ante*) *probabo*. *Adprobare* is a technical term in testimonies (ThLL II 312,35-36). The Glossaria (cf. CGL VI 84) also suggest Greek technical terms: δοκιμάζω 'to assay', 'to test'; ἐπιδείκνυμι 'to display', 'to exhibit', cf. LSJ, s.v.: Aesch. *Suppl.* 53 τεκμήρια; παρίστημι 'to prove' 'to show', cf. LSJ, s.v. (II 5): Lys. 12,51 τι πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις. For conjectures, cf. ed. m. (1984), ad loc.; Schmeling (1988), ad loc. Ignoring the foster parents, Apollonius describes the course of the trial: (1) production of his daughter; (2) testimonies (ll.20-24).

50, RA 18 Et proferens <filiam> Apollonius coram omnibus populis ait: “Ecce, adest filia mea Tharsia!” ‘And Apollonius brought forward his daughter before all the people and said: “Look, here is my daughter Tarsia!”’

Et proferens <filiam> (RA): The summoning or sudden appearance of a witness thought dead (or lost from sight) is one of the most ancient stories in man’s narrative repertoire, cf. S. Morenz, ‘Totenaussagen im Dienste des Rechtes’, *Würzb. Jahrb. f.d. klass. Altertumswissenschaft* 3 (1948), p.290 ff. The Greek Novel is familiar with this trick too, cf. Achill. Tat. 3,17,5-7. In particular the τόπος occurs in Charit. 5,7,10. To him we also owe the formulation (5,4,3) ἵνα διὰ τὸ ἀπροσδόκητον λαμπροτέραν τὴν ἀπολογίαν ποιήσεται ‘to enhance the effect of his defence by the element of surprise’. The origin of this storyline in the Novel is indicated by Heliodorus (2,7,3): ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς δαίμονας ‘like some evil spirits in a play’. The translator (J. Maillon, Budé, Paris 1960, t.I p.54 n.1) notes: ‘Les demons dont il s’agit ici étaient les morts qui revenaient sur terre pour réclamer vengeance. Le théâtre les faisait volontiers figurer parmi leurs personnages. Ainsi apparait l’ombre de Darius dans les *Perses*, Clytemnestre dans les *Euménides*, Polydore dans *Hécube*.’ Such a dramatic evocation could hardly be represented more soberly than in *RA*. A possible model for *proferens* is προφέρων ‘bringing forward’, ‘presenting’. *filiam* has been added on the authority of **Rα(F)**, cf. *eam* **Rα(L)**; *ea* (**φ**). Perhaps the text can be retained.

coram omnibus populis P; *omni populo* Rα (**φ**,**F**): For *populi = homines, cives*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. populus. (Klebs, p.62 wrongly prefers **Rα**.) This detail is part of the popular, uncomplicated style of *RA*, who probably renders his original word for word.

Within his possibilities *RB* (12-18) elaborates on *RA*. For a cautious assessment, cf. 50, RB 18 (comm.).

50, RB 12 Scelerata mulier ait: “Bone domine, quid? Tu ipse titulum legisti monumenti!” ‘The wicked woman said: “What, good lord? You yourself read the inscription on the tomb!”

Scelerata mulier (RB): In *RB* it is not Stranguillio (RA) who speaks but Dionysias, in keeping with her role in the past, cf. c.32.

Bone domine, quid? (RB): Often used in greeting and address, cf. ThLL II, s.v. *bonus* 2083,23: Plaut., *Capt.* 954 *bone*; id., *Ad.* 556 *quid ais, bone vir?* Vis-à-vis a king *bone* is familiar, not to say impertinent. The reference is to 38, RA/RB 8 *titulum legit*. Dionysias' objection obviously constitutes feeble proof in relation to a κενοτάφιον. (Schmeling, *Notes*, p.400 [on ed. 81,17] wrongly suggests *quid <dicam>?*)

50, RB 13-15 Apollonius exclamavit: "Domina Tharsia, nata dulcis, si quid tamen apud inferos haeres, relinque Thartaream domum et genitoris tui vocem exaudi". 'Apollonius cried: "Lady Tarsia, sweet daughter, if you linger somehow in the underworld, leave Tartarus' house and obey your parents' voice."'

exclamavit (RB): A stock term in magic formulas.

Domina Tharsia (RB): *RB* stays within the language of the *HA*, cf. 2, RA/RB 4 (comm.). For *nata dulcis* (RB), cf. 16, RA/RB 3 (comm.). The double name marks the solemn moment. The conjuring up of a spirit is a favourite τόπος in Latin too (Sen., *Oed.* 530 ff.; Lucan., *Phars.* 6,624; Sil. Ital., 13,400; Val. Flacc. 1,730; Stat., *Theb.* 4,419). For Greek we can (obviously) refer to Hom., *Od.* 11; Aesch., *Pers.* 607, and in the Greek Novel: Charit. 5,7,10; Heliod. 6,14. *RB*'s cautious, almost sceptical approach betrays some literary erudition. For *si tamen* 'if really', cf. 37, RA/RB 15 (comm.).

quid (RB): Most likely in the sense of *aliquid* 'in some shape or form'. For the use of the neuter, cf. 1, RA 4 *mortale* (comm.). (A construction like an adv. acc. with *haeres* is less probable, cf. LHS II, p.40[1].)

haeres (RB): The tradition *heres* is strongly represented (**β** a. ras., **Mπ**, **RE**). The meaning is probably 'to remain' 'to linger', cf. OLD, s.v. *haereo* (7): Terent., *Eun.* 1055 *ut haeream in parte aliqua tandem apud Thaidam*; Liv. 38,27,3 *in castris <…> haeserunt*; Plin., *Epist.* 1,22,1 *diu iam in urbe haereo*. Conjectures are very numerous and often based on an (exaggerated) literary bent attributed to *RB*, cf. Klebs, pp.40,188,280; ed. m. (1984), ad loc.; Schmeling (1988), ad loc; Garbugino, p.37.

Thartaream ($\boldsymbol{\beta}^2\boldsymbol{\pi}$: *Thartater* **β**; *Tarchaream* **M**) **domum** (RB): A literary combination, cf. Ov., *Fast.* 3,62 *Tartareus domus* (this parallel obviously receives strong emphasis from Klebs [pp.40; 102; 143 n.19; 280]). The

word *Tartara* and derivations are widespread in hagiographical circles too, e.g. Mombr. II 15,34; 96,3; 230,10; 234,2; 236,49; 238,16; 252,11; 255,23; 255,39; 335,22, etc.; cf. Dam., *Epigr.* 71,8 *tartaream vincere mortem* (said of Christ).

genitoris tui vocem exaudi (RB): *RB*'s use of this word, too, remains within the language of the *HA*, cf. 2, RA 11/RB 10. The combination *exaudire vocem* occurs 23 times in the OT, esp. in the Psalms.

50, RB 16-18 Puella depost tribunal regio habitu circumdata capite velato processit et revelata facie malae mulieri dixit: "Dionysiadis, saluto te ego ab inferis revocata." 'The girl came out from behind the judgement-seat, dressed in royal clothes and with her head veiled; revealing her face she said to the wicked woman: "Dionysias, I greet you: I have been summoned from the ghosts beneath!"'

Puella <…> **revocata."**: A dramatization of *proferens* (RA) <…> *ait* (RA).

depost tribunal (RB): For the combination *depost*, cf. Väänänen, *Intr.*, § 203. For references, mostly from Vet. Lat., see ThLL V,1 592,67 ff. This usage is also accepted in hagiographical circles: Vit. Patr. 6,2,8 *colligebat spicas depost nos*, cf. Salonius, *Vit. Patr.*, p.223. Hence its appearance in *RB*'s stylized passage. For the position and form of the tribunal, cf. *RA* 4 *pro tribunali* (comm.). (Klebs, p.255 is of no value: '"*de post tribunal*" nur in RB, in P fehlen die Worte.')

regio habitu circundata (**β**: *-cumdata* **Mπ**): The spelling *-cun-* is often found in codd., and is even recommended by grammarians, cf. ThLL III 128,3.

capite velato β: The gesture can be interpreted in several ways. It may be intended to increase the mystery: only after walking round the entire tribunal does Tarsia reveal her identity. But victims of dedications to the underworld and executions also went to the scaffold with their heads covered, cf. ThLL III s.v. *caput* 388,16 ff.

ab inferis revocata (RB): For a similar *mise en scène*, cf. Val. Max. 6,2,8 *in quo certamine cum Pompeius Magnus humilitatem ei aetatemque exprobans ab inferis illum ad accusandum remissum dixisset,'non mentiris' inquit, 'Pompei: venio enim ab inferis, in L. Libonem accusator venio* <…>.*'*

Such a trial scene also occurs in the Greek Novel. E. Wolff, 'Les personnages du roman grec et l' «Historia Apollonii regis Tyri»' (In: B Pouderon *Les personnages du roman grec* [Actes du colloque de Tours, 18-20 novembre 1999] Lyon 2001, p.238) refers to Charit. 5,7,10, cf. Garbugino, p.37 n.44. But if the data regarding the judicial procedure in *RA* and *RB* are surveyed, the cautious conclusion must be, in my view, that *RB* most probably did not have recourse to a sharper *Vorlage*. On the basis of *RA*, he only wanted to add dramatic depth to the evocation scene (RA 17 *proferens*; RB 16 *tribunal*; RB 16 *velato capite*); he trimmed back *RA*'s exuberant diction (RA 13 *regni tui clementiam*; *RA* 15 *regni vires*) and eliminated the loaded term RA 13 *fatum*. For the popularity of these scenes in practice, cf. Cumont, *Symbolisme funeraire*, pp.41, 354. (Kerényi, *Griechisch-Orientalische Romanliteratur*, p.37 *aliter*.)

The two redactions now come together again in the story.

50, RA 19-20	Mulier mala, ut vidit eam, scelesta Dionysia (diunigia **P**), imo corpore contremuit. Mirantur cives. 'When the evil woman, wicked Dionysias, saw her she trembled from the depths of her body. The citizens were amazed,'
50, RB 18-19	Mulier scelerata ut vidit, toto corpore contremuit. Mirantur cives et gaudent.

Mulier mala <…> **scelesta Dionysia** (RA) ~ *Mulier scelerata* (RB): A reduction by *RB*, who also prefers *scelerata* (the longer form), cf. Ind. verb., ss.vv. Some critics, including Riese (1893), ad loc., regard the words *scelesta diunigia* **P** as a gloss. Perhaps it is better to retain the transmitted text: **P** has few real glosses (cf. ed. m. [1984], p.31). Moreover, we expect glosses in textually difficult places (cf. 33, RA 26). It is therefore better to see *scelesta Dionysia* as epic abundance. For *diunigia* **P**, cf. above 50, RA 12 (Klebs, p.41 n.4 regards *mulier mala* as an interpolation).

imo corpore (**P**) ~ *toto corpore* (RB/**Rα**): The phrase *imo corpore* was disputed by Riese (1893), ad loc. and is replaced by many with *toto* **Rα** (cf. ed. m. [1984], ad loc.), the more so because *toto corpore* is common elsewhere in the *HA* (33, RA 19/RB 18; 37, RA 7; 37, RA 19/RB 20). The reading *imus* **P** is defended by Löfstedt, *Synt.* II, p.345 n.2 as an equivalent of *totus*. But *imus* in the proper sense is also entirely defensible, cf. Peters, loc. cit. 172 'Als das böse Weib, die schändliche Dionysias, ihrer ansichtig wurde, erzitterte sie bis ins Mark. Die Bürger sind völlig erstaunt', cf. Konstan, p.109 'to the core'. For this meaning, cf. OLD, s.v. *imus* (3): '"the

depths" often with parts of the body': Catul. 64,93 *(Ariadne) imis exarsit tota medullis*; Verg., *Ecl.* 3,54 *sensibus haec imis (res non est parva) reponas*; id., *Aen.* 12,422 *stetit imo vulnere sanguis*; Rhet. Her. 4,45 *anhelans ex imis pulmonibus*; Ov., *Met.* 2,655 *suspirat ab imis pectoribus*, etc. For parallels with *corpus*, cf. ThLL VII 1401,48-50. A possible Greek equivalent is ἔσχατος 'innermost', cf. LSJ, s.v. (I): Soph., *Trach.* 1053 σάρκες. The Glossaria (cf. CGL VI 553) suggest κατώτατος 'lowest', cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v.

Mirantur (RA) ~ *Mirantur <…> et gaudent* (RB): Rendering the impression which an unexpected event (miracle, miraculous deed) makes on those present is a stock element in miracle stories, both in Latin and in Greek, cf. E. Peterson, Εἷς θεός. *Epigraphische, formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, N.F. 24, Göttingen 1926, p.193; M. Dibelius, *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums*, Tübingen, 1933^{2}, p.76 ff.; G. Delling, *Antike Wundertexte*, Berlin 1960^{2}, *passim*; R. Merkelbach, 'Novel and Aretalogy. The amazement of the crowd of witnesses', in: Tatum (1944), p.286; Bremmer (2001), p.81 n.36. Sometimes a single verb is used for this, as here in *RA*: Apul., *Met.* 11,13 *populi mirantur*; Romul., *Fab.*, praef. 114 *populi vident, mirantur*; 51,19 (rec. gall.) *populus ut haec vidit, mirari coepit*. Sometimes the astonishment is described at more length, as here in *RB*, cf. 24, RB 5 *Et dum eam* (sc. navem) *mirantur et laetantur*. Both forms are frequent in hagiographical texts, e.g.: Mombr. II 351,33 *astantes autem omnes valde mirabantur*; 562,20 *omnis populus videns hoc nimium mirabantur*; 563,57; 622,2.48; 644,21; 652,23. For the longer form, cf. e.g.: Mombr. II (Actus Petri et Pauli) 363,48 *mirari populos ac venerari*; 397,31 *quod videntes omnes populi mirabantur et erat gaudium magnum christianis*; 541,21 *mirante roma, gaudente ecclesia*; 567,8 *admirantur <…> cives, laetantur fratres*. The usual verb in Greek is θαυμάζω: Hom., *Il.* 2,320 ἡμεῖς δ' ἑσταότες θαυμάζομεν (cf. id., *Od.* 3,373; 4,43-44); Xen., *Anab.* 1,3 οἱ δὲ ὁρῶντες ἐθαύμαζον; Lucian., *Abdic.* 5 οἱ παρόντες δὲ ἐθαύμαζον. So it may well be that *RA* goes back to (?) θαυμάζουσιν οἱ πολῖται, which is made explicit by *RB*.

50, RA 20-21 Tharsia iubet in conspectu suo adduci Theophilum villicum. Quique cum adductus fuisset, ait ad eum Tharsia: 'Tarsia ordered that Theophilus the overseer be brought into her presence. When he was brought, Tarsia said to him:'

50, RB 19-20 Et iussit Tharsia Theophilum villicum venire. Cui ait:

adduci. Quique <…> **adductus** (RA) ~ *venire* (RB): *RA* has the standard jargon: *adducere* = to bring before (technical term). The relative combination *Quique cum* **P** (where *-que* is actually redundant) is also part of this narrative technique (less so *Cumque* **Rα [φF, L]**), cf. above *RA* 4-5 [comm.]). Though the phrase *in conspectu alicuius venire* also occurs in pagan authors, cf. ThLL IV 491,7 ff. (with references from Planc. [in Cic.], Hirt., Liv., Flor., Hyg.), a close similarity to Vulg. Dan. 3:13 cannot be denied: *Tunc Nabuchodonosor praecepit, ut adducerentur Sidrach, Misach et Abdenago; qui confestim adducti sunt in conspectu regis* (Gr. ἄχθησαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα). (For the latter, compare in the Greek Novel Xen. Eph. 2,10,1 ἀγαγεῖν εἰς ὄψεις; Heliod. 10,35,2 ἀγαγεῖν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον.)

venire (RB): *RB*'s change is very understandable: *adducere* connotes violence (cf. ThLL I 595,61: 'subest nota violentiae'), whereas Theophilus as witness for the prosecution is a friendly party. It is clear that, in this trial too, **HA(Gr)** must have elaborated on Theophilus' role: the mere granting of some respite (RA 30-31/RB 25) can hardly have been sufficient reason to summon him, the potential murderer, as a witness and grant him mercy.

ait ad eum (RA) ~ *Cui ait* (RB): A standard change.

50, RA 21-23 "Theophil<e>, si debitis tormentis et sanguini tuo cupis esse consultum et a me mereri indulgentiam, clara voce dicito, quis tibi allocutus est, ut me interficeres?" '"Theophilus, if you want to be excused the tortures and shedding of blood which you deserve, and to earn indulgence from me, say in a clear voice: who persuaded you to murder me?"'

50, RB 20-21 "Theophile, ut possit tibi ignosci, clara vóce respónde (*pl.*): quis me interficiendam tibi obligavit?"

si debitis tormentis et sanguini tuo cupis esse consultum et a me mereri indulgentiam (RA) ~ *ut possit tibi ignosci* (RB): An elaborate but, for readers, clear formulation in *RA*, reduced in *RB*. The slave is challenged to betray his mistress under penalty of torture, cf. G. Thür, *Die Beweisführung vor den Schwurgerichtshöfen Athens. Die Proklesis zur Basanos*, Wien 1977 (see the bibliography). For *debitis tormentis* 'the due torments', cf. ThLL V,1 104,30: Val. Max. 1,1 extr. 3 *debita supplicia non exsolvit*; Curt. 8,8,6; Quint., *Decl.* 249; Aug., *Civ. dei* 21,12 *hoc iusto debitoque supplicio*.

However, a Greek substrate (cf. CGL VI 306) is not far away either, viz. ὀφείλω 'to owe, have to pay'. The Greek Novel (cf. *Less.*, s.v. [2]) also uses this verb passively: Achill. Tat. 8,8,13 τὸν δὲ ὑποσχεῖν τὴν ὀφειλομένην τοῖς μοιχοῖς τιμωρίαν 'and that he must undergo the punishment due to adulterers'. For the meaning 'due', cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ὀφείλω (2.a.α).

esse consultum (RA) ~ (RB /): For this phrase ('geschont werden'), ThLL IV 578,20-579,50 offers a wealth of material: Cic., *Div. in Caec.* 21 *quibus maxime lex consultum esse vult*; id., *Fin.* 3,57 *ut liberis consultum velimus, sic* <...> *famae* <...> *esse consulendum*; Liv. 4,5,3 *quia nobis consultum volebat*. Particularly in records of martyr trials this kind of expression plays an important role. Thus Le Blant, p.72 refers to *consule tibi*; *consulite vobis*; *consulite aetati vestrae*. Hence the expression is often found in hagiographers: Mombr. I 272,27 *Quem si audierit imperator ista prosequentem, nec tibi poterit nec nobis esse consultum*; 340,23 (Caecilia) *quomodo vitae vestrae possit esse consultum*; II 110,25 *Iovem incipe colere, ut vitae tuae possit tibi esse consultum*, cf. ibid. 328,14; Passio Agnetis, 6 (AASS Ian. XI, p.351) *cupio consultum esse infantiae tuae*. From Gr. (?) συμβουλευτέον (adi. verb.) / προνοητέον 'one must take thought for', cf. CGL II 113,45 προνοηθέν (LSJ, s.v. προνοέω 'to take precautions').

mereri indulgentiam (RA) ~ *ignosci* (RB): For *RA*, cf. ThLL VII 1249,22 (s.v. *indulgentia*) and ibid. VIII 805,47 (s.v. *mereo(r)*). The Glossaria (and CGL VI 695, 567) suggest: (κατ)αξιοῦμαι 'to deem worthy'; συγχώρησις 'agreement, consent, forgiveness'.

ignosci (RB): A flat (perhaps legal) term in substitution for *RA*, cf. OLD, s.v. *ignosco* (1): (pass. imp.): Publ., *Sent.* 1,29 *ubi pudet, cui ignoscitur*; Liv. 2,18,10 *responsum ignosci adulescentibus posse*; Ulpian., *Dig.* 43,24,11,7 *ad noxam an ignoscitur servo, qui obtemperavit tutori* <...> . The use of *ignoscere* here is striking compared with Late Latin, early medieval *perdono*, cf. J.B. Hofmann, 'Beiträge', p.86.

clara voce (RA/RB): It was part of the legal procedure that the accusation had to be made with a loud voice, cf. Robert, Pionios, p.72; Bremmer (1996), p.47 with n.41.

dicito (RA) ~ *responde* (RB): The archaic imperative, often found in legal texts, is eliminated by *RB*, probably for the sake of the cursus, cf. Ind. gr., s.v. imperativus II.

tibi allocutus est, ut (RA) ~ (RB /), cf. 47, RA 1 *populo alloquitur* ~ RB 1 *alloquitur populum* (comm.). *RA*'s phrase probably goes back to προσφωνέω

'*call* or *speak to*' + dat. + ὅπως, cf. LSJ, s.v.: 'later c. dat. pers., folld. by ὅπως'. The choice of this verb 'to talk into' 'to persuade' is very efficient in both languages, though *RB* will have none of it. (Klebs, p.41 n.7: 'Unsinnige Wendung, entstanden unter dem Einfluß <…> *dicito*.')

ut me interficeres (RA) ~ *me interficiendam tibi obligavit* (RB) = 'Who obliged you to kill me (with your manumission as pledge).' This accurate formulation betrays legal interest on the part of *RB* (cf. OLD, s.v. *obligo* 'to place under a moral obligation by the performance of a service or sim.': Cic., *Fam.* 13,18,2 *iisdem* [officiis] *me tibi obligatum fore*). For the broader context, cf. Introd. VII.2.1. A change from *obligavit* **βMπ**, **REr f.** to *delegavit*, proposed by Riese (1893), ad loc., is unnecessary.

50, RA 24	Theophilus ait: "Domina mea Dionysia." 'Theophilus said: "My mistress Dionysias."'
50, RB 21-22	Villicus respondit: "Dionysia, domina mea."

This speedy, uncomplicated confession works well in RA/RB. The question is how **HA(Gr)** dealt with this problem. After all, even for a reader without legal education the situation raises a number of questions about the position of a slave vis-à-vis his master/mistress:

1. A slave could not be subjected to a judicial inquiry against his master, cf. Tacit., *Ann.* 2,30,10 *vetere senatus consulto quaestio in caput domini prohibebatur*. There were exceptions to this rule: Cic., *Pro Milone* 22 *de servis nulla quaestio est in dominum nisi de incestu*. But these do not apply here.
2. Moreover, a slave could not be tortured while being questioned about his master: Cic., *Pro Deiotaro* 1: *more maiorum de servo in dominum ne tormentis quidem quaeri licet*. The general rule, however, was that a slave's testimony must be tested under torture.
3. So the problem is: what is the meaning of *RA* 21-22 *si debitis tormentis et sanguini tuo cupis esse consultum*? Perhaps local jurisdiction could bend these rules, perhaps later legislation could too (Digesta, Basilica). There seems to be some conflict in this regard between the novelistic world of the *HA* and reality, cf. R. Taubenschlag, 'Die körperliche Züchtigung im Recht', *Opera Minora*, vol. VII (Varsovic 1959), pp.737-41; A.P. Dorjahn, On Slave-Evidence in Greek Law', *Class. Journal* 47 (1952), pp.188 ff. (I thank R. Meijering for the bibliographical reference.)

50, RA 24-27	Tunc omnes cives sub testificatione confessione facta et addita vera ratione confusi rapientes Stranguilionem et Dionysiam tulerunt extra civitatem et lapidibus eos occiderunt 'After this evidence, when a confession had been made under allegation of a witness and the true account had been given too, the citizens were confused, they seized Stranguillio and Dionysias, took them outside the city and stoned them to death'
50, RB 22-23	Tunc cives omnes rapuerunt Stranguilionem et Dionysiadem: extra civitátem lapidavérunt (*v.*).

An excellent illustration of *RB*'s method: omission of details considered unnecessary, transposition of lexical groups, and addition of rhythmical cursus.

sub testificatione confessione facta (RA) ~ (RB /): For *testificatio*, cf. OLD, s.v. 'the attesting or solemn affirming (of a fact, esp. in a court of law)': Cic., *Ver.* 5,102 *ut contra hoc crimen* <...> *hac testificatione uteretur*. Perhaps from Gr. (?) ἐπιμαρτυρία 'a calling to witness'. Omitted by *RB* as superfluous and self-evident, and because *testatio* is the usual legal term. The Glossaria suggest (cf. CGL VII 344): διαμαρτυρία 'testifying'; μαρτυροποίημα 'statement on oath' 'affidavit'.

et addita vera ratione (RA) ~ (RB /): 'and the actual reason/account added', cf. Mombr. II 537,7 *Tunc universi illi advocati considerantes rationem veram prostaverunt se apostolis dicentes*. The verb *addere* probably derives directly from προστίθημι, cf. LSJ, s.v. (III) 'to add': 'esp. of adding articles to statements'.

confusi (RA) ~ (RB /): Probably in the sense of *conturbati*, cf. Riese (1893), Index s.v. *confundor*. From Gr. (?) συγχυθέντες, cf. LSJ, s.v. συγχέω (II): 'of the mind' *confound, trouble*, cf. Eur., *M*ed. 1005 τί συγχυθεῖσ' ἕστηκας·; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. συγχέω.

rapientes <...> **tulerunt extra civitatem** (RA) ~ *rapuerunt* (RB): Perhaps *rapientes* replaces Gr. (?) ἁρπάζω, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. (2.a) 'Verhaften': Acts 23:10 *iussit milites* <...> *rapere eum* (Gr. ἐκέλευσεν τὸ στράτευμα <...> ἁρπάσαι αὐτόν). *RA* enphasizes that the couple are taken outside the city. Rightly so, since execution inside the city would cause pollution, in the view of the ancient world. Compare also Acts 7:57 *Et eiicientes eum extra civitatem lapidabant* (Gr. καὶ ἐκβαλόντες ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐλιθοβόλουν). *RB*

eliminates the whole term *tulerunt (extra civitatem)* as superfluous and connects *extra civitatem* with *lapidaverunt*.

lapidibus ‹...› **occiderunt** (RA) ~ *lapidaverunt* (RB): Though *lapidatio* should be regarded as an Oriental atrocity, Romans were familiar with the punishment, cf. Cic., *Verr.* 4,95 *fit magna lapidatio*; Quint., *Instit.* 8,2,25 *ut lapidare quid sit manifestum est, ita glaebarum testarumque iactus non habet nomen* (cf. Catull. 108). R. Hirzel *Die Strafe der Steinigung*, Darmstadt (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Libelli 208) 1967. As such the punishment sometimes occurs in martyr accounts too: Mombr. II 129,18 (Mammes) *et collectis lapidibus lapidaverunt beatissimum martyrem et abierunt* (ex amphiteatro). The Greek Novel repeatedly talks about this punishment, carried out by the δῆμος: Charit. 1,5,4 Δημοσίᾳ με καταλεύσατε 'Stone me to death in public'; Achill. Tat. 8,14,4 φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ καταλεύσειεν αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος 'afraid the crowd would stone him'; Heliod. 1,13,4, cf. 1,14,1; 1,15,3. Stoning is a death associated with traitors (Soph., *Ai.* 254 with Kamerbeek ad loc.; *Antig.* 36; Callisth., FGrHist. 124 F 58). As such the punishment is in keeping with the treachery that Stranguillio and Dionysias have committed against Apollonius and his daughter. Thus the element of stoning was certainly a part of **HA(Gr)**, cf. Introd. VI.1.

50, RA 27-28 et ad bestias terrae et volucres caeli in campo iactaverunt, ut etiam corpora eorum terrae sepulturae negarentur. 'and threw their bodies on the ground for the beasts of the earth and birds of the air, so as also to deny their corpses burial in the earth.'

ad bestias iactaverunt, ut ‹...› **negarentur** (RA) ~ (RB /): A τόπος both in Greek and in Roman, rendered in Vulgate terms. The idea that warriors, who have died on the battlefield, are left unburied to be devoured by wild animals (especially dogs) and birds of prey, is already found in Homer's *Iliad*: Hom., *Il.* 1,4 αὐτοὺς δὲ ἑλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσι οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσιν 'and the heroes themselves he made a prey for dogs and all the birds', cf. id. 2,391 φυγέειν κύνας ἠδ' οἰωνούς 'to escape dogs and birds'; ibid. 24,411. This spectre haunts the Greek world, e.g. Soph., *Antig.* 29; Lucian., *Demonax* 66, cf. Betz, p.74). In Latinity too, e.g.: Catul. 64,152 *dilaceranda feris dabor alitibusque praeda*; id., 108 (comm. Kroll); Verg., *Aen.* 9,485 *heu, terra ignota canibus data praeda Latinis / alitibusque iaces*; Hor., *Epod.* 17,11 *addictum* (sc. Hectorem) *feris alitibus atque canibus*. Such an end awaited those condemned to death, cf. T. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht*, Leipzig 1889, p.987. It is no surprise therefore that the phrase is found

in countless variations, particularly in Roman hagiographers, cf. P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Note agiografiche. Studi e testi* 27, fasc. 5, Roma 1915, p.111. For their formulations they drew on the OT and particularly the 'prophets of doom' Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, cf. Deut. 28:26 *sitque cadaver tuum in escam cunctis volatilibus caeli et bestiis terrae et non sit qui abigat*, cf. 1 Kgs. 17:46; Isa. 18,6; Jer. 7:33 *in cibum volucribus caeli et bestiis terrae*, cf. id., 16:4; 19:7; Ezek. 29:5 *bestiis terrae et volatilibus caeli dedi te ad devorandum*, cf. id., 39:4. From the overwhelming material (with several variations), e.g. Mombr. II 332,57 *inhumata corpora avibus laceranda relinque*; 355,39 *escas volatilibus caeli et carnes sanctorum tuorum bestiis terrae*; 379,53; 404,35; 414,32 *neque ferae neque canes neque aves neque musce* (i.q. -scae) *corpora eorum tangere potuerunt*; 431,34; 451,32; 486,37 *collecta est multitudo bestiarum et circumdederunt eum. Aves vero desuper volantes non permittebant crudeles bestias ut tangerent eum*; 603,44; 629,12 *Proiicite, inquit, illum in apertum campum* <…> *a feris et avibus penitus consumptum*; 632,13. So it is only natural that, in *RA*'s narrative style, the execution of the wicked foster parents ends in this way and in these terms. It is uncertain to what extent *RA* also followed his *Vorlage* in using this phraseology and, in other words, whether **R(Gr)** used it too. In essence the expression probably goes back to **HA(Gr)**. (For a more detailed interpretation of the passus RA 24-28 with some other examples, cf. Panayotakis [2003], pp.150-3.)

ut <…> **terrae sepulturae negarentur** (RA) ~ (RB /): The construction is dubious: *negare* may be construed with double dat., cf. OLD, s.v. nego (3): in that case the construction/translation would read: so that the corpses could be denied to the earth for burial (= *sepelienda*). But *terrae* can also be an (expl.) gen. depending on *sepulturae*; in this last case a somewhat freer translation could read: so that a burial on land would be denied to them, cf. 44, RA 11/RB 13 (comm.); Vell. 2,119,5 *caput eius abscisum* <…> *gentilicii tamen tumuli sepultura honoratum est*. Both the hagiographical, Old Testament formulation and the obscure construction at the end have probably led *RB* to cut out the entire final passage, cf. Introd. VII.2. (Klebs, pp.41-2, followed by Schmeling [1988], ad loc. regards *RA* 26 *et ad bestias* – 28 *negarentur* – as interpolated.)

50, RA 28-29 Volentes autem Theophilum occidere, interventu Tharsiae non tangitur. 'They wanted to kill Theophilus too, but because Tarsia intervened he was not touched.'

50, RB 23-24 Volentes et Theophilum occidere, Tharsiae intervéntu non tángitur (*t.*).

volentes <...> **occidere** (RA/RB): Nom. abs., cf. Ind. gr., s.v. nominativus. As in the examples quoted, the nom. abs. takes initial position before the main clause. For other examples with initial nom. abs., and a change from act. to pass., see Horn (1918), p.57. This nom. abs. may even go back to a Greek *Vorlage*, cf. Mayser, II.1, p.343. The nom. abs. instead of the gen. abs. is not uncommon in Late Greek authors and hagiographers, cf. Vogeser (1907), p.39. There is no need for any change in the main clause (*tangitur* > *tangunt* Ring). (Klebs, p.264 deletes *volentes* <...> *occidere* in both *RA* and *RB*; Schmeling, *Notes*, p.400 [on ed. 81,28] blithely reads *tangunt* instead of *tangitur*, unanimously transmitted in RA, RB, RC [Schmeling, p.134,11].)

50, RA 29-31	Ait enim Tharsia: "Cives piissimi, nisi ad testandum dominum horarum mihi spatia tribuisset, modo me vestra felicitas non defendisset." 'For she said: "Most pious citizens, if he had not given me an interval of time to call the Lord to witness, in this moment you in all your prosperity would not have protected me."'
50, RB 24-25	Et ait: "Nisi iste ad testandum deum horarum mihi spatium tribuisset, modo vestra pietas me non defendisset."

Cives piissimi (RA) ~ (RB /): *piissimi* in *RA*, probably inasmuch as the citizens were extremely loyal to Tarsia: from Gr. (?) εὐσεβέστατοι. It is not quite clear why *RB* has eliminated. Perhaps *pius* was hard to maintain, given that the citizens were so keen on Theophilus' death. Perhaps a single mention of *pietas* (RB) was felt to be enough.

(nisi) (RA) ~ *(nisi) iste* (RB): The added 2nd pers. pronoun characterizes *RB*'s legal bent, cf. Introd. VII.2. (Schmeling [1988], p.42,22 *nisi* <*iste*> (RA); id., *Notes*, p.387 [on ed.42,22]: 'we find *iste* in both RB and RC'.)

ad testandum dominum (RA: *deum* RB): Cf. 32, RA 36 *permitte me testari dominum* / RB 23 *deum mihi testari permittas* (comm.).

horarum <...> **spatia** (RA) ~ *horarum* <...> *spatium* (RB): With the usual ellipsis of *aliquot*, cf. 24, RA 1 *interpositis* <...> *diebus atque mensibus* (comm.), cf. Löfstedt, *Vermischte Studien*, p.73. The first example with *horae* is considered to be Suet., *Nero* 37,2 *mori iussis non amplius quam horarum spatium dabat*; for other examples with *horae*, see ThLL VI,2 2957,84 (including authors like Min. Fel., Iustin., Hier.). Periphrasis with *horae spatium* is

popular in hagiography: Mombr. I 423,56 *trium pene horarum spatia*; 451,51; II 98,52; 187,19 *post hore* (= -ae) *spatium*; 198,47; 231,11; 279,20; 363,56; 499,47; 514,25; 526,37; 528,51; 593,42; 625,3. For *spatium tribuere*, cf. 41, RA 38/RB 36. Perhaps a similar elliptical use can be observed in Byzantine Greek: *Hist. Laus.*, (ed. Bartelink) c.3, l.28: ἐπὶ παράτασιν ὥρας ἐξέψυξε 'after the extension of one full hour she died'.

vestra felicitas (RA) ~ *vestra pietas* (RB): *RA* is probably a title of address, cf. 46, RA 19 *ut plenius vestrae felicitati gratias referam* ~ RB 17 *pietati vestrae* <…> *referat*; ThLL VI,1 431,49: Symm., *Rel.* 18,1 (to Valentianus, Theodosius and Arcadius) *felicitas quidem vestra aeternae urbi sollemnis alimoniae copiam pollicetur*; Avell., p.79,23 *quam* (urbem) *vestra felicitas regit*; Alc. Avit., *Epist.* 91 (to King Sigismund) *ad donandam nobis vestrae felicitatis laetitiam*; possibly from Gr. (?) τύχη, cf. 46, RA 19. *RB*'s change (as in 46, RB 17) responds to the sympathy of the moment. (Klebs, p.190 deletes *ad testandum dominum/deum* in *RA* and *RB*).

50, RA 31-32	T<um> a praesenti Theophilo libertatem cum praemio donavit. 'Then she gave Theophilus his freedom on the spot, and a reward.'
50, RB 26-27	Quem manumissum abire incolumem praecepit et sceleratae <filiam> secum Thársia túlit (*pl.*).

a praesenti (RA) ~ (RB /): 'immediately', cf. 22, RA 7 ~ (RB /).

libertatem cum praemio (RA) ~ *manumissum* (RB): For *RA*, see the phrase used similarly in 31, RA 15.23 (comm.). *RB* has the official Latin term (cf. Gaius, *Instit.* 1,11 *ex iusta servitute manumissi*), though it is not very appropriate in this Greek context (where we usually find ἀπελευθερόω 'to restore to freedom' – ἀπελευθερισμός).

sceleratae <filiam> secum <…> **tulit** (RB): *RB* concludes with the detail 'and she took the wicked woman's daughter with her', added so as not to forget anybody in the general reward of the various characters at the end of the *HA*: *Philotimias* barely figures in the rest of the story (cf. 28, RB 9; 31, RA 2 *Philomusia*; 32, RA 46/RB 16 [comm.]). It seems wrong to follow Löfstedt, *Syntactica* II, p.241 in assuming an ellipsis of *filia* (or *filiam*), but cf. Mombr. II 624,17 *Quid memorem viduae credenti ab Helia mortuum unicum suscitatum, dolenti e feretro redditum a Christo viduae*?

CHAPTER 51

51, RA 1-3 Itaque Apollonius pro hac re laetitiam populo addens, munera restituens, restaurat universas termas, moenia publica, murorum turres. 'So Apollonius in return for this bestows joy to the townsfolk by restoring public works; he rebuilds all the baths, the city walls, and the towers on the walls.'

51, RB 1-2 Apollonius vero dat licentiam populo; dedit munera; restaurantur termae, m<oe>nia, murorum turres.

In my view, the **P** text can be retained, despite the many objections brought forward, cf. Schmeling (1988), ad loc.

Itaque Apollonius pro hac re (RA) ~ *Apollonius vero* (RB): *RA* gives the impression of being directly translated: (?) ὁ οὖν ᾿Απολλώνιος διὰ τοῦτο. For the weakened meaning of οὖν, cf. LSJ, s.v. (II): 'to continue a narrative, *so then*'; cf. 33, RA 1 *Igitur* (RA) ~ *Interea* (RB) (comm.); for *pro* = *propter, ob*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v.

laetitiam populo addens (RA) ~ *dat licentiam populo* (RB): For *laetitia*, cf. 23, RA 5/RB 4; 49, RA 9/RB 11. The phrase is very common, cf. ThLL VII,2 876,6, e.g.: Liv. 30,38,12 *laetitiamque populo et ludis celebritatem addidit sedes sua*. Perhaps we can compare Gr. (?) ἐπιδίδωμι, cf. LSJ, s.v.: 'esp. contribute as a "benevolence", for the purpose of supplying state necessities.' Another suitable candidate is προστίθημι 'to add', cf. LSJ, s.v. III. *RB* interprets the term *laetitia* concretely, cf. OLD, s.v. *licentia*: 'freedom to act as one pleases': Cic., *Lig.* 23 *vide quid licentiae, Caesar, nobis tua liberalitas det*; id., *Off.* 1,103; id., *Dom.* 47; Stat., *Ach.* 1,287.

munera restituens (RA) ~ *dedit munera* (RB): The two readings can probably be explained from the different meanings of *munus*: 'building' and 'games'. For *RA*, cf. OLD, s.v. *munus* (5.c.): '"present" "gift" applied to buildings or sim., presented to the public', e.g. Ov., *Ars* 1,69 *muneribus nati sua munera mater addidit* (sc. Octavia, who added the *porticus* to the theatre of Marcellus); Vell. 2,130,1; Mart., *Epigr.* 2,7 (see also ThLL VIII 1666,35 ff.). *RB* shifts to the meaning 'games', cf. OLD, s.v. *munus* (4) 'a public show', e.g.: Cic., *Dom.* 111 *cogitarat omnes superiores* (sc. homines)

muneris splendore superare; Caes., *Civ.* 3,21,4; Suet., *Tit.* 7,3, cf. ThLL VIII 1665, 78 ff. This change was probably prompted by two objections: (1) Apollonius' short stay – 15 days – in Tarsus, extended to half a year by *RB*, cf. 51, RA 3/RB 2 (comm.); (2) *munera* 'buildings' are covered by *moenia publica,* i.e. public buildings, cf. 51, RB 2 *moenia* (comm.).

restaurat universas termas, moenia (*me-* **P**) **publica, murorum turres** (RA) ~ *restaurantur termae, m<oe>nia, murorum turres* (RB): Romans will have understood *RA*: the tradition (**Rα** and other recensions) does not tamper with the *Wortlaut*. For *restaurare termas*, cf. Tacit., *Ann.* 3,72 *Pompei theatrum igne fortuito haustum Caesar exstructurum pollicitus est eo, quod nemo e familia restaurando sufficeret*. *RB* omits *universas* (*termas*), probably because the word was felt to be too grand for Tarsus. In practice, however, several *thermae* could exist alongside each other, cf. 7, RA 5 *balneae*/RB 4 *balnea* in Tyre. A distinction could also be drawn between hot and cold baths, cf. CIL 11,4096 *restaurator thermarum hiemalium*.

moenia (*me-* **P**) **publica** (RA) ~ *m<oe>nia* (RB): *RB* drops the adjective here too, probably due to ignorance. For the meaning 'city walls accessible to all', cf. ThLL VIII 1326,30 and 1328,34-40: Hier., *Epist.* 65,14,7 *domus* <…> *in modum aedificatae turrium ac moenium publicorum*; cod. Theod. 4,14,5 *moenia publica restaurentur*; cod. Iustin. 11,32,3 pr. (anno 469) *ad renovanda sive restauranda publica moenia*. For a contrast with *privata moenia*, cf. Cod. Theod. 15,1,39 *publicis moeniis vel privatis*; Serv., on *Aen.* 2,52 *moenia* <…> *et publica et privata dicuntur*; id., on *Aen.* 11,567 *moenia abusive dici omnia publica aedificia*. On account of these parallels *RA* should certainly be retained, cf. Roueché, *Aphrodisias*, p.78: 'The legislation specifically mentions <…> the "restauratio" or "reparatio moenium publicorum" <…>. "moenia" probably has a wider sense than just "walls", cf. A. Schulten, *Jahreshefte* 9 (1906), p.32.' As in ancient Rome and in many walled cities, poor people could find accommodation in or against the city walls. The removal of *universas* and *publica* (compare Servius' remark '*abusive*' above) properly illustrates the level of *RB*'s 'corrections'. The reading *m<oe>nia* is a correction, based on *terme, menia* RErf., of the haplography *termia* **β**. (Schmeling, *Notes*, p.400 [on ed. 81,28 *restaurans* Riese]: '*restaurantur*, though not the original word, should probably have been retained <…>.')

51, RA 3 Restituens moratur (-rãtur **P**) ibi cum suis omnibus diebus XV. 'He and all his people stayed there for fifteen days occupied with the rebuilding.'

51, RB 2 Moratus autem ibi VI mensibus

morantur P: This reading can perhaps be defended as a *constructio ad sensum*, from a Greek point of view too, but is particularly harsh here: eds. follow **Rα(F,L)** in deleting -n-.

diebus XV (RA) ~ *VI mensibus* (RB)L: Such a brief period of restoration is found elsewhere in the Greek Novel too: Heliod. 10,1,2 εἰς τὰς Φίλας ἐλθὼν ἡμέρας μέν που δύο διαναπαύει τὸν στρατόν <…> αὐτὸς ἐπιμείνας (cf. *HA moratur*) τά τε τείχη τῆς πόλεως ὠχύρωσε καὶ φρουρὰν ἐγκαταστήσας ἐξώρμησε. 'Until he came to Philae, where he rested his army for two days or so <…>. While he stayed at Philae he fortified the walls of the city and having installed a garrison he departed.' *RB*'s change is very understandable: 15 days hardly suffice for effective repairs. Family members and friends will have contributed little: hence the statement *cum suis omnibus* (RA) is moved to (RB 30) *navigat cum suis*. Apollonius' building activity is consistent with the programme of several Hellenistic kings, cf. E. Bikerman, *Institutions des Séleucides*, Paris 1938, pp.74 ff.; 157 ff.; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, Oxford 1941 (3 vols), *passim*. The many grateful inscriptions found in Asia Minor testify eloquently to such activities. With some reservations this building work could form an indication that the *HA* was written in Tarsus, cf. Introd. VIII.1.8. What is lacking is the restoration (reconstruction) of all religious centres, cf. Zuiderhoek, p.141: 'a true polis was rich in temples, shrines, sanctuaries, altars, statues of the gods and munificence (on the part of the well-to-do) abundantly reflects this.' Silence on this matter is perfectly understandable from the perspective of a Christian epitome.

51, RA 3-5	Postea vero valedicens civibus navigat ad Pentapolim Cyreneam: pervenit feliciter. 'Then he said farewell to the citizens and set sail for the Cyrenaic Pentapolis. He arrived safely.'
51, RB 3	navigat cum suis ad Pentapolim, civitátem Cyrénem (*pl.*).

Again a change in the itinerary without any explanation, presumably due to the influence of **R(Gr)**.

valedicens civibus (RA) ~ (RB /): A warm farewell is an established feature of the Greek Novel, cf. the departure from Ephesus 49, RA 12-14/RB 14-15. *RB* retrenches.

ad Pentapolim Cyreneam (RA) ~ *ad Pentapolim, civitatem Cyrenem* (**βπ**: -*nen* **M**): For *Pentapolim*, cf. 11, RA 2 *ad Pentapolitanas Cyrenaeorum terras* ~ RB *ad Pentapolim Cyrenam* (comm.). For the combination with *Cyrenaeus*, cf. Sil. 8,158 *Cyrenaeam urbem*; Prop. 4,6,4 *Cyrenaeas* <...> *aquas*. The collocation may derive directly from Greek: (?) εἰς Πεντάπολιν Κυρηναίαν, cf. n.65. *RB* specifies, because the Pentapolis forms a union of five cities, of which Cyrene is the most important. He uses the standard form (Sall., *Iug.* 19,3; Plin., *Nat.* 5; Stat., *Silv.* 2,6,67; Mela 1,8,2; Iustin. 13,7,1; Aug., *Serm.* 46,41). (Garbugino, p.35 n.38 wrongly regards *Cyreneam* as an interpolation.)

pervenit feliciter (RA) ~ (RB /): Every voyage or journey is risky in Antiquity: travellers are glad to arrive unharmed. This applies to both Romans and Greeks, cf. ThLL VI,1 453,79: Cic., *Verr.* 3,95 *satis feliciter navigare*; Ov., *Met.* 7,659 *qui te feliciter attulit, eurus*; ibid. 8,4. For Greek, cf. e.g. Lucian., *Tox.* 19 Ἄχρι μὲν οὖν Σικελίας εὐτυχῶς διαπλεῦσαι ἔφη ὁ Σιμύλος σφᾶς 'As far as Sicily they had made a fortunate passage, said Simylus.' The Greek Novel offers many parallels: Charit. 3,4,5 οὐκ οἶδα πότερον εὐτυχῆ τὸν πλοῦν ἢ δυστυχῆ πεποίημαι 'I do not know whether to call my voyage successful or not'; id. 8,6,1 ὁ δὲ Χαιρέας ἤνυσε τὸν πλοῦν εἰς Σικελίαν εὐτυχῶς 'Chaereas completed the journey to Syracuse successfully; Xen. Eph. 3,2,12 καὶ μέχρι μέν τινος διήνυστο εὐτυχῶς ὁ πλοῦς 'And for a while the voyage went well'; Achill. Tat. 6,9,2 ἔπλευσε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ εὐτυχῶς, ἀλλὰ πᾶς ὁ φόρτος αὐτοῦ γέγονε τῆς θαλάσσης 'He too sailed a luckless voyage, and all his goods became the sea's property', cf. Heliod. 5,18,2; id. 5,22,5. *RB*'s omission therefore disrupts the normal narrative style.

51, RA 5	Ingreditur ad regem Arch<i>stratem, socerum suum. 'He went in to King Archistrates, his father-in-law.'
51, RB 3-5	Ingreditur ad regem Archistratem. Coronatur civitas, ponuntur organa. Gaudet in ultima senectute sua rex Archistrates; 'He went in to King Archistrates. The city is decorated with garlands, organs are set up. King Archistrates, far gone in years, rejoice:'

Ingreditur ad (RA/RB): Cf. 4, RA 3/RB 4; probably a direct translation of (?) εἰσῆλθεν/εἰσέρχεται πρός, cf. ThLL VII 1569,23-35; LSJ, s.v. εἰσέρχομαι; this εἰσέρχομαι often has the connotation: 'to have an audience with', cf. Mark 15:43 εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς τὸν Πιλᾶτον (Vulg. *introivit* [sc. Ioseph ab Arimathea] *ad Pilatum*).

socerum suum (RA) ~ *Coronatur civitas, ponuntur organa. Gaudet* <…> *rex Archistrates* (RB): The phrase *Coronatur* <…> *organa* (**βMπ**, **RErf.**) seems at first sight to repeat 49, RA 10/RB 12 (Apollonius' entry into Ephesus). As such it is rejected by many (Fürtner [1881], p.349; Riese [1893], ad loc.: 'perperam repetit **β**'; Schmeling [1988], p.82,4; also RC, p.135,7). I believe the reading may be authentic: in *RB*'s view, Cyrene, too, gives Apollonius and his retinue a regal welcome. For such a grand reception of a royal personage, cf. OLD, s.v. *adventus* (3.c): '(of Roman emperors) an official visit'; LSJ, s.v. ἐπιδημία 'visit'; *Mél. de l'éc. fr. de Rome* 73 (1961), p.234; P. Veyne, *Latomus* XXI,1 (1962), p.73 sq. *RB*'s addition is precisely intended to lend more credibility to his version, cf. Iul. Val., *Epit.* 1,10 *Dum ergo convivium celebre ac regium pararetur ob reversionem Philippi*; Mombr. I 472,16 *Reverso igitur Eustachio de bello occurrit ei Imperator, vt mos est Romanis, et pro victoria festivitatem celebravit* <…> *prolyxius ostendit convivium*. Likewise the sentence *Gaudet* <…> *rex Archistrates* seems to have been added by *RB* rather than omitted by *RA*.

in ultima senectute sua (RB), cf. *RA* 8/RB 7 *perfecta aetate*: He was probably 60 to 70 years old, cf. Sen., *Dial.* 10,3,2, *pervenisse te ad ultimum aetatis humanae*; Val. Max. 2,6,8 *summae dignitatis* <…> *femina, sed ultimae iam senectutis*; Quint. 11,1,10 *brevi detrimento iam ultimae senectutis*. To be reunited with one's entire family, unexpectedly, is in fact regarded as a wish dream, a τόπος, cf. Tob. 14:15 *viditque quintam generationem filios filiorum suorum*; CIL VIII 11,824 *Et genui et vidi iuvenes* (i.e. filios) *carosque nepotes*.

51, RA 5-8 Et vidit filiam cum marito et Tharsiam neptem suam cum marito: regis filios venerabatur et osculo suscipit Apollonium et filiam suam, cum quibus iugiter integro uno anno laetatus est perdurans. 'Archistrates saw his daughter with her husband, and his granddaughter Tarsia with her husband. He greeted them as members of his royal family and welcomed Apollonius and his own daughter with a kiss. He spent a whole year in continuous company with them;'

51, RB 4-7 videt neptem cum matre, filiam cum marito; regis nepotes, regis filios veneratur, et in osculo Apollonii et filiae integro anno perdurat.

Et vidit (RA) ~ *videt* (**Mπ**: *-it* **β**): For *et* at the beginning of a sentence, cf. 1, RA 6 (comm.). For *vidit* (perf.), followed by *suscipit* (pres.), cf. below 12

vidit, followed by 13 *iubet* and Ind. gr., s.v. tempora verborum. (Schmeling [1988], p.43,6 wrongly prefers the 'corrective' reading *qui ut vidit* **Rα[F]**.) What follows in *RA* is an orderly enumeration, with privileging of the female side (the subject *Archistrates* need not be explicitly mentioned). *RB* jumbles up the order and in doing so forgets Athenagoras, Tarsia's husband! (For attempts at improvement by editors, cf. ed. m. [1984], ad loc.).

regis filios venerabatur (*-ntur* **P**, cf. *supra* 3 *morantur*) (RA) ~ *regis nepotes, regis filios veneratur* (RB): We should probably take *venerari* as a translation of (?) ἀσπάζομαι 'to salute' and read it predicatively for 'to greet as', 'to proclaim', cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀσπάζομαι: Dion. Halic. 4,39 τινὰ βασιλέα; Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. ἀσπάζομαι (1.b): 'Von der Huldigung vor dem König (Plut., *Pomp.* 12,4; 13,7; Jos., *Antiq.* 10,211).' He specifically refers to Mark 15:18 καὶ ἤρξαντο ἀσπάζεσθαι αὐτόν· χαῖρε, βασιλεῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων (Vulg. *et coeperunt salutare eum: Ave, rex Iudaeorum*). By means of this gesture Archistrates acknowledges Apollonius and his loved ones as members of the royal family and thus indirectly recognizes their right to the throne. This immediately plays a role in the next sentence. *RB* has failed to grasp this usage: logically (from his point of view) he extends the generalizing masculine usage *regis filios* to include *regis nepotes*, (*regis filios*), which covers the second generation, cf. OLD, s.v. *nepos*; 1. a grandson; b (fem.) a granddaughter (cf. Fest. p.343 M.).

osculo (*obsculum* **P**, cf. below 51, RA 28) **suscipit Apollonium et filiam suam** (RA) ~ *in osculo* <...> *perdurat* (RB): *RA* probably involves a translation from (?) ὑποδέχομαι 'to receive', 'to welcome'. Perhaps Apollonius and Archistratis have prostrated themselves before the old king (προσκύνησις) and he raises them from the floor with a kiss, cf. below RA 27-28/RB 21 (comm.). For the Italian form *obsculum* P (= osculo), cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 114; Linderbauer, p.94; Corbett, p.63. *RB* modifies the literal meaning to *caritas, amor*, cf. Blaise, *Manuel* §§ 43-45 'L'amour des hommes, la charité humaine'; Vita S. Eugeniae (Migne PL 21), c.27 (p.121^{B}) *in amore suo invicem omnino perdurant*.

iugiter integro uno anno (RA) ~ *integro anno* (RB): An emphatic adjunct of long duration, abridged by *RB* according to the classical norm. (For *unus* as indefinite article, cf. Introd. II.1.) *Iugiter* is a Late Latin adverb 'continually'. It is very common in the Vulg. and the Church Fathers, cf. Linderbauer (on Reg. Ben. 22,7), p.266; Corbett (on Reg. Magistri 2,79), p.160; Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. In Roman hagiography (like *iugis*) *passim*. As CGL VI 610 states, *iugiter* corresponds to ἐφεξῆς 'continuously', cf. LSJ, s.v. (II.2): 'less freq. of Time: Herod. 2,77 τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπεξῆς.' For *integro anno*, cf. Cic., *Prov.* 17 *hoc tempore amisso annus est integer vobis expectandus*;

id., *Mil.* 24 *ut haberet* <…> *ad praeturam gerendam* <…> *plenum annum atque integrum* (cf. Klebs, p.248).

51, RA 8-10 Post haec perfecta aetate moritur in eorum manibus, dimittens medietatem regni sui Apollonio et medietatem filiae suae. 'Then when his life came to an end he died in their arms, leaving half the kingdom to Apollonius and half to his own daughter.'

51, RB 7-9 Post haec laetus moritur perfecta aetate in manibus eorum, medietatem regni sui Apollonio relinquens et medietatem filiae suae.

perfecta aetate (RA/RB): This phrase must mean here: 'Dann ging sein Leben zu Ende' (Peters, p.174) ; 'term of life' (Konstan, p.110). Normally this expression is synonymous with *adulescentia, iuventus,* cf. ThLL I 1127,74 ff. The *aetas senectutis* goes with adjectives like *summa* (Plaut., *Capt.* 742), *exacta* (Terent., *Ad.* 870), *adfecta* (Cic., *Verr.* 5,95) and esp. *extrema* (since *Cato M.* 60) and *ultima* (Val. Max. 1,8 ext. 16); for *perfecta,* cf. 2 Macc. 5:24 *praecipiens ei omnes perfectae aetatis interficere* (τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πάντας κατασφάξαι). We should probably assume Greek influence, cf. LSJ, s.v. πληρόω (3): 'to make full', 'to complete'.

moritur (RA) ~ *laetus moritur* (RB): For *RB*'s addition, cf. 45, RA 5 *iam laetus moriar*, drawn from Vulg., Gen. 46:30 *iam laetus moriar, quia vidi faciem tuam*: now that Archistrates has found his daughter again, *laetus* is appropriate to him too.

moritur in eorum manibus (RA: *manibus eorum* RB) (RA/RB): In its strictest form this expression (in which *manus* = *brachium*, cf. 44, RB 1) is not often recorded for pagan, Latin authors, but it is found in many variant forms. Weyman (1900), p.677 referred to Sen., *Dial.* 12,2,5 *filium meum in manibus et in osculis tuis mortuum*; Gell., *Noct. Att.* 3,15,3 *Diagoras* <…> *in osculis atque in manibus filiorum animam efflavit*. Variant forms occur *passim*, cf. ThLL VIII 348,76 ff.: Cic., *Cluent.* 13 *in* <…> *fratris manibus et gremio* <…> *consenescebat*; Liv. 3,13,3 *semianimem inter manus domum ablatum*; Val. Max. 9,12 ext. 1 *inter ipsas custodum manus* <…> *adquievit*; Curt. 4,10,19 *inter socrus et* <…> *filiarum manus collapsa erat, deinde extincta*; Auson. 182, 13 *manus inter genetricis et oscula patris occidit*. A more direct parallel seems demonstrable, esp. in the OT, but the meaning is completely different, as the context shows: Cic., *Inv.* 1,108 *inimicorum in manibus mortuus est, hosti-*

li in terra turpiter iacuit insepultus. This particularly applies to OT places (to which Klebs, pp.270-1 refers), where *in* means 'by': Exod. 21:20 *et mortui fuerint in manibus eius* (Gr. ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ); Jer. 11:21 *et non morieris in manibus nostris* (Gr. ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἡμῶν), *iuvenes morientur in gladio*; Ezek. 28:10 *Morieris in manu alienorum* (ἀπολῇ ἐν χερσὶν ἀλλοτρίων). Greek offers a more direct parallel, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. χείρ (1): Herondas 5,83 ἐν τῇσι χερσὶ τῇσ' ἐμῇσι 'in my arms', cf. Paus. 6,14,7; Galen., *De usu part.* 2,2. The finest parallels are probably provided by the Greek Novel: Charit. 3,5,5 ἐπίμεινον δὲ κἂν ὀλίγας ἡμέρας, ὅπως ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ ταῖς σαῖς ἀποθάνω 'Wait just a few days so that I can die in your arms'; Heliod. 5,7,2 ὑποδραμούσης τὸν Θεαγένην τῆς Χαρικλείας, ὡς εἰ καὶ τεθνάναι δεήσειεν, ἐν χερσὶ ταῖς ἐκείνου γίνοιτο 'Charikleia ran to Theagenes' side, so that if she had to die it would at least be in his arms, cf. id. 2,1,3. (Klebs, pp.270-1 regards '*moritur in eorum manibus*' as a 'christliche Phrase' and simply deletes.)

dimittens (RA) ~ *relinquens* (RB): *Dimittere* is in general use from the time of Stat., *Theb.* 1,185 *Cadmus* <...> *fraternas acies* <...> *augurium seros dimisit ad usque nepotes*, esp. in relation to an inheritance, cf. ThLL V,1 1216,71 (Lamprid., *Heliog.* 31,3 *facultates a multis dimissas*; Hier., *Epist.* 22,33,2 *unum solidum*, cf. id. 54,4,3; Vulg., *passim*; Cod. Iustin. 11,66,1 *possessiones ad posteros suos dominii perpetui durabilitate*). In hagiography too: Mombr. II (Xistus) 650,4 *Totam haereditatem eius tibi dimitto*. But it seems to have been more or less vulgar. Thus Jerome changes Vet. Lat. Luke 10:30 *dimittentes semivivum* (Gr. ἀφέντες ἡμιθανῆ) to Vulg. *semivivo relicto*, cf. Löfstedt, *Per.*, p.189 ff.; Linderbauer, p.114; Corbett, p.233; Garvin, p.380. *RB*'s change thus represents a different level of style, cf. Introd. VI.2 (Klebs, p.275: 'Nur in *RA* 51 (vielleicht aus dem Kirchenlatein eingeschwärzt)'). Greek probably had ἀφίημι 'to bequeath', cf. LSJ, s.v. (II.2.c): 'in legal sense, c. dat. pers. et acc. rei, *remit*'.

medietatem <...> **Apollonio, medietatem filiae suae** (RA/RB): This word is also generally accepted in Late Latin, cf. ThLL VIII 557,29: Amm. 28,1,35 *medietas hereditatis*; Ambr., *Noe* 27,102 *pauperibus* <...> *medietatem sui patrimonii donaturum*; Hier., *Epist.* 66,12,2 *medietas substantiae suae*; Vulg. Tob. 12:4 *medietatem* (Gr. ἥμισυ) *de omnibus*. This last place shows that **R(Gr)** probably used ἥμισυ <...> ἥμισυ. (Another possibility is ἡ ἡμίσεια [sc. μοῖρα] <...> ἡ ἡμίσεια, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἥμισυ.) Riese (1893), p.114,5 wonders whether *medietatem filiae suae* should be deleted in view of *RA* 28-29/RB 23. I believe this suggestion is unnecessary. Archistrates' kingdom should be regarded as partly a matriarchy (this term was introduced for the *HA* by A.D. Deyermond, 'Motivos folkloricos y technica estructural en el libro de Apollonio', *Filologia* 13 [1968-9], [pp.121-49],

p.132 n.5.) As more commonly in the Greek Novel, the kingship can be passed down to the daughter, and in the case of marriage it may be shared with the husband, cf. Chione novel (ed. Zimmermann [1936], p.41), 1-5 ἡ] [β]ασιλεία εἰς ταύτην | καὶ τὸν συνοικήσον|τα αὐτῇ μετέρχεται 'the kingship devolves upon her / and her future spouse' (transl. Stephans, *Ancient Greek Novels*, p.294). See also Garbugino, p.127 with n.21. Naturally Apollonius and Archistratis could still delegate a later-born son as vice-king in the realm of his grandfather, while Apollonius retained actual power. It is curious, incidentally, that the reader only becomes aware of the Cyrenean matriarchy at the end of the story and not at the first meeting or the official marriage. In my view, this is due to the sometimes clumsy maneouvres of the epitomator, cf. Introd. V. (Klebs, p.237 ignores the gist of the problem.)

51, RA 11	In illo tempore peractis omnibus iuxta mare deambulat Apollonius. 'At a certain time, when all this had been arranged, Apollonius was walking by the sea.'
51, RB 10	His omnibus peractis dum deambulat Apollonius iuxta mare,

A curious ending: the epitomator hastens towards an appropriate conclusion, in which neither the poor fisherman (RA 11-23/RB 10-17) nor Hellenicus (RA 24-28/RB 19-22) are allowed to be forgotten. Even the return to Tyre is not explicitly mentioned. The meeting with the fisherman and the event involving Hellenicus probably took place in Cyrene. Naturally the Greek Novel likes to end with such scenes of gratitude, cf. Charit. 8,8,12; Xen. Eph. 5,15,4.

In illo tempore (RA) ~ (RB /): This phrase occurs 65 times in the Vulg. and often corresponds to ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ, cf. Matt. 11:25/12:1 *In illo tempore* (Gr. Ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ), cf. B. Botte, 'In illo tempore', *Vig. Christ.* 21 (1967), pp.71-7. In general as regards situation the sentence also evokes biblical reminiscences, cf. Matt. 4:18 *Ambulans autem Iesus iuxta mare Galileae vidit duos fratres, Simonem <…> et Andream <…> (erant enim piscatores)* (Gr. Περιπατῶν δὲ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἶδεν δύο ἀδελφούς <…> ἦσαν γὰρ ἁλεεῖς).

The *Nachleben* had trouble with the chance meeting, also in view of Apollonius' positive assertion 12, RA 25 *Nisi meminero tui, iterum naufragium patiar nec tui similem inveniam.* In the Middle English fragment (Archibald, p.193) Apollonius organizes a systematic search, cf. Raith, pp.76-77. Others (Jourdain de Blaivies, Timoneda) situate the scene

immediately after the marriage of Apollonius and Archistratis, before the journey to Antioch (c.23), cf. Singer, p.13.

51, RA 12-14 Vidit piscatorem illum, a quo naufragus susceptus fuerat, qui ei medium suum dedit tribunarium, et iubet famulis suis, ut eum comprehenderent et ad suum ducerent palatium. 'There he saw the fisherman who took him in after the shipwreck and gave him half of his cloak. He ordered his servants to seize him and bring him to the palace.'

51, RB 10-12 vidit piscatorem illum, a quo fuerat naufrágus suscéptus (*pl.*), et iussit eum comprehendi.

susceptus fuerat (RA) ~ *fuerat* <…> *susceptus* (RB): A so-called 'verschobenes Plusquamperfectum', where classical Latin would have simply had *susceptus erat,* cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 298.

qui ei medium suum dedit tribunarium (RA) ~ (RB /): A statement considered superfluous by *RB* (cf. 12, RA 19/RB 22), the more so because it is repeated below in slightly different words (cf. RA 20-21/RB 16-17). Moreover, *dedit* has the value of *dederat,* cf. Ind. gr., s.v. tempora verborum (4).

iubet famulis <…>**, ut** <…> **comprehenderent** (RA) ~ *iussit eum comprehendi* (RB). *RA*'s construction is common in Christian Latin, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *iubeo* (1): Gen. 42:25 *iussit ministris, ut implerent saccos eorum* (Gr. *aliter*); also in major authors like Cassian., Ambros., August., Hier.; in hagiography *passim,* cf. Mombr. II 88,16; 129,53; 130,3; 347,52; 411,45; 412,19; 512,15; 557,52; 558,9; 620,8; 632,6. It is doubtful to what extent *RA* closely follows his model, cf. LSJ (Suppl.), s.v. κελεύω: 'with ὥστε/ἵνα and inf.'. *RB*'s correction is pedantic, cf. 39, RB 30 (comm.). The omission of *famulis* (RA) probably has to do with the insertion (RB 12) *a militibus*. For *comprehendo,* Gr. (?) συλλαμβάνω, cf. 50, RA 3/RB 4.

51, RA 14-15 Tunc, ut vidit se piscator trahi ad palatium, se putavit ad occidendum praeberi. 'When the fisherman realized that he was being dragged to the palace, he thought he was going to be handed over for execution.'

51, RB 12 Vidit piscator se a militibus duci; occidendum se putabat.

trahi ad palatium (RA) ~ *a militibus duci* (RB): *RA* has the usual harsh term both in pagan authors and in Christian writings, cf. Le Blant, p.144: Plaut., *Poen.* 789 *priusquam obtorto collo ad praetorem trahor*, cf. id., *Rud.* 839; Cic., *Verr.* 2,3,25 *adducitur a veneriis atque adeo adtrahitur*; Phaedr. 3,10,35 *pertraxerunt ad centumviros*; Liv. 2,27,12 *cum a lictoribus iam traheretur*; Apul., *Met.* 3,2 *lictores duo de iussu magistratuum* <…> *trahere me* <…> *occipiunt*; Hier., *Epist.* 26, § 30. The verb *traho* here often translates σύρω, ἕλκω, cf. Luke 12:58 *ne forte te trahat* (Gr. κατασύρῃ) *ad iudicem*; Acts 17:6 *trahebant* (Gr. ἔσυρον) *Iasonem* <…> *ad principes civitatis*; James 2:6 *ipsi trahunt* (Gr. ἕλκουσιν) *vos ad iudicia*; AASS 19 Sept., Acta S. Ianuarii, § 8 *Iussit praeses militibus suis, ut eum celeriter traherent*; ibid., 25 Oct. Acta SS. Chrysanti et Dariae, § 21 Ἑλκομένη (Lat. *Quae dum trahitur*) παρεκάλεσεν ἐνδοῦναι αὐτῇ τοῦ εὔξασθαι (cf. 50, RA 30 *horarum spatia tribuisset*). *RB* substitutes the technical term '*ducere*' 'to lead away', a euphemism for *ducere aliquem ad mortem*, cf. ThLL V,1 2140,46: 'speciatim ad supplicium: sic in iunctura "duci aliquem iubere" (cf. Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, p.924,1)', cf. Luke 23:32 *Ducebantur autem et alii duo nequam cum eo, ut interficerentur*. Hence the fisherman's shock reaction. The term *milites* (instead of *RA famuli*) is part of the jargon, esp. in and around the *Passiones Martyrum*, cf. P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Studi e testi* 22 (1909), pp.72-3; ibid. 49 (1928), p.227 n.4; Garitte, *AB* 73 (p.26 n.3): 'ce mot désigne souvent <…> le personel subalterne des tribunaux'. The corresponding Greek term is στρατιῶται, cf. *Martyrium Petri* 7 (Lips.-Bonn. I, p.90.1) ἰδοὺ στρατιῶται τέσσαρες αὐτὸν (sc. Petrum) παραλαβόντες ἀπήγαγον τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ. Clearly Apollonius' joke, devised to express gratitude, is rather crude.

se putavit (RA) ~ *putabat* (RB): The phrase in *RA* should probably be regarded as a reflexive construction, cf. Löfstedt, *Per.*, p.142; id., *Synt.* II, p.392; Blatt, *Acta Andreae et Matthiae*, Giessen 1930, p.189 (three exx.: p.61,3 *putantes se* [also p.63,12]; p.63,5 *putavit se*). The phrase is probably a precursor of 'credersi', 'pensarsi', Old Fr. 'soi penser'. It may be that *se* should be connected with *praeberi*, but the position of *se* seems to argue against this. *RB*'s correction is typical: the connection of *se* (RA) with *occidendum* lends a classical elegance to the sentence.

ad occidendum praeberi (RA) ~ *occidendum se* **βπ** (*se occidendum* **M**): *RA*'s laborious construction can be explained as a gerund 'for killing' (Konstan), cf. P. Aalto, *Untersuchungen über das lateinische Gerundium und Gerundivum*, Helsinki 1949, pp.86-7. *RB*'s adjustment offers the usual phrase, since the gerundive *occidendum esse* functions in Late Latin as *occisum iri*, cf. Bonnet, p.654; LHS II, p.312^{4}; Blaise, *Manuel*, § 349; Corbett, p.153. An exact parallel is provided by F. Kaulen, *Sprachliches Handbuch zur biblischen Vulgata*, Bonn 1904^{2} (repr. 1973): Prov. 22:13 *in medio pla-*

tearum occidendus sum. (Conversely, Klebs, p.242 prefers *RB*: 'in P ist die unverständlich gewordene Wendung entstellt'.)

51, RA 15-17 Sed ubi ingressus est palatium, Tyrius Apollonius sedens cum sua coniuge, eum ad se praecepit adduci, et ait ad coniugem: 'But when he came into the palace, Apollonius of Tyre, who was sitting enthroned together with his wife, ordered the fisherman to be brought to him, and said to his wife:'

51, RB 13-14 Et ingressus Apollonius coram coniuge sua iussit eum adduci et ait:

A radical abridgement by *RB* (approx. 10 words), combined with a stylistic 'correction' by connecting *coram coniuge sua* with *adduci*. For *adducere* as a technical term, cf. 50, RA/RB 5.

51, RA 17-19 "Domina regina et coniunx pudica, hic est paranymphus meus, qui mihi opem tribuit, et, ut ad <te> venirem, iter ostendit." '"Lady queen and chaste wife, this is my 'best man', who helped me and showed me the way to come to you."'

51, RB 14-15 "Domina coniunx, hic est paranymphus meus, qui olim mihi opem naufrago dedit et, ut ad té pervenírem (*pl.*), osténdit itínera (*t.*)."

Domina regina et coniunx pudica (RA) ~ *Domina coniunx* (RB): *RA*'s collocation *domina regina* is very rare in Latin literature, cf. ThLL V,1 1939,64-71. Parallels adduced are: Curt. 3,11,25 *reginas dominasque* <…> *invocantes*; Iul. Val. 1,2 *non dominae eam* (sc. Olympiadem) *appellatione dignatus* (sc. Necatanebus); Cassiod., *Var.* 10,2,1 *dominam sororem meam* (sc. Theodahadi regis). For hagiography, cf. Mombr. II 611,37 (Thomas Apostolus) *Obsecro te, rex bone, ut facias dominam meam reginam visitare Mygdoniam*. A direct parallel requires recourse to Greek, cf. Wilcken, *Chrestomathie*, no. 4 (from Nubia, 13 BC), l.11 τὴν κυρίαν βασίλισσαν, a title which runs directly parallel to κύριος βασιλεύς, cf. Deismann[4], *Licht vom Osten*, p.299. See also 24, RA 16/RB 13 (comm.).

coniunx pudica (RA) ~ (RB /): This phrase is not uncommon in Latin literature. ThLL IV 343,81 refers to Hor., *Carm.* 3,5,41 *pudicae coniugis*

osculum parvosque natos <…> *removisse*, cf. ibid. 4,9,24; Ov., *Pont.* 4,11,8; Claud. 20,90. We can probably assume Greek influence here too, cf. *Less.*, s.v. σώφρων: (b) 'morigerato, casto'.

The combination of several titles of address is frequent in 3rd-4th c. papyri, cf. G. Ghedini, *Lettere christiane dai papiri greci del III-IV secolo*, Milano 1923, p.35; A. Zehetmair, *De appellationibus honorificis in papyris graecis obviis*, Marpurgi Chattorum 1912. The starting-point for this usage is found in late Greek literature and the Greek Novel: Dio Cassius 79,13,4 καὶ ἐγήματο, γυνή τε καὶ δέσποινα βασιλίς τε ὠνομάζετο (sc. Caracalla); Xen. Eph. 5,14,1 ἡ Ἀνθία <…> ἔκλαεν «ἄνερ» λεγούσα « καὶ δέσποτα 'Anthia <…> wept. "Husband and master," she said'; Heliod. 10,13,2 ὦ βασιλεῦ <…> καὶ δέσποτα καὶ ἄνερ "Sire," she answered, "lord, husband." In sum: this solemn, Oriental-sounding term of address will certainly have impressed a Roman readership.

Domina coniunx (RB): This is the more ordinary term of address, cf. ThLL V,1 1939,12-39: Scaevola, *Dig.* 32,41 pr. *peto a te, domina uxor*. For *HA*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. domina. Esp. in Christian inscriptions: Inscr. christ. Diehl 2255 *domin(a)e coniugi dulcissim(a)e*, ibid. 2637; 2817 (anno 344); 4611; 3334 (4th c.) *dominae meae Fatalini coniugi*. For this use of *domina* esp. in Christian literature, cf. 2, RA 4/RB 4 *domina* (comm.).

hic est paranymphus meus, qui <…> **iter ostendit** (RA,**M**: *osténdit itínera* [t.] **βπ**) (RA/RB): The occurrence of this term *paranymphus*, 'bridesman', 'best man', 'Brautführer', to be connected with its Greek equivalent παράνυμφος '*bridegroom's friend* or *best man*' leads to a number of conclusions which are crucial to the textual genesis of the *HA* championed here.

1. In Latin this word is only recorded for more or less late Christian authors, cf. Blaise, s.v. *paranymphus*: Vet. Lat., Gen. 26:26 (E); Ambros.; Ps. Hieronym.; Aug.; Fulg. Rusp.; Venant. Fort.; Luxor., *Anthol.* (title); Paul. Diac. and other Christian authors. See also ThLL X 1,1 311,65 ff. This word alone points to a Christian, late provenance for the *HA* in its Latin form. It is in fact unrecorded in OLD.
2. The *HA* context points to the Greek custom of the παράνυμφος. This intermediary accompanied the bridegroom to the parental home of the bride and after the wedding ceremony conveyed the bridal couple back to the house of his friend, sometimes in a wagon (ὄχημα, ἅμαζα), where he would sit next to (παρά) the bride (ὁ νυμφίος). This activity is called νυμφαγωγεῖν 'to lead the bride to the bridegroom's house' or παρανυμφεύειν, 'to act as παράνυμφος', cf. LSJ (+ Suppl.), s.v. See also Pauly-Wissowa, *RE* XVIII, 4 S.1293/94 παρανύμφιος. The Roman wedding ritual does not have an equivalent. It involves two other people: a *pronuba*, a married woman who leads the bride to the bridal cham-

ber (cf. OLD, s.v.), and the so-called *auspex*, who is entrusted with practical matters like the marriage contract, reception of the *dos* and the actual arrangement of the wedding, cf. ThLL II 1541,25. So it is clear that the fisherman's conduct and Apollonius' remark have nothing to do with a Roman wedding, but form a comic variation on the Greek custom. Though the term παράνυμφος does not occur as such in the Greek Novel, νυμφαγωγεῖν plays a very important role in the opening of Charit. (Charit. 1,14; 2,1,2; 2,11,3; 3,2,12) alongside νυμφαγωγός (Achill. Tat. 3,10,5; Charit. 3,2,5). So the occurrence of this word may indicate a Greek provenance of the *HA*; we can probably trace back the term (and episode) to **HA(Gr)**.

3. This term is also instructive as to narrative technique and possible adaptation: it is clear that *RA* (and in his wake *RB*) could not use any other term: any adaptation to Roman terminology would have done violence to his *Vorlage*. In the melting-pot of cultures that Rome was he could leave the Greek term unchanged, the more so because the word *paranymphus* could also be used allegorically with great licence in Latin, thus e.g.. Aug., *Serm.* 293,7 (on John the Baptist, anticipating Christ and pointing towards him); Ps. Ven. Fort. 1,325 (on the angel Gabriel, the overshadowing of the Holy Spirit's annunciation to Mary). The familiarity of this theme is also indicated by the frequent representation of such a figure on tomb reliefs and sarcophagi, cf. *RE* XVIII,4 S.1294.
4. Finally, the above makes it quite clear that *RA* is much more preferable to **βπ** (*osténdit itínera*): *RB* probably changed for rhythmical reasons (*t.*), without any real understanding, cf. Introd. VII.2. (Klebs, p.274 n.2 'Das Wort [paranymphus] ist zwar nur aus christlichen Schriftstellern belegt, aber das kann Zufall sein': nothing about a possible Greek origin!) In my view, ThLL X 1,1 312,10-2 also requires correction owing to the origin of **HA(Gr)** argued here, just like Garbugino, p.110 with n.95.
5. It is clear that this word *paranymphus*, precisely on account of the Greek background, has posed serious problems to translators/adapters. We can mention the change in the Old English translation (Archibald V.2; Goolden p.42,10): 'this is min tacenbora' (i.e. standard-bearer, *signifer*), the translator/adapter having playfully taken up the term *regius exercitus* already mentioned (cf. 50, RA 1-3 [comm.].

51, RA 19-21 Et intuens eum Apollonius ait: "O benignissime vetule, ego sum Tyrius Apollonius, cui tu dedisti dimidium tuum tribunarium." 'Looking at him Apollonius said: "Most

generous old man, I am Apollonius of Tyre, to whom you gave half your cloak."'

51, RB 15-17 Dixit ei: "Benignissime vetule, ego sum Tyrius Apollonius, cui dimidium tribunarium túum dedísti (*pl.*)."

intuens eum (RA) ~ (RB /): *RA* is appropriate to the narrative style, cf. Gr. (?) προσβλέπων αὐτόν.

O (RA) ~ (RB /): In most cases *RB* faithfully follows *RA* in *o exclamativum* (cf. Gr. ὦ), cf. Ind. verb., s.v. Only in 39, RA 17 *o princeps magnifice* /RB 18 *magnifice* and here does he omit *o*, for no apparent reason.

benignissime vetule (RA/RB): ThLL II 1901,57 does not provide any example of the superlative vocative; *benignissimus* itself is very common. For *vetule*, cf. Cic., *Fam.* 7,16,1 *mi vetule* 'my little old fellow'. The adj. *vetulus* is very popular (and corrupted) in Vulgar Latin, cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, §§ 23, 26, 68, 162, 258.

ego sum <...> **tu dedisti** (RA) ~ *ego sum* <...> *dedisti* (RB): A remarkably correct use of pronouns, spoiled by *RB*.

tribunarium (RA/RB): Gr. τριβωνάριον, cf. 12, RA 19 *tribunarium* (comm.); *dimidium tuum tribunarium* = *dimidium tui tribunari* (cf. Klebs, p.237 is unconstructive).

51, RA 21-23 Et donavit ei ducenta sestertia auri, servos et ancillas, vestes et argentum secundum cor suum, et fecit eum comitem, usque dum viveret. 'He gave him two hundred thousand gold sesterces, servants and maids, clothes and silver to his heart's content, and made him a count for the rest of his life.'

51, RB 17-18 Et donavit ei CC sestertia, servos, ancillas et vestes, et fecit eum comitem, usque dum vixit.

sestertia auri (RA) ~ *sestertia* (RB): A stereotypical omission of *auri* in *RB*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. sestertius. The elimination of *auri* due to the conviction that *sestertia* were made of silver has also led *RB* to leave out *argentum*.

servos et ancillas (RA) ~ *servos, ancillas* (RB): This juxtaposition is found often in both pagan authors and ecclesiastical writers, esp. in the OT (19x).

secundum cor suum (RA) ~ (RB /): A biblical expression *secundum cor meum/tuum/eius* 'according to his heart's desire', cf. 2 Kgs. 7:21 *secundum cor tuum* (Gr. κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν σου) *fecisti omnia magnalia*; Ps. 19:4 *tribuat tibi secundum cor tuum* (Gr. κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν σου), ibid. 80:13; Eccl. 38:20 *et substantia inopis secundum cor eius* (Gr. /); Acts 13:22 *Inveni David* <...> *virum secundum cor meum* (Gr. κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου); cf. Epist. Jud. 16.18 (Klebs, p.273 assumes interpolation).

fecit eum comitem, usque dum viveret. (RA: *vixit* RB) (RA/RB): The awarded title is very vague; the reading public will not in fact have required specification, cf. OLD, s.v. *comes* (4[a]): 'A member of the staff of a Roman magistrate, provincial governor, or another official; a retainer of an emperor, king'. Klebs, p.212 ('Unsere Stelle braucht <...> nichts weiter zu besagen, als daß der König Apollonius seinem früheren Wohltäter eine bevorzugte Stellung in seinem Gefolge anwies') probably goes too far in assuming a retinue. The title may derive directly from Greek, cf. LSJ, s.v. κόμης; ThLL III 1777,38 ff. (with a list of some Greek sources), e.g. CORP. VI 31747 Βάσσῳ <...> κόμ<ιτι> βα<σ>ιλ<έως>; Lyd., *Mag.* 3,23 κόμητα τῆς ἀνατολῆς; Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. κόμης: Epiph., *Haer.* 30,11 (Migne, PG 41,424[D]) ὁ <...> βασιλεὺς <...> κόμητα <...> αὐτὸν κατέστησε; S.A.M. II p.198, indice s.v. *comes* (κόμης): 'titolo onorifico'. The *Hist. Laus.* (ed. Bartelink), (c.41, ll.15-6; c.56, l.3) also talks about a κόμης in an unspecified position. Naturally other Greek terms are possible too, like ἑταῖρος, cf. LSJ, s.v. (7) 'of the *Comites* of the Roman Emperor'.

usque dum viveret. (RA) ~ *usque dum vixit.* (RB): Late Latin can connect *usque dum* ('as long as') both with subjunct. and with indic. almost without any difference in meaning, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. Alternation is frequent in codd., cf. e.g. Nav. Brend. (ed. Selmer) 11,11 *usque dum venirent* (*venerunt, -ant* v.l.); 11,84 *usque dum compleantur* (*-entur* v.l.). The intentional character is brought out by *RA*: it is the prosaic rendering of αἰώνιος '*in perpetuum*', cf. 50, RA 8 (comm.); LSJ (Suppl.), s.v. αἰώνιος (2) 'of an office, held for life': SEG 30.1390 αἰώνιον στεφανηφορίαν 'the right of bearing a crown for life'. A rendering from Gr. (?) ἕως οὗ, ἄχρις οὗ is of course possible but not demonstrable. Compare Justin., *Nov.* 7 pr. ἄχρι τῆς ζωῆς; ἄχρι οὗ τελευτήσῃ (v.l. – σει).

51, RA 24-26

Hellenicus autem, qui, quando persequebatur eum rex Antiochus, indicaverat ei omnia et nihil ab eo recipere voluit, secutus est eum et procedenti Apollonio obtulit se ei et dixit: 'But

then Hellenicus, who told Apollonius everything when Antiochus was persecuting him and would not accept anything from him, followed him and presented himself as Apollonius was walking along and said to him:'

51, RB 19-20 <Helle>nicus vero, qui ei de Antiocho nuntiaverat, Apollonio procedenti obtulit se et ait:

Highly curious final paragraphs (RA 24-28/RB 19-22 on Hellenicus; *RA* 29-34/RB 23-28 on succession and conclusion), doubtless due to the epitome form of *RA*: all further motivation is completely lacking.

Hellenicus autem, qui <…> **nihil recipere voluit** (RA) ~ *<Helle>nicus vero, qui <…> nuntiaverat* (RB): *RA* repeats c.8 in broad outlines. For *persequebatur*, cf. 8, RA 1 *ad persequendum iuvenem* ~ RB /; for *indicaverat <…> omnia* cf. 8, RA 11/RB 17 *proscriptus es*; for *nihil recipere voluit* (= voluerat), cf. 8, RA 24-26/RB 29-31. *RB* confines himself to *nuntiaverat*, modelled on *indicaverat* (RA), cf. Introd. I; VII.2.1.

secutus est eum et (RA) ~ (RB /): This episode probably takes place in Cyrene too. The epitomator does not bother about details like location, nor about the question how Hellenicus, a simple man (cf. 8, RA 7), got there. He simply stitches two analogous events (*piscator* ~ Hellenicus) together.

procedenti Apollonio obtulit se ei (RA) ~ *Apollonio procedenti* (**β**: *-e* **β**[1] *a. corr.,* **Mπ**) *obtulit se* (RB): The removal of *ei* (RA) is classical. The phrase *se(se) offerre* is common in Latin, cf. OLD, s.v. *offero* (1.b): 'to put oneself forward or appear in someone's path': Ter., *Andr.* 686 *Pamphile, optume mihi te offers*; Cic., *Att.* 4,3,5; Verg., *Ecl.* 3,66 *mihi sese offert ultro, meus ignis, Amyntas*. A Greek substrate is uncertain, cf. CGL VII 17: (?) παρέστη, cf. LSJ, s.v. παρίστημι (B.I).

51, RA 26-27 "Domine rex, memor esto Hellenici servi tui."
'"Lord king, remember your slave Hellenicus."'

51, RB 20 "Domine mi (**βMπ**) rex, memor esto <Helle>nici, servi tui."

Domine rex (RA) ~ *Domine mi rex* (RB): The phrase *domine rex* occurs frequently as a title of address and as a letterhead, cf. ThLL V,1 1929,21; see also *HA* 4, RA 3-4 *domine rex Antioche*. *RA* may have been translated direct-

ly from Gr. κύριε βασιλεῦ, also in connection with *servus tuus* (?) ὁ δοῦλός σου or ὁ σὸς δοῦλος, cf. LSJ (Suppl.), s.v. μιμνήσκω (III): 'κ(ύρι)ε, μνήσθητι τοῦ δούλου σου *SEG* 31,1474 (Arabia, VI AD)'. This legal king-subject situation (cf. 8, RA 4/RB 12 *cive suo*) is found often in the Greek Novel, cf. Charit. 4,6,4 (letter from Pharnaces, satrap of Lydia and Ionia, to Artaxerxes) Διονύσιος ὁ Μιλήσιος δοῦλός ἐστι σός 'Dionysius of Miletus is your slave'; id. 5,2,2 Μιθριδάτης ὡς δοῦλος πάρεστιν ἀπολύσασθαι διαβολὴν Ἕλληνος ἀνδρὸς καὶ προσκυνῆσαι 'Your slave Mithridates has come to refute the slanderous charge of a Greek and to do homage', cf. id. 6,1,11. On the other hand the combination δοῦλός σου with κύριε βασιλεῦ is fairly common in the OT too, cf. 1 Kgs. 26:17, 19; 2 Kgs. 9:11; 14:22; 15:21; 19:27, 38; 3 Kgs. 1:13, 24 ff. The addition *mi* (RB) makes the petition more urgent (cf. Svennung, *Anredeformen*, p.414), perhaps due to biblical influence, cf. Vulg. 1 Kgs. 24:9 (a similar situation to HA) *egressus de spelunca* (sc. David) *clamavit post tergum Saul dicens: 'domine mi rex'* (Gr. Κύριε βασιλεῦ). *Et respexit Saul post se: et inclinans se David pronus in terram adoravit* (Gr. προσεκύνησεν); 1 Kgs. 26:17, 19; 2 Kgs. 9:11; 14:9-18, 19, 20, 22; 15:21 etc. For the combination of *mi* with nomin., cf. LHS II, p.25^3; Westerbergh, *Chronicon Salernitanum*, p.237. (Schmeling, *Notes*, p.400 [on ed. 82,19 *domine* {*mi*} *rex*] persists in assuming interpolation.) We can only speculate to what extent Hellenicus' respectful greeting corresponds to **HA(Gr)**.

memor esto (RA/RB): This phrase occurs 15 times in OT and NT, corresponding to μνήσθητι (OT) / μνημόνευε (NT): Tob. 3:3 *et nunc Domine, memor esto mei* (Gr. [versio **S**] καὶ νῦν σύ, κύριε, μνήσθητί μου; [versio **BA**] μνήσθητί μου); Ps. 73:2, 18-22; 88:51; 118:49; 136:7; Eccl. 14:12; 38:23; 2 Tim. 2:8; Rev. 2:5. Thielmann, p.27 refers to (pl.) Judith 4:13 *memores estote Moysi, servi Domini* (Gr. *aliter*). The petition is frequent in hagiography, cf. Mombr. I 267,36; 356,2.31; 446,41; 552,26; Mombr. II 89,31; 142,25; 245,58. The closeness of this biblical terminology to the Greek Novel is proved by places like Charit. 6,5,1 σὺ δὲ μνημόνευέ μου τῆς εὐεργεσίας· εὐχάριστον γὰρ εἶναί σε πιστεύω "Do remember my services to you; I am sure you have a grateful nature."; id. 6,5,7 καὶ ὅταν πλουτήσῃς, ἐμοῦ μνημόνευε "And when you are rich remember me."

51, RA 27-28 At ille apprehendens manum eius erexit eum et suscepit oscul<o>; 'Apollonius took him by the hand, raised him up and kissed him.'

51, RB 21 Et adprehendens manum eius Apollonius erexit eum et osculari coepit;

apprehendens manum (RA/RB) <…> **suscepit oscul<o>** (RA): A well-defined τόπος: prostration (προσκύνησις) of the subject; the raising, helping hand of the king; his kiss. In particular Roman emperors were sparing of their kisses. See the reproaches which Dio 59,27,1 addresses to Caligula; Suet., *Nero* 27,3 on Nero; Suet., *Domit.* 12,3 and Tacit., *Agric.* 40,4 on Domitian. Trajan was celebrated for his geniality, cf. Plin., *Panegyr.* c.23 *Gratum erat cunctis, quod senatum osculo exciperes, ut dimissus osculo fueras*, ibid. c.27. The gesture was held in regard by later times too, cf. Amm. 22,9,13 *osculo susceptum rectorem Asiae <…> adscitumque in consessum vehiculi Tarsum secum induxit* (sc. Iulianus). For monasticism, cf. Rufin., *Hist. Monach.* 7,418[A] *ut vidit nos, statim prior adoravit usque ad terram et surgens osculo nos suscepit*. For hagiography: Mombr. I 470,49 *Et egressus Imperator in eius occursum osculatus est eum*; II 342,23 *miserunt se Dionisius et Pancratius ad pedes sancti Cornelii, porro erigens eos sanctus vir coepit eos amplecti*. We can therefore conclude that Roman readers will have appreciated this high honour. *RA*'s reading *At ille* is therefore much to be preferred to *RB*'s lame *et*. For Greek we need mention only in passing the aversion among free Hellenes to what they considered to be the objectionable custom of Persians to prostrate themselves deeply before their king, cf. Corn. Nepos, *Conon* c.3; Aelian., *Var. Hist.* 21. It is relevant to the thesis of the Greek origin of the *HA* to point out that the Greek Novel shows verbal similarity, cf. Charit. 6,4,8 προσλαβόμενος ὑπὸ χεῖρα τὸν εὐνοῦχον κατεφίλησε καὶ «δικαίως ἄρα σε ἐγὼ» ἔφη «πάντων προτιμῶ <…> 'He (the Great King) took the eunuch under the arm, kissed him and said "I am right to hold you in esteem beyond all others <…>'; Xen. Eph. 2,10,2 προσπίπτει τοῖς γόνασι τοῖς Ἀψύρτου, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἀνίστησι 'He (namely Habrocomes) fell down at Apsyrtus' knees. But the latter brought him to his feet', ibid. 3,5,5-6. It seems right to conclude that *suscepit osculo* (RA) is preferable to *osculari coepit* (RB) and that we are probably dealing with an authentic feature of **HA(Gr)**.

51, RA 28 — et fecit eum comitem et donavit illi multas divitias. 'He made him a count and gave him great wealth.'

51, RB 22 — fecit divitem, órdinat cómitem (*t.*).

fecit comitem (RA) ~ *ordinat comitem* (RB): *RA* (*fecit – donavit*) has a chiastic order compared with the parallel place 51, RA 21-23 (*donavit – fecit*). In both cases *RA* uses a colourless *facere*. *RB* opts for the more appropriate technical term *ordinat*, cf. OLD, s.v. *ordino* (5): 'to appoint a person to an office': Suet., *Jul.* 76,3 *magistratus in pluris annos ordinavit*; id., *Vesp.* 23,2; id., *Vitell.* 11. Late Latin likes to use this term both in a statutory sphere (*ordinare aliquem curatorem, dispensatorem, imperatorem, principem, procurato-*

rem, regem, tetrarchum, tutorem) and in ecclesiastical functions (*ordinare aliquem clericum, diaconum, episcopum, presbyterum, sacerdotem*). For a more detailed determination, cf. ThLL IX^{II} 944,29-61. Perhaps the reference is to a position as *comes orientis* (= κόμης τῆς ἑῴας 'count of the Orient'), who operated from Antioch, cf. ThLL V, 1778,712-76; E. Jeffreys, B. Croke and R. Scott, *Studies in John Malalas*, Sidney 1990, p.208. For other functions of *comites*, cf. ThLL V, 1777,74 ff.

ordinat comitem (RB): This collocation is corroborated by the Munich Thesaurus: (from 551) Iordanis Geta (ed. Mommsen, *Mon. Germ. auct. antiq. V,1*) § 320 *Gildo Africae comis a Theodosio ordinatus*. Alternation between *facere* (RA) and *ordinare* (RB) is repeatedly found in the *Vit. Patr.* 3,99 *me clericum ordinaverunt in vico* ~ 5,15,25 *fecerunt* (Gr. [Cotelier, p.125] ἐποίησαν); 3,188 *si scis eum fratrem esse dignum, ordino ego et illum* (antea: *presbyterum fecit*). So the *RB* reading is an indication both of the late period and of the environment of change, cf. Introd. VII.2. *RA*'s apparently simple *fecit comitem* is probably the authentic reading (from [?] **R(Gr)** ἐποίησε κόμητα).

The afterlife had great trouble accepting this Hellenicus passage. The 'Libro de Apolonio' (Archibald, p.189) omits the entire episode and inserts instead a reward for the physician (cf. c.26). Gower (Archibald, p.191) and Shakespeare (Archibald, p.213) follow a similar procedure, cf. Klebs, p.390 n.3.

(Klebs deletes both *RA* 24-28 and *RB* 19-22, cf. p.213: 'zweifellos nicht ursprünglich'; p.213 n.1: 'Das Ganze ist eine der zahlreichen Wiederholungen, die sich in den Texten der Historia finden'; see also pp.220; 221; 223; 231 n.2.)

51, RA 29-30 His rebus expletis genuit de coniuge sua filium, quem rex in loco avi sui Arch<i>stratis constituit. 'When all this had been settled, Apollonius fathered a son by his wife whom he made king in the place of his grandfather Archistrates.'

51, RB 23-24 His expletis genuit de coniuge sua filium, quem in loco avi eius Archistrat<is> constítuit régem (*pl.*).

His rebus expletis (RA) ~ *His expletis* (RB): The phrase *rem/res explere* in the sense of *perficere, absolvere* is late, cf. ThLL V,2 1720,40-51: Ps. Quint., *Decl.* 2,17 *quem ad modum* (sc. caecus) *scit an facinus expleverit*; Paul., *Pell.* 400 *res <...> temere a me coepta <...> eventu est expleta secundo*; Greg. Magn.,

Moral. 5,78 p.724[A]. The codd. repeatedly have the longer form with *res*, cf. Caes., *Bell. civ.* 3,46,3 *his rebus expletis* **β**, where Klotz (Teubner, 1952) annotates: 'quod, quamquam similia apud recentiores auctores inveniuntur (cf. ThLL III 2096,49), non ausus sum spernere'; Cavallin, p.87: *Vita S. Caesarii* 486,1 *in omnibus sanctus vir modum semper voluit custodire* Ω (*in omnibus rebus* 3 codd.); Dar. Phryg. (ed. Atwood) 4,19 *Telamon promisit omnibus* (**F**; *omnibus rebus* **MG**) *se paratum esse, quae Hercules facere vellet*.

genuit de coniuge sua (RA/RB): A Late Latin phrase, cf. ThLL VI,2 1980,3: Spart., *Sept. Sev.* 20,2 *Getam de Iulia genuerat*; Aug., *Civ.* 16,28 p.171,24 D. *quamvis* <…> *possit* <…> *senior* <…> *de adulescentula gignere*; Vulg., Par. 2:8 *uxorem nomine Azuba, de qua genuit*; ibid. 8:9 *Genuit autem de Hode uxore sua*.

rex (i.q. *regem*) <…> **constituit P** ~ *constítuit régem* (*pl.*) (RB): The construction in **P** is harsh but not unparalleled, cf. Löfstedt, *Per.*, p.50; Havers, *Glotta* 16,1928, p.95; Blatt, *Acta Andreae*, p.67,17 *Iam non dicam tibi servus, set amicus fidelis*; Westerbergh, *Chronicon Salernitanum*, p.249: e.g. 15,13 *Ego te ex ultimum imperator feci* <…>, *ego te triumphator sine labore feci*. Editors (Riese, Schmeling) normalize, as does *RB*.

avi sui (RA) ~ *avi eius* (RB): A classical emendation by *RB*.

51, RA 30-31	Ipse autem cum sua coniuge vixit annis LXXIIII. 'Apollonius himself lived with his wife for seventy-four years.'
51, RB 24-25	Ipse quoque cum coniuge sua benigne vixit annis septuaginta IIII.

autem (RA) ~ *quoque* (RB): Other reasons may go together with influences that include the genealogies of Vulg., Gen., cf. 5:3 *vixit autem Adam*; 5:6 *vixit quoque Seth*; 5:12 *vixit quoque Caïnan*; 5:15 *vixit autem Malaleel*; 11:14 *Sale quoque vixit*; 11:18 *vixit quoque Phaleg*; 11:16 *vixit autem Heber*, etc.

vixit (RA) ~ *benigne vixit* **βM**: For *RB*, cf. 11, RB 3 *benignius agi*; ThLL II 1906,15 refers to Plin., *Nat.* 33,143 *nullos hominum inter sese benignius vivere quam Romanos*.

annis LXXIII (RA) ~ *annis septuaginta IIII* (RB): Instead of an acc. of time Late Latin prefers the abl. of time, cf. Löfstedt, *Syntact.* II, pp.447-50; Blatt, *Acta Andreae*, p.196; Salonius, p.12-32. Combinations with *sep-*

tuaginta are much favoured in Gen., cf. Gen. 5:12 *vixit quoque Caïnan septuaginta annis*; Gen. 5:31 *omnes dies Lamech septingenti septuaginta septem anni* (as Apollonius is given in the Old English version, cf. Goolden, p.XVI); Gen. 11:26 *Vixitque Thare septuaginta annis*; Gen. 25:7 *Dies vitae Abrahae centum septuaginta quinque*. This puts Apollonius' age at that of the patriarchs. Public opinion saw 60 years as the end of health and vigour: 70 years was regarded as ὅρος ἀνθρωπίνου βίου ('term of human life'), cf. Herod. 1,32. For a general approach, cf. B.E. Richardson, *Old Age Among the Ancient Greeks. The Greek Portrayal of Old Age in Literature, Art and Inscriptions*. With a study of the duration of life among the ancient Greeks on the basis of inscriptional evidence. New York, Greenwood Press, 1969.

51, RA 31-32 Regnavit et tenuit regnum Antiochiae et Tyri et Cyrenensium; et quietam atque felicem vitam vixit cum co<n>iuge sua. 'He was a real king and ruled over Antioch, Tyre and Cyrene; and he led a peaceful and happy life with his wife.'

51, RB 25-26 Tenuit regnum Antiochiae, Tyri et Cyrenensium. Quietam vitam per omne tempus suum vixit.

Regnavit et tenuit (RA) ~ *Tenuit* (RB): Abundant locution in *RA*, and to be respected as such: for *regno abs.*, cf. OLD, s.v. (1), *passim*, like Gr. βασιλεύω, cf. LSJ, s.v., *passim*. There is no reason to delete *tenuit* with Ring, Riese (1893). It may be that *regnavit et tenuit* translates two syonymous terms (perhaps with a modal difference), e.g. βασιλεύω 'to rule' 'to reign'; κατέχω 'to possess', 'to occupy' (cf. LSJ, s.v. (II): 'esp. of rules'); κρατῶ 'to rule' 'to hold sway', but also 'to become master of', cf. LSJ, s.v. (II).

regnum Antiochiae (RA/RB), cf. 50, RA 1/RB 1 (comm.).

(regnum <…>**) Tyri** (**Rα[F]**: Tyrii **P**), cf. *tit. H*A (comm.).

(regnum <…>**) Cyrenensium** (RA/RB): Cf. 51, RA 9/RB 8 (comm.). Within the novel Apollonius embodies the ideal of a Hellenistic king: in possession of a great, far-reaching empire. There is no reason to follow Klebs, p.222 and modern editors (Schmeling, 1984, ad loc.: 'et Tyri et Cyrenensium *delevi*'; Garbugino, p.35 n.38 'presumibilmente un' interpolazione') in deleting here either.

quietam atque felicem vitam (RA) ~ *quietam vitam per omne tempus suum* (RB): The story has a fairy-tale ending 'and they lived happily ever after':

RB emphasizes the second aspect 'ever after'. *RA*'s formulation may go back to 1 Tim. 2:2 *pro regibus <…>, ut quietam et tranquillam vitam agamus* (Gr. ὑπὲρ βασιλέων <…>, ἵνα ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν). In any case it answers to general human ideals, cf. Maximin., *Eleg.* 1,289 *Felix qui meruit tranquillam ducere vitam / et laeto stabiles claudere fine dies*. In this sense the *HA* conforms to the Greek Novel, cf. T. Hägg, *Narrative Technique in Ancient Greek Romances. Studies of Chariton, Xenophon Ephesius and Achilles Tatius*, Stockholm 1971, p.198 n.1.

The *Nachleben* has problems with this hereditary succession too. The 'Libro de Apolonio' (Archibald, p.189) names Antinagora as king of Antioch: Apollonius appoints his son as *vicario* in Pentapolis, cf. Klebs, p.390 n.3. The Latin redactions **RSt** and **Rbern** bestow two sons on Apollonius, the elder receiving Antioch, the younger Cyrene. This view lives on in the Middle English fragment (Archibald, p.193: Raith, p.73), Heinrich von Neustadt (Archibald, p.194) and Leon del Prete, cf. Singer, *Anglia Beiblatt* (X Jahrgang), 1900, p.114.

51, RA 32-34

Peractis annis, quod (**Va^{c}P**) superius diximus, in pace atque senectute bona defuncti sunt. 'At the end of the time we have already mentioned, they died peacefully, in an untroubled old age.'

quod (i.q. quot) **Va^{c}P** ~ (RB /): Vulgar Latin often writes *quot* as *quod*, pronunciation being the same (cf. Väänänen, *Introd.*, § 131): Vet. Lat. (cod. P), Matt. 15:34 *Quod habetis panes?* (Vulg. *Quot*; Gr. πόσους ἄρτους ἔχετε;); likewise e.g. CIL VIII 262,11 *quod annis = quotannis*. This confusion is early. Blatt, *Acta Andreae*, p.97,1; Svennung, *Palladius*, p.641; Corbett, p.18. So our place may be attributable to the earliest stage of *RA*. (Riese [1893] writes *quot*; Ring emends *quos*).

diximus (RA): The simplest explanation is to regard *diximus* as an authorial plural, cf. LHS II, pp.19^{3}-20^{1} with the example of Caes., *Gall.* 2,1,1 *ut supra demonstravimus*. Schmeling (1984) deletes *quod superius diximus*, just like Garbugino, p.97; but repetitions at such short distance are part of the genre.

in pace atque senectute bona defuncti sunt (RA) ~ (RB /): The combination *in pace <…> defungi (mori)* could be pagan, cf. ThLL V,1 377,53 ff.; but according to ThLL II 2092,7 the collocation *bona senectus* is exclusively Christian (for Vulg., see also Gen. 25:8; Judg. 8:32; 1 Par. 29:28; Tob. 14:15). The formulation *bona senectus* in combination with *pax* goes back to Vulg., Gen. (H version) 15:15 *tu* (sc. Abraam) *autem ibis ad patres*

tuos in pace, sepultus in senectute bona (LXX μετ' εἰρήνης, ταφεὶς ἐν γήρει καλῷ). In my view, it is an open question to what extent *RA* is a verbal rendition of **R(Gr)**. C. Weyman, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1900, no.10 refers to Preuschen, *Palladius und Rufinus*, p.81: *Hist. mon.* 26,1 ἐν γήρει καλῷ. See also *Hist. Lausiaca* (ed. Bartelink, c.54, l.44 [p.248], which says in relation to Melania senior ἐκοιμήθη ἐν γήρᾳ καλῷ καὶ βαθυτάτῃ πραότητι 'She died in a beautiful old age and deepest peace'). For a like-minded Greek ideal in the pagan sphere, cf. e.g. Plato, *Polit.* 372[D] καὶ οὕτω διάγοντες τὸν βίον ἐν εἰρήνῃ μετὰ ὑγιείας, ὡς εἰκός, γηραιοὶ τελευτῶντες ἄλλον τοιοῦτον βίον τοῖς ἐκγόνοις παραδώσουσιν 'and so passing their life in peace, combined with good health, dying, as is due, in old age, they will pass on just a similar life to their descendants.' In his concluding formulation *RA* probably goes along with **R(Gr)**. Perhaps we can even go so far as to combine the striking parallel *HA* ~ *Hist. Laus.* mentioned above with 49, RA 11-12, where *secunda* points to similar terminology in *HA* ~ *Hist. Laus.*, cf. comm. ad loc. This could help to specify not only the provenance of **R(Gr)**, but also its *terminus post quem*. The *Hist. Laus.* is generally dated to around 419-420, cf. C. Mohrmann, in Bartelink *Palladio*, p.XIV. (Klebs, pp.39-40, 273 deletes *Peractis annis – defuncti sunt*; Schmeling, p.43,31 tries to save *in pace* from interpolation by referring to Sen. *Dial.* 6,19,6 *excepit illum magna et aeterna pax*. Obviously this pagan formulation has nothing to do with Vulg. Gen. 15:15.)

It is clear that this virtual representation of Apollonius' end as a patriarch has banished any memory of **HA(Gr)** in this recension. Is there any remnant of a more original version? I believe there is and that it lies in the concluding formulation of *RB*.

51, RB 26-28 Casus (**βπ**: Omnes (?) casus **M**) suos suorumque ipse descripsit et duo volúmina fécit (*t.*): unum Dianae in témplo Ephesiórum (*v.*), aliud in bibliotheca súa expósuit (*t.*). 'He himself wrote an account of all his own and his family's misfortunes, and made two copies: he displayed one in the temple of Diana of the Ephesians, and the other in his own library.'

This a so-called final σφραγίς 'assurance formula' to emphasize the authenticity of a certain document, history book, political treaty, etc. It is based on the ancient custom, both in the West-Roman Empire and in the Eastern part, of depositing a valuable work, literary document etc. in a temple (sometimes in duplicate in two places; sometimes visible for those

interested, e.g. on the walls). The τόπος character sometimes makes interpretation very difficult, as here. The formulation requires little comment.

casus <…> **descripsit** (RB): A very common formulation, cf. ThLL V,1 660,58-70. We cannot rule out that as a Hellenic king Apollonius himself (*ipse*), as the σφραγίς also suggests, recorded his vicissitudes and those of his loved ones.

volumina (RB): The probable meaning is that Apollonius has his work written in calligraphy on two papyrus scrolls, cf. 6, RB 11-12 *scrinea cum voluminibus graecis et latinis*. There are various names for such copies: ἀντίγραφον/ἀντίτυπον 'reproduction, copy', ἐκσφράγισμα 'official copy'. This work could be ordered at the ἀντιγραφεῖον 'office whence ἀντίγραφα were issued', cf. LSJ (Suppl.), s.v.

unum Dianae in templo (**βM**: *in templo Diane* **π**) **Ephesiorum, aliud** (**βMπ**: *alterum* **RErf.**): Both changes are completely understandable from a classical perspective: *Dianae* can be both dat. and gen. (to be connected with *templo*); for *unum* <…> *aliud*, cf. ThLL I 1649,76-1650,30 (also in legal authors); Garbugino, p.103 with n.55. (Klebs, p.261: 'in *RE* richtig *alterum*'; cf. p.40 n.1.)

exposuit βM ~ *posuit* π, RErf. (cf. Klebs, p.40 n.1; Schmeling, p.82,27); for *exponere*, cf. ThLL V,2 1760,60-84: 'accedente vi *ostentandi, in conspectu collocandi*'. A precise interpretation of this τόπος requires considerable explication. The supporters of a Greek original (Riese [1893], Index, s.v. *volumina*) naturally drew a parallel with Xen. Eph. 5,15,2: ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ᾖεσαν <…> καὶ δὴ καὶ [τὴν, seclusit Dalmeyda] γραφὴν τῇ θεῷ ἀνέθεσαν πάντα ὅσα τε ἔπαθον καὶ ὅσα ἔδρασαν (cf. Hom., *Od.* 8,490 ὅσσ' ἔρξαν τ' ἔπαθόν τε) 'They [namely: Habrocomes and Anthia] went to the temple of Artemis <…> they set up an inscription in honor of the goddess, commemorating all their sufferings and all their adventures.' Supporters of a Latin original (e.g. Klebs, p.39,211) for their part pointed to the deposition of the testament of the triumvir Mark Antony with the *Vestales* (Plut., *Ant.* 58): 'Allgemein verbreitet war im Altertum der Gebrauch, wichtige Schriftstücke den Tempeln zur Bewahrung anzuvertrauen.' Klebs himself (p.211) refers to Diog. Laert. 9,1,6 that Heraclitus of Ephesus had deposited hiw work περὶ φύσεως in the temple of Artemis in Ephesus: ἀνέθηκε δ' αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν, cf. H.A. Diehls, *Fragm. Vorsokr.*[6], Berlin p.141; id., *Herakleitos von Ephesos*, Berlin p.36; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, Berlin 1955[2] (repr. 1984) II, p.210). For other examples from inscriptional material regarding the Artemisium as archive, cf. Osler (1976), p.34 with n.98.

Explication has not become any easier since in particular W. Speyer (see bibliography) pointed out that this τόπος was already abused in Antiquity.

Obviously a commentary should, if at all possible, provide a definite answer. (A starting-point for interpretation is offered by Ruiz-Montero, loc. cit. n.33 'noticias adicionales'.) Various arguments lead me to assume that in all likelihood *RB* supplies an authentic element here.

1. In particular the deposition of a copy of Apollonius' adventures in Ephesus with such a long tradition from the time of Heraclitus testifies to knowledge which one would not immediately expect in a writer from the late 5th/early 6th c. Schmeling, ad loc. refers to Xen. Eph. 5,15,2, but the gesture cited by *RB* goes considerably further than deposition in one temple.
2. Precisely the combination of two copies, one in the temple of Artemis, one in Apollonius' own library (cf. 6, RB 9-13), makes *RB*'s final remark highly appropriate to the *HA*: in my view, such a combination is too clever for a falsificator.
3. There is another, highly curious argument. As we have seen, *RB* likes to remove pagan motifs. Even *RA* forgets to thank Artemis after the happy reunion of father-mother-daughter (c.48). So within this pattern *RB* should actually never have mentioned the temple of Artemis as a depository for the *HA*, since this involves an intrinsic recognition of Artemis as a leading deity in the *HA*.
4. This strict adherence to an original narrative element is all the more remarkable because at the time of the genesis of **HA(Gr)** Ephesus had already possessed its own library for more than 100 years. This library had been built in AD 110 by T. Iulius Aquila for his father Iulius Celsus, cf. C. Callmer, *Antike Bibliotheken*, Opusc. Archeol. 3, Lund 1944, pp.168-71. G. Garbugino, pp. 38-9 with nn. 45-51. The library was finallly finished after Aquila's death by Ti. Claudius Aristion, cf. Zuiderhoek (2006), p.58.

These arguments lead me to the view that *RB* introduced an original element via a source unknown to us. He probably took exception to *RA*'s patriarchal description. In search of a more rational ending he permitted himself a longer excursus, as in 8, RB 2-10. For this procedure of *RB* in a broader context, see Introd. VII.2.2.3.

Literature on the concluding formulation:

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T. Burt, *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst, archäologisch-antiquarische Untersuchungen zum antiken Buchwesen*, Leipzig 1909, pp.222-3, 248.

E.R. Curtius, *Europäische Litteratur und lateinisches Mittelalter*, Bern-München 1973[8], p.181.

G. Garbugino, pp. 38-9 with nn. 45-51. (An extensive list of modern literature on this *passus.*)

A.J. Festugière, 'Lieux communs littérales et thèmes de folklore dans l'hagiographie primitive', *WS* 73 (1960), pp.123-53.

M. Fusillo 'How Novels End: Some Patterns of Closure in Ancient Narrative' in: D. Roberts (et al.), *Classical Closure. Reading the End in Greek and Latin Literature*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, (pp.209-27), p.218

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W. Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung im Altertum*, München, Verlag C.H. Becksche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1971; esp. ch.3.b 'Himmelsbriefe, Bücherfunde in Gräbern, Bibliotheken und Archiven', and there esp. p.69.

S.A. Stephans, *Ancient Greek Novels*, p.127 (regarding Antonius Diogenes), n.59.

51, RA 35	Explicit liber Apollonii. (**P**) 'Here ends the book of Apollonius.'
51, RB 29	Explicit. (**β**[1])

RA offers the complete formula. It may derive from the writer himself, cf. Hier., *Epist.* 28,4 *Solemus nos completis opusculis ad distinctionem rei alterius sequentis medium interponere 'explicuit' aut aliquid huiusmodi*. Complete correspondence with the *Incip.* is not necessary. See ThLL V,2 1738,30 ff.; Bonnet, p.433; Svennung, *Palladius*, p.442; Linderbauer (on Reg. Ben.: *Explicit prologus*), p.146. In view of the blatant disagreement with *HA tit.* (RA), which talks explicitly about the *Historia*, it seems likely that this ending was given in the first copies in the manuscripts. The reaction of **β**[1] also suggests such an early *subscriptum*. The great divergence within the *RB* codd. is illustrative, esp. **π** (early 13th c.) with *Gesta Tyrii Apollonii finiunt*: *Gesta* is mainly used for the exploits of knights. The subscriptio: *Finis* καὶ μόνῳ τῷ θεῷ ΔΟΞΑ **β**[2] (17th c.) 'The end and Glory only to God' (not included in ed. m. [1984]) may reflect a surmise that the *HA* has a Greek origin.

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